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ART. I.—DR. SMITH ON THE PENTATEUCH.

The Book of Moses; or, The Pentateuch in its Authorship, Credibility, and Civilization. By the Rev. W. SMITH, Ph.D. Volume I. London: Longmans, Green, & Co. 1868.

IT is now little more than sixty years since the question "Who wrote the Pentateuch?" was asked with all seriousness in Protestant Germany. Not, indeed, that the question in itself was altogether new. Carlstadt, the Reformer, had already expressed strong doubts concerning the Mosaic authorship. LeClerc once denied it, but lived to retract his opinion and to solve his own difficulties. The bold criticisms of Père Simon in the same direction are well known. Even mediæval Rabbis had not always been contented with the traditions of their schools, and some had been curiously sceptical in this matter. Still farther back, in the earliest age of Christianity, we find another class of theorists. The old opinions concerning Moses were not easily reconciled with Gnostic speculations; so we have the heretic Ptolemy making the discovery that the Law proceeded from various hands, one part from the Demiurge himself, another from the uninspired and fallible reason of Moses, with later additions or corruptions from a third source. A not unsimilar position is taken up by the author of the Clementines, who would account for the origin of a theology he disliked by resorting to the hypothesis of an oral tradition, which easily assimilates error, as the basis of the Mosaic books.

But at the close of the eighteenth century the question was asked with fresh interest, and claimed to occupy more important ground. The earlier solutions were allowed to be dogmatic, the consequences of *à priori* assumptions, and not sufficiently supported by scientific proof. The more recent were with equal justice considered as little more than guesses, proceeding from mere individual caprice, and leading to negative rather than positive results. The dawn of the nine-

teenth century, we are now told, beheld the foundation of the "higher criticism." Before the bar of this tribunal the Pentateuch has been summoned, and the question has been finally set at rest. The progress of critical analysis and historic research have rendered it easy to dispose for ever of the old-fashioned doctrine of its authenticity, to give a very probable account of the date and authorship of its different parts, and to assign a true origin for all its sacred institutions and traditions.

These are high-sounding pretensions, and a great deal of their influence is due to the loudness and persistency with which they are proclaimed. They have made themselves heard in spheres far removed from their original source; and, as is often the case with such boldly assumed conclusions, have been more or less timidly accepted by many who are ignorant of the processes by which they have been really attained.

The Catholic who is ready to say of any book of the Canon what S. Augustine said of the Gospels: "Ego vero Evangelio non crederem nisi me commoveret Ecclesiæ auctoritas," and who receives the sacred books and the doctrine of inspiration from the same authority which proposes to him the articles of the Creed or the seven Sacraments, may be satisfied with meeting such adversaries with a simple Credo to begin with, and for the rest may be content with a defensive attitude founded upon a certain counter-scepticism. He may say, "See to what extravagancies your critical methods lead. It is to us a further proof that science, unaided by ecclesiastical tradition or authority, is incompetent to deal satisfactorily with such matters. Philology, archæology, are yet in their infancy. Learned critics differ from one another, and their boasted unanimity is a delusion. Why appeal to such a feeble instrument as criticism to solve problems where a higher judge has cut the knot?" Thus he looks upon these investigations without surprise or without fear, for his faith is independent of them. If an historic difficulty appears insoluble, let it remain so until our ignorance is enlightened; if a solution is attempted incompatible with Catholic dogma, we reject it with absolute certainty. Some such position as this will naturally be adopted at first sight by the faithful. Indeed, there may be cases in which no other is possible. The external evidences in proof of single revealed facts or dogmas must considerably vary according to times and circumstances. Cotemporary documentary evidence of the strongest kind may have existed in the time of S. Jerome or S. Augustine which is not accessible to us now. Books are inserted in the Canon to which we cannot assign a fixed date or authorship

with any approach to certainty. The Church of the later centuries may be even our only authority for their canonicity; the earlier ages may seem to give but a hesitating judgment, and the thread of tradition itself be no longer traceable in the shadow of antiquity. In such cases we must fall back upon our first principles, and argue entirely on the defensive. We can defiantly exclaim, "Show that our doctrine is absolutely untenable, or our practice indefensible on any hypothesis consistent with our own principles. Our faith is in possession. What merely natural data, whether scientific or historic, can afford a lever strong enough to move us from such a position?"

With such a general reply a Catholic might fairly be content; but it does not follow, because superabundant proofs are not needed, that therefore they do not exist; and moreover, where such proofs do exist, there is obvious danger in overlooking them and too hastily conceding in any particular instance that the *primâ facie* historic appearances are opposed to us, when a closer investigation and a truer criticism would show them to be convincingly in our favour. It is our object, then, in the present article to indicate some of the main features of the recent controversy regarding the authorship of the Pentateuch as a critical question only. A few words on the antecedents and growth of that school which exclusively arrogates to itself the title of the higher criticism, and which is an essential element in the inquiry, will enable us to form a fair judgment as to the real point at issue.

If, then, we look to the history of the controversy, we shall find that the reason why the question, "Who wrote the Pentateuch?" has come of late to be agitated with such earnestness, is, that it is now asked by men who are far from being indifferent to the issue, and who, having abandoned the only rational answer, are thus forced by the exigencies of a preconceived theory to look about for another more in accordance with their new theology. As philosophers or theologians, the rationalists of the present day might be content simply to assume their conclusions as well as their premisses; but these theologians profess also to be critics and historians, and what was easy with the ancient Gnostics is no longer possible for them. Such a purely negative position would be fatal to their pretensions. If Moses could not have written a supernatural story, of which he himself was supposed to be the hero, who then did write it?—when?—and for what purpose? They have thus been driven to seek something like definite answers to such questions primarily in self-defence. Hence the multitude of conflicting theories and contradictory statements, out of which their apologists have

vainly attempted to extract sufficient common standing-ground to boast of as a final result.

For the germs of such speculative criticism as this we must go back to the days of Martin Luther. It is true that the Reformers were not rationalists in the present acceptation of the word; they were little enough inclined to give *reason* a hearing in the discussion of matters of faith. It is also true that it was a first principle of Protestantism to make the written word of God the sole rule and judge of doctrine. Nor did they ever attempt to place a human authority above this word of God. But who, indeed, would attempt it? The question to be decided then, as now, was — What is this written word? Where is it to be found? If reason was not to determine this, what was? On the other hand, if the voice of the Church or ecclesiastical tradition was not a competent judge, upon what foundation is the authority of Scripture to rest? It was this difficulty, and an insuperable one, with which the Reformers were met, which made Protestantism to totter even in Luther's lifetime, and which, though in subsequent times inconsistently ignored, has again in this last century forced itself into prominence from a slightly altered point of view, and now seriously threatens to bring the whole edifice to the ground. It has been imagined that this difficulty was a logical and theoretical one only, and that however faulty their principles, a fortunate accident or a common instinct of danger intervened to procure practical uniformity as to the limits of the Canon and a decent respect for its authority. Indeed, it is a matter of astonishment that the Bible was left little disturbed as it was. But the practical confusion was nevertheless great. "Nothing," says Professor Reuss, of Strasburg, "is more interesting and nothing less known in France [and we may safely add England] than the embarrassments, hesitations, and inconsistencies of the old Protestant theology on the question of the Canon" ("Hist. du Canon," p. 325); and Mr. Westcott, in speaking of the same subject, candidly confesses that "the book itself was in danger of falling in pieces under the free treatment of Luther." ("Bible in the Church," p. 248.) To quarrel with such a book as Ecclesiasticus, to heap epithets of disgust upon Judith or Tobias, was a comparatively safe proceeding; the line of demarcation between the books of the first and second Canon of the Old Testament was on the whole broadly defined, and to attack the latter was only to attack the Vulgate. But even the extant Hebrew Scriptures did not always escape the sneers of Luther, who laughed at Ecclesiastes, and declared himself as much an enemy of Esther as he was of Machabees.

To tamper with the New Testament was still more fatal, yet if the evidence of inspiration was to be sought for in the testimony of the individual conscience, or in what was called the "inner witness of the spirit," how was it likely that the doctrine of S. James would meet with the full approval of the conscience of a Calvinist? In fact, it has been acknowledged that private feeling was with them the supreme authority as to doctrine and the source of doctrine. What this meant with Luther we learn from his estimate of the Apocalypse. He had formed his own idea of what was due to the apostolic dignity and office. It belonged to that office to speak clearly, without image or vision. Even in the Old Testament, said Luther, no prophet was occupied with visions throughout. Moreover, the author seemed to speak too arrogantly of the importance of his own work. If it be blessed to believe what is contained in it, no man knows what that is. "Let every man think of it as his spirit suggests. My spirit cannot adapt itself to the production, and this is reason enough for me that I should not highly esteem it, for Christ is neither thought nor perceived in it, which is the great business of an apostle."* In fact, there was laxity of opinion, there were fluctuations in usage, everywhere; the laxity being rather encouraged than otherwise by the public Confessions. Those of Germany and Switzerland, omitting to specify what writings they intended when they spoke of the Word of God, left the choice virtually open to individual reason or caprice; and others, adopting the traditional Canon, and yet claiming to take it not from tradition or Church authority, but from the "intrinsic persuasion of the spirit," equally paved the way for the further exercise of Protestant free judgment in rationalism.† For the transition was easy from the "inner witness" of Calvin to the "moral sense" of Kant, the individual feeling of Schleiermacher, or the philosophical reason of Strauss. The change was little more than one of name. In each case the test was a purely subjective one. The Reformer's inner witness told him that the epistle of James did not breathe the spirit of Christ. The Bible was not, as he imagined, the rule of his faith, it was rather his preconceived "faith" which was the rule by which he judged the Bible. In a more prosaic age and with a more Pelagian theology, for inner witness was substituted the "moral sense," and Kant supplied the keynote to the critical system of Semler and the early rationalists.

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* See Davidson's "Introd. to the N. T.," vol. ii. p. 346.

† Mackay, "Tübingen School, &c.," p. 82.

We need not trace the downward progress of Protestantism through all its various phases, or follow the course of the many minor rivulets which added force to the current. At times the main stream was impeded in its flow by the stagnation caused by wearisome controversies with Catholics, or by internal dissensions amongst numberless petty sects, where there was no scope for original thought, and a scarcity enough of scientific research. For awhile, indeed, there seemed to arise a reactionary spirit, proceeding in the beginning of the eighteenth century from an energetic revival of Biblical learning. The failure and abandonment of the theory of the "spirit whispering to the soul" as the final judge of controversies concerning inspiration and the interpretation of Scripture led to a study of historic evidence and an appeal to philology as the safest hermeneutical guide. Theologians became grammarians. The idea of canonicity was merged in that of genuineness. All the life and spirit of the sacred writings were lost in the insipid criticism of the letter. But this cultivation of Biblical science, such as it was, could never build up a system of Christian doctrine. Where links in the historic evidence of a book were wanting, what testimony was to supply their place? What value could be attached to the decisions of Councils, or mere ecclesiastical usage? Then, again, it was not to be expected that much light would be thrown on the phraseology of S. Paul and the newly-created Christian terms of the New Testament by a reference to the language of Thucydides. Such tendencies only helped to make scepticism the fashion of the day, and to hurry on the systematic rationalism which was ready to carry out the older Protestantism in its true spirit. The parent of modern rationalism and a true child of Luther, Dr. Semler of Halle, now dedicated a long life and considerable learning to laying the foundations of that mixture of subjective dogmatism and historic scepticism which has finally terminated in the wild theories of the Tübingen school. The true proof of the divinity of a book he maintained to be the interior conviction of the truth it contains, and he was right in adding that this is properly the divine faith which in the old-fashioned Biblical language was called "the testimony of the spirit" in the soul of the reader. But such books are to be considered inspired as far only as they tend to the amelioration of man. The moral essence of Scripture must be separated from Scripture in the gross—the wheat from the chaff. The miracles of the Gospels are useless and cannot edify, and many of the dogmatic ideas there taught must be understood as mere "accommodations" to the opinions of the Jews. With such a

system as this it was easy work to throw to the wind whole books, both of the Old and New Testament, and to reduce the rest to a history without unity, life or significance—a barren collection of unmeaning facts—and to a theology which, whilst retaining the name of a divine revelation, consisted only of a series of ethical sentences. A deep-rooted suspicion or a dislike of all that bore a supernatural character was the prevailing instinct of this school. Its disciples, however, clung tenaciously to the bare historic skeleton, when stripped of all that was spiritual.

The application of these principles to the New Testament culminated in the puerile absurdities of the now almost forgotten commentary of Dr. Paulus. The vision of Zachary, according to this exegesis, which was the fashion some sixty years ago, must be attributed to an excited state of mind; his blindness was the result of a fit; the apparition of the angel, perhaps a flash of lightning. The celestial glory revealed to the shepherds was nothing more than a lantern, or, may be, such phosphorescent nocturnal phenomena as are not uncommon in pastoral countries. The casting out of devils was the influence of a wise man exercised over the insane by the use of kind words; a miraculous cure, the result of a natural remedy; the Transfiguration, a confused recollection or half-dream of waking men who saw their Lord standing in a beautiful mountain-light, talking to two men unknown. In fine, the resurrection itself took place only in appearance; Jesus did not die, but swooned away upon the cross, and the cool atmosphere of the grotto tomb and the refreshing ointments restored him once more to health and strength!

Never was there in the sphere of such controversies a greater triumph—if triumph be a fit word to use—than the victory gained over such critics as Paulus and his fellows by that man whose impious work on the life of Jesus thirty years ago insulted and scandalized the Christian world. It was not, indeed, a difficult task for Strauss, the Hegelian philosopher and critic, to demonstrate that the supernatural and the natural are so inextricably interwoven in the evangelical narrative that if the miracles are to go, the historic truth must follow. The work of Strauss inaugurated a new era; and its true importance is to be sought, not so much in its attack upon the old Christian belief, as in its total overthrow of the earlier rationalistic system. The very idea of the supernatural being opposed to sound reason, and a miracle an absolute impossibility, the Gospels could not claim to be historic in any sense. For the attempt to explain away the miracles by

exegetical sleight-of-hand would be only to substitute a series of wonders more extraordinary than the old orthodox miracles themselves.

Destructive criticism seems now to have done its worst. Yet Strauss affected to imagine that he was not destroying but rather restoring the Protestant faith. He assures the pious believer that he intends to give him back all that he might fear was lost to him. The Gospel is a beautiful poem—an ideal; we destroy it if we believe it to contain historical truth. It is the idea contained in it which saves us. "Luther," he said, "has already set *bodily* wonders below the spiritual, which are the true high miracles, and shall we by any possibility be more highly interested by a few healings of the sick in Galilee than for the wonders of the life of mind and the history of the world, for the incredibly increasing dominion of man over nature? . . . God is ever incarnate in humanity. Humanity is the miracle-worker—the sinless one—that which dies and rises again, and ascends towards heaven. Through faith in *this* Christ, and especially in His death and resurrection, is man justified before God."* In short, it became now the fashion to make the Gospel stories a collection of myths, growing up silently and unconsciously in the Christian mind. Christ, it is allowed, was *believed* to be the Messias; the Messias was *expected* to lead a wondrous life, full of mysteries; and therefore gradually there sprang up the impression that these wonders had taken place. Late in the second century collections of such imaginary stories, each embodying some idea of early Christian teaching, were put in writing, and moulded into shape according to the varied tendencies or theological turn of mind of the author, and finally, no one knows how, perhaps with a view to give them greater authority, attributed to the companions or disciples of Jesus Himself. Under the manipulation of such a speculative criticism, the Gospel of S. John was the last to fall. So-called criticism had long maintained with Luther that the Apocalypse was unworthy of an apostle, and if not a forgery, at least not the work of the Evangelist; on the other hand, the most hardy rationalists, who had been wont to abandon the Old Testament, and to give up half of the synoptical narrative, yet held fast to the genuineness of the fourth gospel, as the last remaining link which would bind them to Christianity. With the Tübingen school this critical judgment, infallible though it was once pronounced to be, is strangely reversed. The Apocalypse, we are now to believe, is genuine and apostolic—

* Strauss, ap. Mill, "Pantheistic Theory of the Gospel," pp. 48-51.

nearly the only genuine fragment we possess ; the Gospel, a fiction of a later age, revealing a catholic doctrine which was unknown to the Apostles.

Such is the issue of subjective philosophy applied to history—such are the infallible and irreversible judgments of the higher criticism.

It would be well, however, to carefully note a remarkable feature in the progress of this so-called criticism. It will be observed that in regard to the genuineness and historic truth of sacred documents, the process, though gradual, has from the commencement been purely negative and destructive. Luther sneered, even where he did not dare deny. Rationalists first denied the authenticity of books, and next, as a necessary consequence of their *à priori* views, denied the credibility of the miraculous narratives, whilst they still adhered to a bare outline or historic groundwork as trustworthy. The mythical school denied, with but slight exceptions, books, miracles, history, and all, and left nothing but an idea. On the other hand, with regard to exegesis, the progress, so far from being negative, has been on the whole reactionary and Catholic. Whilst the truth of the history or the authority of the writings was allowed, it was impossible to admit a sound exegesis and at the same time to escape from the bondage of dogma. As long as S. John was considered the author of the fourth Gospel, it was almost a necessity with rationalism to explain away the miracle of Cana as a marriage joke, to water down the theological terminology into unmeaning generalities, and to save the credit of the Apostle by an apologetic reference to his old age, a weakened memory, new scenes, or to resort to similar follies dignified with the name of science. But now that the actual groundwork of fact is abandoned, there is room again for the old theology. It is readily conceded that the author meant to relate true miracles, that he taught the Catholic doctrines, and that his teaching can only properly be understood by applying the rules of mystical interpretation, long ago laid upon the shelf with the despised volumes of Origen and S. Augustine. Baur, now unfettered, will tell us that we must find the doctrine of the Divine Word correctly laid down in the last of the Gospels ; or he will point out the symbolic teaching of the feast of Cana—the nuptials being a figure of the kingdom of God, the Messias, the Spouse, filling his friends with joy—and will find in the wine an allusion to the consecration of the last supper. The water flowing from the side of the dead Jesus, inexplicable to ordinary experience or to medical science, can now freely be interpreted by Schenkel in a true dogmatic sense. The two

great means of grace—the Blood of Jesus crucified, and the baptismal water—are here represented, and we are reminded that "he who eats the flesh of the Son of Man and drinks His blood has life eternal, and he who drinks of this water which the Son of Man will give shall never thirst." So also now that the life of Christ is a phantom, a product of the aspirations and ideas of a devout people, it becomes not only possible but necessary to return to the old views of prophecy. It was necessary to believe that the Jews expected a Messias, and even that the portraiture of their ideal in the Gospel corresponded in its main features with that expectation. And how, again, to account for these deep-rooted Messianic ideas and their creative influence, except by tracing their development in the minds of the Prophets of old! When an historic Christ, however divested of the supernatural, was still believed in, prophecy was necessarily denied, and the never-failing exegesis was called in to obliterate all traces of Christology in the Old Testament. But now when the fulfilment was made to be ideal, our critics could afford to make prophecy real. Thus we have restored to us, speaking of course roughly, the grand outlines of Christian theology; interpretations discarded by Protestants for 300 years are now reinstated in their proper place. The rationalists endeavoured to preserve the letter and to destroy the spirit, to adhere to the history, but to throw aside its idea. Their successors, the mythists, teach us to find the spirit but to discard the letter, to discover Church mysteries and ideas but to drop the outward shell which contains them.

But why is it impossible for us to maintain the credibility of the historic basis with the rationalist, and the beauty of the idea with the mythist? The problem of the day is simply this, and no other. Protestantism will insist on being free and unshackled by dogmatic authority. Philosophers will not believe in miracles. Herein is the true obstacle to the Catholic tradition. The difficulty is not one of science or criticism at all. I may believe, might a rationalist say, in the genuineness, if I can find a loophole to escape from a belief in the supernatural records. I may believe in all the demands of Catholic exegesis, if it be but granted that the ideas are unhistoric. Catholicism simply unites the two ends of the thread which scepticism has severed. The bond of union is the belief in the possibility of a divine Providence, able to so dispose the events of the present as to make them typically foreshadow the future, and perform wonders in nature which should, as in an allegory, represent to us the mysteries of grace. In other words, grant the possibility of miracle, type, and prophecy,

and the rest is virtually conceded. The denial of the actual truth of an historic revelation is no more based upon or supported by true criticism than was Luther's contempt of the Apocalypse, or the comments of Paulus on the Gospels.

Meanwhile, however, the arbitrary subjective criticism which was dissolving the original facts of Christianity into dreams had not been idle with the older documents of revelation. We have purposely exhibited the course of rationalism, thus far, on the more familiar historic field of the New Testament, although the attacks upon the Pentateuch were naturally prior in time to the mythical castle-building of the Tübingen school. The processes were, however, identical. The Mosaic books, and especially the Book of Genesis, were full of marvels distasteful to the enlightenment of the age; but the rationalists of the older and coarser type proceeded slowly and cautiously in their attempts to weed them from the surface. For what were they to do? A Hebrew *mythology* had not yet been invented. Historic evidence was still respected, and the Mosaic authorship had defied many rude attempts to overthrow it, and now stood more firmly established than ever. The venerable antiquity of the Pentateuch and its influence upon Hebrew life and history, its grand simplicity and spirituality, were still felt and acknowledged. The attempt to weed out the supernatural from its pages, and yet let the genuineness remain undisturbed, would, indeed, seem to be a hopeless task. But "science," in the hands of its votaries, is a magical wand, which can be made to perform many unexpected tricks; and the favourite "exegesis" was invoked to strip the history of its apparent legendary dress, or, in Semler's language, to separate the wheat from the chaff. Eichhorn, superior, perhaps in learning, and certainly in literary taste, to most of his contemporaries, led the way. With the critics of his school, the narrative of the Fall and the Expulsion from Paradise was a confused reminiscence of some primeval natural disaster, or the forbidden fruit was poisonous, and the Divine voice was a clap of thunder. Moses may have repeated such traditions in the sense in which he understood them, but it was more difficult to account for the wonders of the Exodus, of which he himself must have been an eye-witness. Yet, strange to say, the most obvious miracles were tortured into mere commonplace descriptions of natural phenomena. Sometimes nothing supernatural was intended, sometimes it was a poetical exaggeration, or a pious fraud, or, at worst, some clumsy, but possibly well-intentioned interpolation of a later hand. The flame on Sinai was no more than a bonfire, kindled on the mount for theatrical effect. The fiery column was nothing

but a torch preceding the caravan; the shining of Moses' countenance the natural result of electricity, or possibly the effect of excitement and strong feeling. The wisdom of the great lawgiver may be even detected in the artifice by which he contrived to heal the suffering Israelites from the venomous bites of the serpents; for did he not erect afar off the brazen serpent, to which all were to run with haste, that the violent perspiration thereby caused might have the desired medicinal effect!

Such an exegetical imposture as this could not long hold its ground, and it soon fell before the mythical theory first brought into notice and applied to the Pentateuch by De Wette. Eichhorn himself at times seemed to despair of his success in forcing Moses to narrate the miraculous story of the plagues of Egypt; yet he adhered substantially to the genuineness even of the middle books, and valiantly defended Deuteronomy as undoubtedly an eloquent and pathetic discourse of the lawgiver in his old age—his last farewell address to his people. But the mythology of the new school, which was to supplant this quasi-historic treatment of the older system, must have some basis, however unsubstantial, to rest upon. If all the facts, the person of Moses himself to some extent included, were to be reduced to a series of myths, we again have in their place but another kind of phenomena to explain. Psychological difficulties arise if we get rid of the historic. In the case of the Old Testament this was even more so than in the case of the New. Gospel myths were to rest upon actual historic ideas, at least they were the supposed products of Messianic hopes; they fed upon the old Hebrew stories, which were reproduced in a new form. No original matter was needed for their full expression in the evangelical literature, since the exemplars were ready at hand in the miracles and wonders of the patriarchs and prophets of the old dispensation. But how account for the vast myth of patriarchs and Moses, the desert and the tabernacle, the pasch and the giving of the law? How, again, were critics to explain the gradual formation of this wide and varied literature, where dreamers and idealists follow one another in so orderly a manner, and weave a web with so remarkable a semblance of unity of design, and such a fascinating imitation of truth?

Nevertheless the absence of tangible ground upon which to build an hypothesis presented the advantage of leaving greater elbow-room for theorists. They could create their facts as well as their myths: they could create too their own narrators. It is not an exaggeration to say that they forthwith set to work, certainly with no very great unanimity, to

solve the critical problem they had cut out for themselves, to select at their pleasure a supposed groundwork of truth, to imagine a series of narrators, to endow them with their several mental qualities, theological opinions, and "tendencies," their political aspirations and literary style, to assign to each his date and social position, and pick out for him a fragment of the extant books as his own peculiar work; and having accomplished this to their satisfaction, the disciples of the higher criticism will with the greatest naïveté turn round to us and ask if their theory does not reasonably explain the origin and growth of the religion of Israel.

The method of discovering a point of departure is something of this kind. A first axiom is laid down that all prophecies are "vaticinia post eventum." We have only therefore, in a literature so abounding with type and prophecy, to read the history backward. Discover the period corresponding to the picture of the destinies of the Tribes put into the mouth of the dying Jacob, and we then have the time and the scenes before us in which the narrator composed the beautiful poem in which he expressed his ideas. If we have a description of a too magnificent Tabernacle, and a too complete and developed Ritual in the Wilderness, of which the still more glorious Temple purported to be the copy; reverse the facts, and suppose the writer to have drawn his picture of the imaginary Tent of the Desert from the pattern of the actual Temple before his eyes. If we have a tribe said to have been set apart by God to provide special ministers for the due celebration of the sacred rites of divine worship, say that this was an institution which sprang up in the days of the early kings; that the Levites had for some unknown cause forfeited their right to territorial possession, or perhaps were no tribe at all; that accident, convenience, and their idleness led either to their selection by others or to their own ambitious claim of priestly authority. If the law forbids human sacrifices, maintain that Jephte's vow shows them to belong to the very essence of early Israelite worship; that the prophet Amos insinuates that the Hebrews in the desert worshipped Saturn and Moloch, and knew nothing of Jehovah; and that the story of Abraham's sparing Isaac was invented at a later time to win the people by so good an example from the prevalent rage for manslaughter.

Thus the motives for such ideal history are as readily invented as the facts. At one time perhaps it was an honest attempt on the part of an Israelite to account for the origin of their race. The Pasch existed, for instance, as a national celebration of great antiquity—originally a spring or harvest

feast. The story of its institution at the Exodus was a pleasing myth and one very naturally likely to arise. The narrator told the legend as it was current in his day. At another time the object may be the mere venting of a national spite; hence the stories of the curse of Canaan, or of the origin of Moab; or again a Levite may desire to attribute antiquity to a custom which gives him support and honour, and thus is led by a pious fraud to antedate sacerdotal ideas and write the history of the past in the light of his own wishes.

Meanwhile further materials for this fanciful reconstruction of Jewish history were found ready at hand by De Wette and his many followers in the so-called Document theory which had recently come into vogue. This theory, like most of the vaunted results of criticism, was the embodiment of a favourite fancy of the day which exercised a tyrannical influence over every department of literature: it was Wolff's view of the origin of the Homeric poems applied to the Bible. It was not unsimilar again in many respects to the hypothesis, prevalent at the beginning of this century, on the source of the synoptical Gospels, with its assumption of the Ur-Evangelium or Aramaic original, and the numerous imaginary Greek translations and recensions, and abridgments, and additions, which were supposed finally to result in our present Evangelical writings. It was the same hacking and disintegrating process which led ingenious critics to discover no less than nine different authors of different dates at work on the Book of Daniel. Curiously enough, the author of the dissecting theory as applied to the books of Moses, was a clever French physician, who, so far back as the year 1751, cast upon the literary world, whether in earnest or in sport, a little volume entitled "Conjectures sur les Mémoires originaux dont il paroît que Moyse s'est servi pour composer le livre de la Genèse." These conjectures soon found their way into Germany, where they took root in a congenial soil, and where Eichhorn instilled into them fresh life. Under the pen of M. Astruc, the book of Genesis—for it is to this book alone that the author presumed to apply his notion—was cut up into a dozen separate fragments, which were to be distinguished chiefly by the different names of God, Elohim or Jehovah, occurring in the narrative. He suggested that Moses had originally placed these fragments side by side in parallel columns, and that in the lapse of time copyists had contrived to involve the compilation in inextricable confusion by unskilfully arranging them consecutively as parts of a continuous history. Hence the appearance—so argued Astruc—of unnecessary repetitions, abrupt transitions, and chronological discrepancies. It is

needless to say that while no single author has adopted the theory of the Frenchman as it stands, it was too useful an auxiliary to the new criticism to be totally abandoned. Eichhorn made but two documents instead of twelve, but still applied the theory to Genesis alone; Vater improved upon his predecessors, and his critical eye detected a tissue of similar fragments running through all the first four books of the Pentateuch, not as two distinct works capable of being linked together and reconstructed, but as scattered pieces belonging to different times and from widely different sources. Even Deuteronomy was not exempted from this dissection and was also decomposed into various parts. The Document theory had now become the Fragment theory, and this in turn had to give way to the Complement theory, by which the formal unity of the Pentateuch is admitted, but attributed to the careful editorial arrangement and revision of a so-called Ergänzer, who is himself the author of much supplementary matter. The convenience of this imaginary Ergänzer is sufficiently obvious. Wherever an awkward phrase occurs, which on à priori grounds is judged to be out of harmony with the period or style of the supposed original writers, forthwith it is to be attributed to the finishing touch of this later Compiler. But whether there be one or two Elohists, one or two Jehovists, whether the Deuteronomist is to be identified with either Jehovist or both, is still a grave matter of dispute. It is not by any means settled which passages are to be apportioned respectively to each. It is totally a matter of uncertainty at what age these authors lived and wrote. Yet so keen is the scent of the philologists in their search after variations in language and style, so profound their appreciation of differences in the tone of thought, that even the more moderate have partitioned out the Book of Genesis into some 370 alternations of authorship, picked out by an accurate analysis from the interlaced and intervoven passages so laboriously put together by the compiler of this tesselated work! * Meanwhile Ewald, by far the best scholar, the most learned orientalist, and most gifted with a poetic if not spiritual sense, has cut out a path for himself, on which not even his most ardent admirers have ventured to follow, although no one is more confident than he of his critical tact, or more dogmatic in his power of assertion. Ewald undertakes to bring before us the author of the Great Book of Origins. He indicates his primeval sources of information, shows us portions still extant of the older documents which he incorporated, defines the limits of

* See Quarry, "Genesis and its Authorship," p. 626.

the Book of Covenants, the book of the Wars of Jahveh, the biography of Moses; nay, lays his finger on fragments which are actually pre-Mosaic. The date of each book, the character and aims of the author, are familiar to him. We have one writer with a legal turn of mind; others with prophetic tendencies follow, in part composing original matter, in part retouching the old. The third, fourth, and fifth narrators have each their proper allotment assigned to them; then comes the Deuteronomist at the age of Manasses, and finally the last editor.

The name of the author of the Book of Origins he modestly suggests "will probably be veiled from us in eternal obscurity;" but it is instructive to watch the fascinating hold which a creation of the imagination has upon a man's own mind, and its power in reacting upon and intensifying the idea from which it sprang. The faculty of believing in, and throwing out from oneself into an objective reality such purely ideal personages or things, which forms part of the great attraction of these arbitrary hypotheses, may be well exemplified in the strange apostrophe with which the most renowned of critics addresses a writer whom he has all but named:—"Lofty spirit!" cries Ewald, "thou whose work has for centuries not irrationally had the fortune of being taken for that of thy great hero Moses himself, I know not thy name, and divine only from thy vestiges when thou didst live and what thou didst achieve; but if these thy traces incontrovertibly forbid me to identify thee with him who was greater than thou, and whom thou thyself only desiredst to magnify according to his deserts, then see that there is no guile in me, nor any pleasure in knowing thee not absolutely as thou wert!"*

Such is the rough outline of the course of unbelieving criticism. Common sense showed that Moses could not, consistently with the requirements of a rationalizing or pantheistic philosophy, be permitted to claim the authorship of the books which tradition has assigned to him. The conclusion, therefore, is a necessity of the system; the theories, fragmentary and complementary, are as so much dust cast in our eyes. They give a show of critical reasoning, and their supporters make up for their real deficiency of proof by loudness of assertion and intensity of purpose. The critical analysis seems now, however, to have run its course. The eyes of the critics are turned anxiously towards the issue of another controversy; and the origin of Christian dogma and the authorship especially of the fourth Gospel seems destined soon to become the

* "History of Israel," vol. i. p. 96.

arena of a fresh conflict. The whole ground of the criticism of the Pentateuch is now open before us, and we can calmly survey our position in the presence of true science. What real results have been attained? Has the progress of philological and antiquarian studies been antagonistic even in appearance to the Christian tradition? Has any single new proof of weight been adduced against us throughout this long and earnest struggle?

We turn to this question with all the more interest, for there never was a time in which more depended upon the actual historic evidence which we can bring to bear in favour of Mosaic *authorship*. Let us once establish this, and the internal difficulties upon the score of veracity or credibility assume a very diminished importance. This has been felt by our opponents, and their tactics have been to lead us astray from the chief point at issue, to invest their own assumptions with an air of plausibility, so as to force us to change our front and to act upon the merely defensive. Moreover, the question of authorship is becoming one of greater consequence in proportion as the idealistic theology gains ground. For, as we observed in regard to the New Testament, idealism in the hands of many of its advocates is in some respects nearer to Catholic truth, or at least less offensive and alien to our minds, than the materialistic notions of the older rationalism. Ewald, with his denial of the genuineness and truth of the history, is nearer to Catholicism than such a tasteless commentator on Mosaic law as Michaelis, with his low rationalism and utilitarian morality. The Catholic and Idealist can often meet on common ground. The one thing wanting to the latter is a belief in the possibility of his poem being truth. At present he shuts his eyes blindly to the overwhelming accumulation of evidence which should compel him to see history where he persists in seeing oftentimes only a noble idea, full of poetic beauty and moral excellence, which he, indeed, is never weary of admiring as long as he need not believe it to be an actual fact. No one can read the pages of such an enthusiast as Ewald, or even parts of the recent commentary of Kalisch, without recognizing the truth of this at every step. Over and over again we come to such expressions as that with which, for instance, Ewald concludes his description of God's wrath at the disobedience of Aaron, and the breaking of the tables of the law—how He "at last, entirely reconciled, solemnly renews the broken covenant, restores the shattered tables of stone, and confirms afresh the holy laws. A glorious picture, perfect in its kind, and full of eternal truth, *if only it be not treated as a dry historic fact!*" ("Hist. of Israel," vol. i.

p. 608.) So we may take up a Catholic writer, and possibly at first sight be tempted to think him fanciful in tracing in the story of Abraham, as in a miniature portrait, the history and vicissitudes of the chosen people of whom he was the father. Yet we may turn to an unbelieving critic* who will take pleasure in drawing out the very same idea, calling attention to the minuteness and the accuracy of the resemblance down to the smallest details. Abraham is with him an ideal Israelite—a pattern also of the holiness of life to which a true Hebrew should strive to attain. His life is painted with noble colours, exhibiting unusual grandeur, symmetry, and beauty—and why not *truth?* Because, forsooth, it is a *vaticinium post eventum.* It existed only in the poetic ideas of the human artist who traced its lineaments from the past history of his people, which he loved to believe directed by a good Providence. But why again should not the artist be God's Providence itself—why not the idea divine? No: again it is answered in effect—How beautiful if only it be *not* true! But there are others who will, perhaps, be led rather to exclaim, when they have learned from such guides to imbibe the sacred spirit which so fills the inspired volume, How beautiful; would that it could be true! It is then that the historic critic should be ready to perform his task, and to show that, as a sounder exegesis has led to the discovery of the true ideal which is portrayed in every page of the Bible, so a sounder criticism, one based not on false subjective assumptions, but one that is true to history, to science, to human nature and the natural instincts of the soul, will lead him by another line converging on the same point, to recognize *truth* where first he had only seen *beauty.*

It is at this stage of the inquiry that we turn with considerable satisfaction to the volume of Dr. Smith, which is placed at the head of this article. We have already spoken of the author as one well qualified by his extensive acquaintance with the foreign literature of the question, and by his rare philological and antiquarian learning, to perform the task he has undertaken. We repeat that we know of no critical work on his thesis executed in so good a spirit, none more thoroughly scientific in its treatment, and none, as far as we can judge from the first volume which is before us, exhibiting so complete a mastery over the whole scope of the subject. There is an absence of that narrow and exclusively critical spirit which cannot appreciate the principles of any science but that of its own predilection. He writes with a union of modesty

* Kalisch, "Historical and Critical Commentary, Genesis," p. 366.

and confidence which only a true scholar can attain, with a consciousness alike of the sacred grandeur of his theme and of the strength and justice of his cause. His reasoning is drawn out with method and precision, the evidence being laid before the reader with a studied avoidance of exaggerated colouring or rhetorical artifice. Adverse arguments are put clearly and fairly, for the most part in the very words of his opponents, and the way in which he replies to them must be allowed by his most prejudiced antagonists to be straightforward and intelligible, as well as frequently remarkable for striking originality in idea. The close condensation of his matter, and the regular development of the reasoning render it difficult to give briefly a fair notion of the scope and power of the argument. Its strength lies in its compactness and the multiplicity of its well-arranged facts, which form a cumulative argument of overwhelming cogency. We must be content therefore, now, with merely indicating the general features of the evidence adduced. This evidence, however, is such that, to all who have hitherto accepted the Mosaic authorship on faith, it will appear positively surprising.

Dr. Smith's thesis is simply this—"that the good old common-sense belief in the Mosaic authorship is the only one consistent with the requirements of sound criticism"—that is, he claims for Moses the actual writing of the five books, whether with his own hand, or by means of a secretary, or in both ways, as occasion served * (p. 13).

And here, at the very opening of the volume, we meet with an instructive example of how little our adversaries can boast of the progress of archæological inquiries resulting in their favour. As late as but thirty years ago, it was still deemed *possible* for critics of an ultra-sceptical school to call in question the very existence of the art of writing in the Mosaic age. Here, again, it was the reckless application of the Wolffian theory of Homer to a very different race and literature. The adventurous Von Bohlen hoping thus to cut the ground from under our feet, laid before his readers what he was pleased to call the "latest results" which the study of Palæography yielded, and, with Vater and Hartmann to support him, boldly concluded that the art was unknown to Moses, and turned the allusions to writing in the Pentateuch against us as anachronisms or "unfortunate slips" of the

* Of course Dr. Smith does not here include the last portion of Deuteronomy, which contains the death of Moses, and was added afterwards as a suitable appendix; nor does he deny that Moses incorporated in Genesis pre-existing documents, of which traces may be still found.

author. Mr. Norton in America made the same assumption one of the grounds of his own attack, yet to an Egyptologist of the present day, acquainted with still "later results," such scepticism can only appear ridiculous.

Although the antiquity of writing is a fact now generally admitted by the learned, Dr. Smith's discussion of this point is full of interest, and it is one which well deserves the evident pains which he has bestowed upon it. Much of the matter collected concerning Egypt is entirely new, or only to be gathered from the rare and costly tomes of Lepsius's "Denkmäler." Rapidly passing over monumental hieroglyphics which were a thousand years old before Moses was born, and papyri of the "Book of the Dead," dating from times anterior to Abraham, which prove the mere antiquity of the art, he furnishes us (p. 19) with an illustration which is in itself a treatise in proof of its common usage. The process of writing is pictorially represented on a rock tomb of the Fourth Dynasty, accompanied with the constantly recurring hieroglyph for writing, the combination of reed-pen, water-vase, and palette. That great literary activity prevailed during the whole Nineteenth Dynasty is clear from the number of hieratic manuscripts of the period scattered through Europe. To this age, which was that of Moses, belongs the papyrus Anastasi No. 1, in which are given the names of nine writers then distinguished in theology, philosophy, history, and poetry. The names, too, of famous libraries and their librarians are extant, and we have instances of Pharaohs themselves turning authors, one of whom at a very early date indites a treatise on anatomy. But of more immediate interest to us is the stepping over the bridge which seems to separate the Egyptian characters from the Semitic sounds, and the proof that the language of Moses himself possessed an alphabet and literature of its own; and here we will let Dr. Smith speak for himself:—

> If the Egyptian character may not seem to be well fitted to express the sounds of Hebrew, it must not be forgotten that Egypt was only one of the nations that brought with them from the plains of Shinar the remains of an antediluvian civilization. The Cushite Babylonians had already their cuneiform letters in the year 2200 B.C., and the Semitic-speaking nations, with whom the Hebrews are classed linguistically, had certainly characters of their own at a very early period. The hieratic papyrus Sallier No. 3, bearing date the seventh year of the Great Ramses, and containing the poetic eulogium on the Conqueror by Pentaur (which, by the way, the vain hero had engraved on the walls of the temple of Karnak), mentions as the *writer of books* among the Kheta in Northern Palestine a personage who is called Khirapsar. So that in the age of Moses the royal historiographer seems to have been an already established dignitary in the Canaanite courts. During

the battle, moreover, fought between them and Ramses, an ambassador of the Kheta presents to the Pharaoh a written supplication. When the war was over, a regular treaty of peace was written out on both sides. The Egyptian copy, though somewhat mutilated, has been transferred to the Denkmäler. But its counterpart is there said to have been written out by the Kheta on a tablet of silver, whose square form is represented among the hieroglyphics. In confirmation of this nation's familiarity with writing even before the period in question, it may be noted that in the district of the Hittites—who, notwithstanding Chabas' scepticism, were undoubtedly identical with the Kheta—was situated Kirjath-sepher, meaning *Book town*, a name which in Joshua's time had already become antiquated (Jos. xv. 15). Indeed it now appears that the Phœnician character itself came directly from the Egyptian hieratic long before the age of the Papyrus Prisse. When looking over the comparative table exhibited by De Rougé or Lenormant, no one can doubt the identity of the two systems. The hieratic, as it was written two centuries before Moses, is so much degenerated from the old type, that a comparison with it does not establish sufficiently the resemblance. That comes out stronger the more we approach the original form, whether of Phœnician or of hieratic. In the Papyrus Prisse we come nearest to it. But even in that, notwithstanding the strong and unmistakable likeness, we miss some points of similarity which, no doubt, existed in an earlier age.

We need, however, no further proof of the vast antiquity of writing among the Semitic nations than the fact (so conclusive to Ewald's mind) that the words סֵפֶר, דְּיוֹ, כָּתַב, meaning *write*, *book*, *ink*, are common to them all. The inference is that writing in ink was known among the Semites in prehistoric times, before they broke up into separate nationalities, as Chaldees, Syrians, Hebrews, Phœnicians, Arabs, or Ethiopians. What wonder, then, that in the age of Moses writing among the Hebrews should be so common an accomplishment, that he grounds his law permissive of divorce on its universal and everyday usage in society? (Deut. xxiv. 1).

We may seem to dwell upon this point at some disproportionate length; but having here made our footing firm, we must not be content with merely warding off hostile attacks. In establishing, as we can, the common usage of a Semitic alphabet, and, further, in accepting the concession of such a scholar as Ewald, that at the time of the Exodus there already existed an earlier Hebrew literature, however scanty, we stand upon vantage-ground which becomes a starting-point for fresh acquisitions. If Moses had the means and materials for writing, and even existing literary models before him, it becomes highly probable that he did write. We lay claim to a strong à priori presumption that one who was "learned in all the wisdom of the Egyptians" would take so obvious and easy a precaution to secure the preservation of a code which he gave with such solemnity to a people whose tendencies to lawlessness and obstinate resistance he knew so well. The idea of

an orally delivered legislation has no foundation in likelihood or in external evidence. If, again, Moses did put his laws in writing, it is most improbable that the original should have been lost sight of without leaving a trace behind, and still further that a fictitious code, forged under his name, should have been successfully substituted in their place.

But more than this—the old assumption that alphabetic writing was an impracticable or, at least, a very rare accomplishment, was at the bottom of others equally gratuitous. The denial of the antiquity of the Hebrew *language* in the form in which it appears in the Pentateuch, followed naturally from a denial of the antiquity of Hebrew *writing*. The one objection borrows all its force and vitality from the other. For a language possessing a literature, and especially one which, from the circumstances of its origin or authorship, would be likely to become a standard or classical model, would be far less liable to change or decadence than a merely spoken dialect. The objection of Davidson and others that Moses could not, of himself, have created so many varied literary styles,—the historic, prophetic, rhetorical, and poetic—weak as it is in any case, is but another lingering echo of the same ignorant prejudice against the antiquity of a Semitic alphabet. Once admit the full force of the fact that the Hebrews were familiar with letters at the time of the Exodus, and taking into consideration the varied circumstances under which the great lawgiver, prophet, and historian lived and wrote, the interruptions to which he must have submitted, the different characters he had to sustain, then, the literary phenomena of the Pentateuch become not only intelligible, but precisely what we should have expected, and such that they may be converted into a positive and presumptive argument on our side. Much, therefore, of the matter which is discussed with remarkable ability by Dr. Smith, under the head of alleged linguistic incongruities with the age of Moses, may be advantageously studied in connection with the positive rather than the negative criticism. For here also the very minute philological analysis to which the text has been submitted by rationalizing Hebraists in search of a phraseology, or of grammatical forms, betraying a later age than the Mosaic, or one more conformable to the assumed age of the composition, has only resulted in their own discomfiture. The language of the Pentateuch is undoubtedly archaic. It possesses peculiarities in words, in forms, in meanings and spellings, bearing a strong stamp of antiquity, and re-appearing in no later book. We can trace the Hebrew vocabulary in its growth; we can detect new technical terms introduced in David's time, see it enlarged and enriched under

the influence of the commercial enterprises of Solomon; and when we "compare the diction of the Pentateuch with that in use when Jeremias or Ezechiel flourished, the difference is so marked as to make it simply ludicrous to discuss the question." The points of *dissimilarity* between the diction of the former and that of the last days of the monarchy, or between even the language of Ruth and of Samuel, or Judges, are now "pronounced by the first Hebrew scholar of the day to be so surprisingly great, as to call for the attention of the philosopher equally with the scrutiny of the philologist."

We start, then, on our investigation, with palæographical and philological science thus far lending their support to the traditional belief. Passing over an admirable section of our author's work on the explicit testimony of Christ and the Apostles, adduced "more to serve as a beacon-light for the Christian, than as a demonstration for the sceptic," but which, however, we commend to our readers as a model specimen of Catholic exegesis, and a crushing refutation of the "accommodation" theory as applied to our Blessed Lord's words, we proceed to the discussion of the external evidence for the Mosaic authorship derived from the history and literature of the Hebrews prior to the time of the Captivity.

In the first place, it is capable of critical demonstration, if indeed the fact were not for the most part freely admitted, that the book of Deuteronomy implies the existence of the four preceding books in their present form. If we had no other proof, the opening verses, which, on any other hypothesis, present insoluble puzzles in geography and chronology, would on this point be sufficiently conclusive. *This law* in verse 5, which Moses in the land of Moab began to explain (בֵּאֵר), can only refer to the *foregoing*, and not to the *following* legislation. But the close imitation of passages and verbal transcripts throughout the book supplies additional evidence that Deuteronomy is in great part a recapitulation of the law, with comments, readjustments, abridgements, and supplementary matter proceeding from an authoritative source, and delivered in a popular and oratorical form. It so essentially breathes the very spirit of Moses himself, and so faithfully exhibits his fatherly tenderness of heart, that we shall not be surprised to find it more known, and its language more frequently quoted than that of any other portion of the Pentateuch. It was the book of the people, as Leviticus was the book of the priest.

Now we can trace the existence of Deuteronomy—and by implication, therefore, the rest of the Pentateuch also—from the last days of the kings back to the hands of Moses, its

author. We find it in the hands of Josias, in the eighteenth year of his reign; for "*The* Book of the Law" then found in the Temple, and which we have every reason to believe to be the very autograph of Moses, contained it without doubt. We have the testimony of the high priest Helcias, the scribe and chancellor Saphan, of priests, levites, and people, of the prophetess Holda, and that of the king himself, who all believed it to be no other than the work of Moses, and acted forthwith upon that belief. Every allusion made to the contents of this volume, the references to the "curses" and to the "covenant," the expressions used by Holda, who borrows its phrases, all point to the same conclusion. Dr. Colenso, indeed, allows it to be Deuteronomy, but would have us believe that it was no ancient copy accidentally discovered, as the history distinctly affirms, but a new production—the result of a gross forgery, in which priest, prophetess, and even Jeremias himself had a part, and by which the too credulous king was duped. But then, what are we to say of the earlier narratives, which equally vouch for the existence of the book? What of Amasias, whose first recorded act, two centuries before Josias, is one at variance with all Oriental custom and precedent, though in exact accordance with Deuteronomic law? "He put his servants to death that had slain the king his father; but the children of the murderers he did not put to death, according to that which is written in the book of the law of Moses, saying, the fathers shall not be put to death for the children, nor the children be put to death for the fathers, but every man shall be put to death for his own sin." (4 Kings, xiv. 6.) The words here given are a verbal transcript of Deut. xxiv. 6. So again we meet with the book at the coronation ceremony of the infant king Joas, in הָעֵדוּת, *the testimony* which, with the article prefixed, and interpreted by the circumstances of the case, plainly indicates the standard copy of the law formerly presented to the sovereign at his installation, a custom, no doubt, originating in the precept of Deut. xvii. 18-21. We find traces of it in the organization of the tribunals of justice under Josaphat, and further back, still more unmistakably, at Solomon's dedication of the Temple.

In his prayer on that memorable occasion we find, as we should have expected, the king "pouring out his heart most eloquently before Jehovah, his whole fancy impregnated with the imagery of that eloquent book, his mind teeming with its ideas, his thoughts running on its prophecies, his language borrowed from its pages." The parallelism and frequent identity of word and phrase between the speech of Solomon

and the exhortations of Moses is of such a kind as to leave no room for any other hypothesis but that the king was acquainted with and borrowed from Deuteronomy. The same may be said of the speeches and actions of Josue. His whole career furnishes decisive indications, quite apart from the direct statements of the historian, that the last book of Moses was familiar to him. His conduct is regulated by its precepts, he is filled with its spirit, he is versed in its language, and, obeying the command of Moses, "read all the words of the law, the blessings and cursings, according to all that is written in the book of the law," in the very words of Deut. xxvii. 2-13.

A chain such as this when drawn out at length with all the minute corroborative links of evidence, undesignedly furnished by the narrative, is not easily broken. But Dr. Smith now proceeds to more than double the force of the argument by reversing the chronological process, and retracing his steps from Josue back to the Captivity, and showing that the whole Hebrew constitution, history and literature, are grounded upon the written Pentateuch, and inconceivable without it. He begins by proving that in the age of Josue the Hebrew commonwealth was fully organized according to the plan of Moses, that the civil code then in operation, the Levitical system and religious ordinances, were precisely those of the Pentateuch; that, furthermore, all the historical facts of the past alluded to incidentally in the book of Josue tally exactly with the representation of those facts in the Mosaic writings, and, in fine, that the literature of the former is deeply tinged with the ideas and language of the latter.

The same minute comparison is next applied to the times of the Judges, of David and Solomon, and the Kings both of Judah and Israel. Most important are the traces of an acknowledged written law in the time of Jeroboam, and among the seceding tribes of the north; and most ably are they brought into view by Dr. Smith. By his well-executed plan the writings of the Prophets are surveyed in conjunction with the contemporaneous chronicles of the kingdom which they serve to illustrate. The literature is discussed simultaneously with the history of war and politics, society and religion, in such a manner as to place before us, in striking and vivid relief, successive pictures of the national life of Israel, in place of the usual series of dry commentaries on a selection of disconnected texts, too commonly produced under the head of external evidence. A single sentence will speak volumes when put in its true chronological place, and when we have recalled before us the scenes in the midst of which the Prophet spoke, and can compare his words

with the statements of the narrator who in latter times compiled the annals of the rebellious kingdom. For example, when Jehovah, enumerating Ephraim's crimes, puts this among the rest, "Do I write for him my myriad laws; they are accounted as a thing that is strange" (Osee viii. 12), could Osee more distinctly prove to us by this hyperbole that the law which Achab and Jehu had been denounced for despising, and which Israel had forgotten, was both a written and a comprehensive law?

When we study in this way the historical books of Scripture, a multitude of undesigned coincidences and touches of nature bring home to us the reality and truth, which rise, as it were unconsciously, to the pen of a faithful narrator. It is in such genuine histories that even the description of the anarchy and lawlessness which at times prevail will betray indubitable traces of those very legal and social regulations of which the breach only is recorded. Thus anomalies such as the rash vow of Jephte, or the rebellious and anti-theocratic spirit which demanded of Samuel kingly rule, are made, under the hand of a true critic, to reveal the existence and obligation of a code which, by more superficial observers, they are thought to disprove.

With regard, therefore, to the credibility of the narrative, we might almost be dispensed from tedious investigations and criticisms of the original sources from which the information they convey is professedly derived; yet we need not shrink from the inquiry. It can, on the contrary, but add fresh strength to our position. Let us take, for instance, the historical work, against which our adversaries level, naturally enough, their fiercest denunciations. The Chronicler is accused by turns of ignorance, incompetency, and exaggeration, or intentional falsification of history; yet we are not dealing, in his case, with a compiler of vague, unwritten traditions, easily moulded at will. He gives, methodically, his several authorities, he quotes from some sixteen different writings, which (though some are anonymous) for the most part bear the names of well-known and venerated authors, who were not only witnesses, but chief actors in the transactions they describe, amongst whom we find such prophets as Nathan and Gad, Samuel and Isaias. If the good faith and substantial accuracy of the writer of the Book of Chronicles are allowed to stand, the case against the Mosaic authorship is doomed. No wonder, then, that his honesty is called in question, and that critics like Gramberg should find no escape from the evidence of history but in the suggestion that the Chronicler not only coloured his narrative with prejudice and

falsehood, but unblushingly invented the very authorities he pretends to rely upon!

When our opponents resort to such unproved assumptions as these, they virtually abandon the ground of external evidence altogether. They retreat, leaving us confessedly in possession of the whole field of *written* history; and in the subjective spirit of the age, despising all such historic proof, and relying rather upon their own favourite methods of critical analysis, they call upon us to substantiate the Mosaic authorship on exclusively *internal* grounds.

We do not fear to accept this challenge. We can afford to waive every other evidence save that afforded by the character, structure, and subject matter of the book itself, and following our adversaries to the battle-field of their own choice, turn their strongest weapons against themselves. It is, perhaps, in this branch of the inquiry that to many of his readers Dr. Smith's researches will be found most interesting. His statement of the *direct* internal evidence is forcibly put, his illustrations of the Mosaic ritual and law, and of some peculiar expresions of the Pentateuch from Egyptian hieroglyphics, furnishing *indirect* arguments for its Mosaic origin, are in many instances entirely new; but, above all, we remark the vast amount of good material and cogent reasoning which he has been enabled to put together by his ingenious method of treating separately the three characters who appear in the work,—the Lawgiver, the Historian, and the Deuteronomist, and the conclusive proof thereby obtained in the sequel that these three are but one and the same individual, who can be successfully identified with no one but Moses.

The results of the internal criticism are then briefly these: The Pentateuch claims Moses for its author. In several portions the claim is direct. It is implied throughout. The signature of Moses is formally affixed to the book of Deuteronomy: "And Moses wrote this law and gave it unto the priests," &c. (Deut. xxxi. 9). *This law*, the law just expounded, is the same as that previously referred to in Deut. i. 5, and which is contained in the preceding books. The signature of Moses is thus shown to substantially cover the whole of the Pentateuch. Taking next the Deuteronomist by himself, we find him exhibiting minute and correct knowledge of Egyptian climate, manners, &c. The incidental and picturesque allusion to the water-wheel turned by the foot for the irrigation of the land (Deut. xi. 10); the command to carry the law on the hand and forehead, to inscribe it on great stones coated with plaster, and on the door-posts of houses; the mode of inflicting the bastinado; the ox treading out the

corn unmuzzled; the mining operations contemplated in Deut. viii. 9,—these are some few of the many thoroughly Egyptian practices, which have compelled Ewald to make *his* Deuteronomist (whom he puts in the reign of Manasses) during some time a resident in Egypt, to account for his familiarity with its usages. But such a gratuitous hypothesis is insufficient to explain the Egyptian colouring to be traced in the legislative enactments themselves. The author, too, speaks of the miseries of the bondage from which his countrymen were but just freed, with an inimitable air of reality, as if they were vividly present before his mind in all their freshness, and his hearers equally familiar with them. The generous appeal to be kind to strangers, in memory of their own sufferings (v. 15, xxiv. 18, 22), bears an unmistakable stamp of genuineness.

Again, the Deuteronomist had his share in the Exodus, and was present at Sinai. He mentions places not found in the former narratives, new facts and incidents, with apparent contradictions, which only help to show his unsuspicious truthfulness. He speaks artlessly as an eye-witness. He views the development of the history from the stand-point of the Exodus. He never dreamed of the capture of the ark, of the schism of Jeroboam, or the future revolutions of his country; he even proposes arrangements, and assigns geographical boundaries for the nation, which were never carried into effect. The additions and changes made in some of the laws go to show that Moses himself is the speaker, correcting and abrogating portions of his previous legislation, which would be no longer applicable to the desert which the people were now on the point of quitting. The language he uses is archaic—not a word or phrase occurs that is the growth of a later age. Forms and particles peculiar to the Pentateuch are met with in numbers. הוּא still stands invariably for the feminine as well as the masculine; נַעַר is still used equally for *boy* and *girl*.

Turning to the first four books, we find here, also, that the legislation contained in them bears the impress of the desert; is impregnated with Egyptian memories; has Chanaan yet only in prospect; gives proof of being drawn up in the lifetime of Aaron and Eliezar, and of having sprung from the nomad life; until, in gathering up our results, we learn the astonishing fact that "almost every group of Pentateuchal laws, and every national institution based on them, bears one or more internal marks characteristic of Mosaic origin." This inference is forced upon us by analytical tests which are irresistible. Most noteworthy is the way in which the laws are shown to have arisen out of the circumstances of the time, and to be so closely imbedded

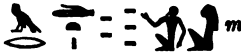
in the historic framework as to be inseparable from it. So also do the minute descriptions and detailed measurements of the architecture and furniture of the Tabernacle point to the same conclusion; for what possible purpose of some political reformer—in an age when the Tabernacle was an antiquated relic, and when the public worship was conducted in the Temple—could be served by such a superfluous, intricate forgery as this? Moreover, the written forms of the various laws regarding the camp life of the wilderness, useless and inexplicable to generations no longer nomadic, and especially some of the enactments concerning the Paschal institution, make a series of links which bind together and identify Moses their author, with the narrator of the history as we have it before us. The want of systematic codification, with fragments of legislation lying scattered over the work, presenting as they do apparent anomalies and repetitions, so far from indicating a succession of compilers, as they might to a superficial critic, will, on a closer investigation, betray this identity of the lawgiver with the historian, who records his decrees just as historical circumstances give them birth, in such a way too that the code is unintelligible without the narrative which supplements its deficiencies and interprets its meaning.

Passing from the legislator to the historian, taken by himself, we discover traces of his intimate acquaintance with Egypt and the Arabian desert, though he shows himself to be not personally familiar with Chanaan. He writes for those who are, like himself, better acquainted with the former than the latter; and finally we detect him letting drop proof of the very date in which he finished his work. As in the case of Deuteronomy, already alluded to, so with the preceding books, the testimony of Egypt to their genuineness is curious and manifold, exhibiting the obviously unconscious reflection of the truth, and not of a kind which could be readily acquired at a later day by study or travel.

If it were possible for an ingenious Israelite of the time of the Kings to have made himself acquainted with the geographical features and climate of the Nile valley, the laws, and customs, and language of its inhabitants, for the purpose of giving more colour to his own contemplated imposture, this supposition would not by any means adequately account for all the literary phenomena to be found in the work. It is not always in broad sketches or pointed allusions, which might be an intentional display on the part of an author, that the Egyptian traces are discovered, but they peep out frequently in words and phrases, the derivation of which a forger of the days of the Monarchy would not readily have conceived.

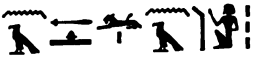
Egyptian terms are used by Moses, understood well enough in his day, but which had subsequently dropped out of use. Others have kept their place in the language, but have undergone some alteration in their former meaning, and no longer retain any vestige of their original source.

Or, again, there are facts casually referred to, full of significance to a generation brought up in the land of Gessen, but without meaning if addressed to those to whom the country was a foreign land. It is from Egypt that the author takes his illustrations when he wishes to convey a definite idea of his subject; thus the Jordan district, before the destruction of Sodom had changed its face, is compared "to the land of Egypt as thou comest unto Segor" (Gen. xiii. 10), where also, we should remark, the reader is supposed to be travelling, not like a Chanaanite, from Segor southward to Egypt, but like a Hebrew at the Exodus from Egypt towards Segor. Similarly, the antiquity of Hebron is judged of in comparison with Zoan or Tanis, which is evidently well known. (Num. xiii. 22.) "Hebron was built seven years before Zoan in Egypt." What information would this have conveyed to an Israelite of Palestine some centuries after the Exodus? Amongst words which, although etymologically derived from Hebrew roots, find their best explanation in Egyptian usages, we may pick out such a one as חֲמֻשִׁים (Exod. xiii. 18). The children of Israel are represented as leaving Egypt *khamushim*, variously rendered "harnessed," "armed," &c. That the term has etymologically some connection with the numeral *five* has been indeed conjectured; but wild guesses have been thrown out as to its precise application. The Septuagint hazarded πέμπτῃ δὲ γενεᾷ, "in the fifth generation." Its origin, however, as ingeniously explained by Dr. Smith, not only points to Egypt, but also satisfactorily dismisses several pages of objection raised against the credibility of the story by Colenso, on the assumption that the translation should be "*armed*." As an instance, too, of the light which may be thrown by one little word like this, on the extraordinary capabilities for numerical combinations and rapid organization manifested by the Israelites throughout their wanderings, we will give Dr. Smith's suggestion as to its origin in his own words:—

Hitherto the term has not been satisfactorily explained. Literally it means *fived*, or organized by fives. Now, we learn from the monuments of the XII. Dyn. that out-door labourers were organized in gangs of that number, under the superintendence of an officer named  *mertut*,

the superintendent of five. The servile labours of the Hebrews were, no doubt, arranged and carried out on the usual plan; and Moses naturally took advantage of an organization so simple and complete to facilitate the transmission of his orders before the start, and to secure regularity of movement during the march itself. Hence the companies of the army seem to have been divided in the same way; and the term, as thus implying a complete and effective organization, came to signify an army on the alert and well equipped (Jos. i. 14; Jud. vii. 11).

The explanation of a peculiar usage of the word נַעַר, *lad*, extended sometimes to those who no longer could properly be termed youths, affords us another example of a similar derivation, and performs the double duty of indicating recent Egyptian influence, thereby indirectly referring to the Mosaic age, and getting rid of a difficulty in the text.

The Egyptian foreign auxiliaries, called , *nearuna*, and  , *naarena*, afford a probable explanation of the word נַעַר, *naar*, as applied to Joshua in Ex. xxxiii. 11. De Rougé looks upon *nearuna* as one of the many Semitic terms appropriated by Egypt about the XIX. Dynasty. The corps certainly existed in the time of Ramses the Great, and most likely was composed partly, if not chiefly, of Hebrews. Had Joshua held military rank in it, his own experiences were just the thing to qualify him for the supreme command entrusted to him by Moses. Taking, therefore, the word *naar* (Ex. xxxiii. 11) as designating a member of the corps named in Egyptianized Semitic *nearuna*, and in Hebrew *nearim*, we get rid of all the awkwardness found by our opponents in the text; for there is no need to translate it either by *young man* or by *servant*. The former may not be very suitable to Joshua, who was at the time perhaps forty years of age; and the latter is superfluous after the word *minister*.

The same interpretation may be extended to Ex. xxiv. 5, where the *nearim of the children of Israel* are appointed to slay the victims offered up in ratification of the covenant. They were under the immediate command of the trusty Joshua; they had just distinguished themselves against Amalek (Ex. xvii. 8–13); and from their military readiness and expertness were the parties most suitable for those duties, to which Aaron and the Levites had not yet been consecrated.

Such, then, is the sort of positive evidence which we can bring in support of our thesis. On every side from which we view it, whether externally or internally, historically or philologically, the conclusion that Moses wrote the Pentateuch is forced upon us by the rules of sound criticism. The proof is unusually varied in character, made up of antecedent probabilities, the formal declarations of competent authorities, and confirmed by a multiplicity of indirect and undesigned testi-

monies arising out of a minute analysis of the document itself. No work of antiquity can boast of anything like such a mass of evidence in proof of its authorship. By what strange process, then, have rationalistic critics arrived at results so opposed to ours? Assuredly not by scientific criticism, unless it belongs to the province of such criticism to decide that a divine revelation to man is an absolute impossibility, and a belief in miracle and prophecy necessarily a delusion. It is true enough that if the Pentateuch be not divine it carries on its front the stamp of imposture. It is to be expected that critics who start with the assumption that it is not divine, and therefore non-Mosaic, should snatch desperately at any straw upon its surface, to find support for the hypothesis of a series of narrators and compilers of a later age. A refutation of these theories will be valuable as a *reductio ad absurdum*, exposing the puerilities to which a criticism must descend which disdains to listen to the voice of historic facts, and in which the only notion of internal evidence is that founded on the arbitrary principles of a subjective philosophy. We are now in a position to demand *proof* that Moses did not write the books attributed to him, before we discuss the existence of possible authors who may be imagined to have written them if he did not. When thus pressed, our opponents are found to have nothing more solid to fall back upon than a certain number of alleged signs of a later age scattered here and there throughout the Pentateuch, many of which exist only in the imagination of the objectors, or are too trivial to occasion any serious difficulty to any one accustomed to weigh critical evidence without prejudice. On the other hand, there are some passages which present considerable difficulty, and which have been too often carelessly evaded or rejected as glosses or excrescences, not belonging to the original text, but which nevertheless demand the most serious attention of the conservative critic.

It would not, of course be surprising if, after the centuries which have elapsed since the Pentateuch was first penned, there were discovered sprinkled over its pages many statements which we cannot in the present state of our knowledge satisfactorily reconcile with Mosaic authorship. It would be more than strange too, if, in the number of hands through which the sacred text has passed, copied and recopied, as it has been, by Jew and Christian, learned Hebraist and ignorant amanuensis, it had not undergone some trifling alteration or admitted some few interpolations which should cause perplexity to the modern reader.

But here, again, we meet with another triumph of true

criticism. Every single so-called anachronism or incongruity has been now sifted and tested by a careful examination, and, we venture to assert, with a twofold result which is most important. First, we find, contrary to a very natural expectation, that there is no need in any one instance to seek refuge in a hypothetical retouching of a later hand, or in interpolations, accidental or designed. A parenthetic clause which A Lapide would unhesitatingly assign to Josue or Esdras may now be restored to the pen of Moses. We doubt much if the work of Esdras upon the Bible of his day, so often made to cover the deficiencies of a timid or indolent exegesis, differed in kind or degree from the revision of the Vulgate under the Popes Sixtus and Clement. The negative criticism has ended in leaving us the integrity of the text, and the Mosaic authorship of the whole, more solidly established than at the beginning of this century. Secondly, not only have true critics been able to suggest possible or plausible interpretations of disputed texts consistently with their Mosaic origin, but also in many instances they have discovered fresh glimpses of light and unity, where hitherto all had been entanglement and obscurity. What were previously objections have now been converted into proofs, and many a deep prophetic hint has been found lurking under the surface of what to an unobservant eye might have passed for an anachronism or a gloss.

The portion of Dr. Smith's volume devoted to the negative criticism abounds with instances of this kind. Unexpected rays of light break in upon the reader so frequently that we forget that we are acting on the defensive against the supposed strong points of our adversaries. We feel, on the contrary, that as imaginary difficulties vanish one by one, we are at each step making a positive advance, while on all sides symmetry and harmony are disclosing themselves where opponents would have us see only discrepancy and confusion. Dr. Smith's treatment of the geographical anomaly in Gen. xiv. may be taken as an example of what we mean, though here we can only give a small part of his comments on it. Abraham is said to have pursued the kings who carried away Lot as far as *Dan*. Now we learn from Josue xix. 47, and Judges xviii. 29, that the name of the place was Laish until the Danites took possession of it, and called it Dan after the name of their father. It is strange, however, that this name should occur in a passage which Ewald and others, from internal data, have assigned to a pre-Mosaic antiquity. Ewald gets over the obstacle which, therefore lies in his way as much as in ours, by suggesting an after-substitution of the later for the original name. This does not satisfy Dr. Smith,

who, after pointing out some curious mythological facts connected with the name *Dan*—originally of the same meaning as *Baal*, master, lord, and referred to the same root as the Hebrew אדון, Phenician אדן sounded Adân in Syrophenician —identifies this Dan with the renowned Adonis, who is also called Baal, and whose worship goes back unquestionably beyond the age of Abraham. He thinks it not unlikely that "Rachel in calling her son Dan (Gen. xxx. 6), chose a name already in use, although she gave it an application entirely new. There can be little doubt that Leah in an analogous case gave her son the name of Gad (Gen. xxx. 11), though it had already been appropriated to the deity of good fortune." And finally:—

For all these reasons we can hardly be wrong in assuming that at Laish or Leshem there was a sanctuary of Pan-Adonis-Eshmûn before it became an Israelitic town. And on that supposition, the appropriateness of the name *Dan*, even in those early days, at once appears.

How then is it represented in Joshua and Judges as a new name given to it by the Danites? In the case of Bethel and Hebron we have seen the old name reimposed and renewed in such a way, at the time of the conquest, as to appear entirely new to superficial criticism. In the case of Dan there was something much more new. For although the old name was revived, it was in a new sense. They suppressed *Laish*, and resumed the ancient appellation, not because it had anything to do with Dan the pipe-player, but because it happened to coincide with the name of their father.

Indeed it would almost seem that this name, still lingering on in the mouth of the country people, was the very cause that led to the invasion. How was it that Dan, contrary to the practice of all the other settled tribes should break up into two settlements so far apart from one another; and, while the bulk of the tribe lay on the skirts of Judah and Simeon, should overleap Ephraim and Manasseh, Zebulon and Naphtali, and plant itself in the most northern extremity of the land? No doubt they were pressed for room. But why go all the way to Dan, and separate from their brethren? They thought it an easy conquest. But why think of Dan at all, which geographically lay within the territory of Asher or Naphtali? It was not from accident. For it is clear, from the context, that the scouts had been expressly instructed to explore this precise spot, and no other. On their return they give such an account of their expedition as supposes that the assembly already knows the place whither they had gone: "And they said, Arise that we may go up against *them;* for we have seen *the land*, and behold it is very good" (Jud. xviii. 9). In our hypothesis there is an intelligible reason for this. The old name of Abraham's time still clung around the spot. The Danites had heard of it; and probably thought that it had some connection with their father, and should, in consequence, belong to them. Moses himself had seemed to point to this consummation in the few expressive words he had used of their tribe in his last blessing: "Dan is a lion's whelp; he shall leap from Bashan" (Deut. xxxiii. 22). The city lay on the border

of Bashan. What better fulfilment of the prophecy, than to steal upon it in this way from the east, and suddenly from Bashan pounce upon the unsuspecting victim? Then, indeed, as the city was the mother of its inhabitants, would Dan become in a double sense the lion's whelp. For Laish was the city of the lion. Pondering on these things, when they felt themselves shut up by their enemies in a narrow space, they send to explore the city whose double name had excited their curiosity. They find the conquest both desirable and feasible. They storm the town; and, rebuilding it according to their own ideas, call it "Dan, after the name of Dan their father."

The concluding remarks of our author in defence of the natural interpretation of the words, "and the Chanaanite was then in the land" (Gen. xii. 6), when the word *then* אָז is so often insisted upon as indicating a time posterior to the conquest of Palestine, when the Chanaanite was no longer there, may be cited as another illustration of what we call Dr. Smith's *positive* way of looking at the negative criticism:—

With especial reference to the interpolating theory we may observe, in conclusion, that the critical eye would rather suspect a gap, if the clause had been absent, than an interpolation because it is present. Three times in the Pentateuch the Canaanites are expressly named in connection with the arrival of Abraham or his seed upon the spot. Abraham makes it his first residence. There is Shechem, there is the terebinth of Moreh, there is Jehovah's altar, and there is the Canaanite (Gen. xii. 6–8). Jacob, on his return from Syria, makes straight for the place. There is Shechem, there are the terebinths of Moreh, there the altar and the Canaanites (Gen. xxxiii. 18–20; xxxiv. 30; xxxv. 4). Israel is ready to cross the Jordan, and they are commanded by Moses to march as soon as possible to the hallowed spot, where by Shechem and the terebinths of Moreh in the land of the Canaanite, who still was there (Deut. xi. 29, 30), Joshua was to erect the altar, and inaugurate his possession of the country (Jos. viii. 30–35). It is plain that the same idea lies at the bottom of all these passages, and that in each of them the Canaanite is brought prominently forward as the race doomed to extermination. Even Knobel admits that their original doom is kept in view throughout the work, for the purpose of justifying the conquest under Joshua. This triple parallelism would of itself suggest the propriety of the clause appearing where it does in Genesis. But when we consider that the passage there is the original, and serves as the type of the others, we cannot but feel that we should have missed it had it not been there.

What we have said of Gen. xii. 6 will apply in a great measure to the parallel clause: "The Canaanite and the Perizzite abode then in the land" (Gen. xiii. 7). There is, however, a special reason for the remark in this place. It would seem to be inserted to make the story of Lot's withdrawal from Canaan more intelligible. The difficulty of finding room and pasture for his and Abraham's numerous flocks and herds, gave occasion to frequent feuds among their respective herdsmen and retainers. For they were not the only settlers in the country. Besides the polished Canaanites, who, as

the original tribe, held the fortified towns, there were also the Perizzites, who, etymologically as well as historically, were the lowland peasantry, devoted to agriculture and pasturage (Ez. xxxviii. 11; Zech. ii. 8; 1 Sam. vi. 18; Deut. iii. 5). These had naturally preoccupied the richest pastoral districts, and cooped up the new-comers within a space too limited for their comfort. This reflection lights up in colours of vivid reality the picture, as given us by Moses in all its primitive artlessness: "And the land was not able to bear them, that they might abide together: for their substance was great, so that they were not able to abide together. And there was a quarrel between the herdsmen of Abraham's cattle and the herdsmen of Lot's cattle: and the Canaanite and the Perizzite abode then in the land."

With regard to the tactics of our adversaries, it must be remarked that even when they professedly argue from our own stand-point, and abandon their favourite proofs, derived from a denial of the supernatural, they yet straightway take up a position equally unreasonable by grounding their attack upon recorded words or actions, necessarily involved in or resulting from supernatural facts, which are presupposed. Thus, in the Pentateuch many of the statements alleged to be inconsistent with Mosaic authorship, turn upon allusions to future events which it is assumed are beyond the horizon of any natural foresight, and yet which are not specially attributed to Divine revelation. There are certainly glimpses cast by Moses into the far distant future of his nation, which do not bear any close analogy to the predictions of the later prophets, and which—though committed to writing by inspiration—are not necessarily *prophetic*. But where are we to draw the line between prophecy and the utterances of a supernatural faith, founded on the Divine revelations of the past? In the history of Israel, Divine manifestations had so abounded as to impregnate and influence the whole national life. The political aspirations of the people, as well as their religious ideas, were simply the product of their belief in the promises made by God to their forefathers. If we ignore this —the fundamental idea upon which the whole superstructure of their constitution is built, and around which cluster all the marvellous occurrences of their history—of course both the career of Moses and his writings will be alike unintelligible. But if we judge of the origin and growth of the nation in the light of its own claims, then, all that is unlike the gradual development of merely human institutions, and all that is singular in the Mosaic records—the prospective legislation, the prophetic warning, the viewing of the future as if present before the eye of the speaker, will only add to the consistency and reality of the picture drawn before us. Conscious of his high destiny, it was part of the religion of an Israelite to look

forward with certainty to the possession of the promised land; it was but natural to him to speak and think of it as the home already secured to him. To him the fact of his leader, under the inspiration of a strong faith, and, with the poetry of a graphic language, speaking of the victories of the future as if already won, or in his practical wisdom dictating rules for the guidance of their expected kings, would present no incongruity. The Hebrews lived too upon the memories of the past favours of God to their race as a guarantee for its future glories. They would treasure up in their recollections, for instance, the old designations of a favourite patriarchal site, and long for the day when they might solemnly reimpose them upon such spots, held sacred in days gone by, and since then, perhaps, changed in name and desecrated by the stranger. This tie, which linked together in their minds the memory of the glorious past, with their hopes of future national greatness, explains their fondness for antiquarian lore, and supplies a clue to the meaning of many topographical or archæological notes inserted in their chronicles. The story of Genesis is not an ill-assorted collection of fragments; this is now becoming recognized by the most perverse of destructive critics—it is a complete introduction to the legislation of Sinai. The whole narrative is therefore designedly cast in a prophetic and typical mould. It looks forward at times even beyond the Desert to Palestine, the kingdom and the Temple; and the artistic skill which determined the selection and arranged the matter, which pointed every detail with a moral lesson best adapted to the spiritual wants of the people, which interwove so much beauty of description with a narrative breathing such majestic dignity, must at least continue to be the wonder and delight of those who persist in denying to it the marks of a Divine inspiration. In the light of this unity of purpose and harmony of parts, many obscure expressions of the historian become ideas full of deep significance.

Herein is the real merit of the critic discernible—not in closing the mouth of the objector by a hap-hazard suggestion of a merely possible solution to his difficulty—but in tracing the thread of ideas which underlie the literary matter, and in finding a suitable place for the apparent incongruity within the general scope of the author's view. Dr. Smith has succeeded in doing this in such a manner as to impart a charm to that which otherwise would be the most wearisome and distasteful part of the apologist's task. Even the unlearned reader will scarcely be able to select a single section in which he will not find—in addition to an answer as intelligible as

the objection—fresh information of a most interesting character and abundant matter for thought.

To conclude, so far from admitting that modern inquiries have tended to increase the difficulties in the way of an orthodox interpretation of the Books of Moses, we venture to assert that the upshot of the whole controversy regarding the Pentateuch has been, from a Catholic point of view, to place true exegetical science on a firmer footing than before. The real difficulties of criticism begin when we abandon the Mosaic authorship. As it is, the attacks upon the genuineness have been productive of valuable results in other departments of Biblical science beyond the merely apologetic. An impulse has been given to the study of the higher theological aspects of the Bible. It has become more clearly understood that the key to much that at first sight appears trivial or incongruous in the letter, is to be found in the typological doctrine which gives to it life and spirit. Sacred Hermeneutics, as a science, has in many quarters made a decided advance in the right direction and is now cultivated in a more intelligent spirit than heretofore. Hitherto there has been too much tendency to separate the function of the critic from that of the commentator, as if exclusively dealing with a different subject-matter. What was called criticism moved in a restricted sphere of its own, independent of theology. Again, commentators themselves were divided off too distinctly into the adherents of a literal, and those of a mystical method of interpretation, whilst both have run into extremes. Writers, on the one hand, who build up arbitrary systems of mystical interpretations in defiance of the laws of hermeneutics too often run the risk of undermining the historic foundations upon which all such systems must ultimately rest. Origen found so much allegory and mystery in the recorded facts of Scripture as to lay himself open not unnaturally to the charge of discrediting their reality. Indeed, the mythical theory now in fashion among advanced rationalists is but a caricature of this one-sided allegorical treatment. Perhaps, also, an exaggerated doctrine of a multiplicity of literal senses has also helped to bring exegesis into disrepute; for to make a single proposition bear several literal meanings is to make it mean anything or nothing. On the other hand, it cannot be denied that the rationalizing views prevalent among Protestants at the beginning of this century exercised a most baneful influence upon some Catholic writers. The works of the learned Jahn were thoroughly tainted with this narrow-minded naturalism of his day; whilst Arigler, in the same spirit, venturing to deny the existence of the mystical sense

altogether, drew upon himself the censures of the Church. Under such a mere grammatico-historical treatment, the Bible becomes a mass of disconnected fragments hopelessly unintelligible.

But a better spirit has been awakened. The typical structure of Holy Scripture has been recognized as the organic connection which governs the whole and binds together its several parts. Histories of Biblical Revelation, Christologies, and the like, have sprung up, supplying a want, and filling up a gap between the compilation of miscellaneous matter, such as is collected in introductions on the one hand, and the textual commentary on the other. Theology and criticism thus go hand in hand in the interpretation of God's word. The study of the human elements, the literary characteristics, the style and plan of the sacred writings, are invested with a new interest as being indispensable to a fuller comprehension of the spiritual teaching; whilst the symbolic and prophetic character of the record is made everywhere to give life and significance to what seemed trivial or perplexing in the letter. So with regard to the Mosaic writings, we have to take care that we neglect no light which history or philology can shed upon them, whilst we show that there is no key which can unlock the secrets of these mysterious books but the teaching of the Church concerning the Life and Sacrifice of Jesus, of whom Moses spoke. We shall then find that the Gospel and the Pentateuch, the Church and the Synagogue mutually illustrate and support each other, and thus supply the Catholic apologist with fresh materials for exhibiting in a new light the unity and harmony of Divine Revelation.

Art. II.—LE RÉCIT D'UNE SŒUR.

Le Récit d'une Sœur; Souvenirs de Famille. Par Madame Augustus Craven, née la Ferronnays. Paris.

NO European society is less accessible or less familiar to Englishmen than that of the French Legitimist families. It would suffice, therefore, to give great value to Mrs. Craven's work, that it gives us in minute detail the private life of one of the noblest and most worthy of these families, recorded from day to day, with unusual power and life, by their own hands. But its merits are far beyond this. We know no family history so fragrant with delicate poetical beauty, none whose whole tone is so elevating and ennobling. It combines

in a great measure the best qualities of a novel and of a book of spiritual reading. Full of high interest in the natural order, its chief characteristic is that it impresses upon every reader a deep practical sense of the supernatural character of daily life. It has attained a success almost unexampled. By the Academy of France it has not only been "crowned" (our readers must remember here the difference of national manners), but placed first among all the books so distinguished last year, and its sale has been rapid without example. The first edition of a hundred copies, intended for private circulation, created so great a sensation, that its publication was almost forced upon Mrs. Craven; and in a very few months it had run through seventeen editions.

The editor had scruples about publishing papers so evidently written only for the eye of the writers. They were, happily, overcome by finding a letter which gave the sanction of the person chiefly concerned (her late sister-in-law, Madame Albert de la Ferronnays), to their publication. The authority is sufficient; and, moreover, twenty years have gone by since the latest of those whose private life is here detailed passed into the state in which earthly criticism can no longer affect them.

We deeply feel the difficulty of giving any true idea of such a work. To judge of it by extracts is almost like judging of a great picture by cutting out from it a square inch. To appreciate its beauty we ought to make, slowly, and step by step, as in real life, the acquaintance and intimacy of the delicious characters whom it brings before us. Those by whom it has not been read complain that it is long. Those who have carefully read it regret only that it comes so soon to an end. We can only hope that the samples we shall give may tempt many of our readers to read the work for themselves.

The Count de la Ferronnays, the head of this family group, was a Breton nobleman, born December 4, 1777, in the sunny days of the *ancien régime*, when any man would have been deemed mad who had dared to forebode that the new-born child would live to see the throne of S. Louis five times overthrown.

Yet such was his destiny. While still a boy he was carried by his father to swell the crowd of French *émigrés* in Germany. At five-and-twenty he married (at Clagenfurth, in Carinthia, where the army of Condé was then quartered), the daughter of one of the most distinguished of his father's companions in exile and in arms, the Count of Montsoreau, whose sister had been governess to the children of Louis XVI.,

and the only companion of the royal family in the fatal flight to Varennes. Of eleven children of this marriage, four died in infancy. Almost the whole of the volumes before us is occupied by the correspondence, journals, and early deaths of two sisters, and of one brother and his wife. The other two brothers, less prominently brought forward in them, have since died. The sole survivors are Mrs. Craven herself and her youngest sister. Both of these are kept as much as possible in the background; the last, indeed, is hardly mentioned. The book, therefore, is a record of the departed.

In the eyes of the world, M. de la Ferronnays was merely an able and honourable man, who was ambassador at St. Petersburg and Minister for Foreign Affairs, which office in France, under the Restoration, was usually held by the Prime Minister. He was ambasador at Rome when the Revolution of July, 1830, caused his voluntary retirement into private life. This is commonly a much greater sacrifice to a French than to an English minister, as English statesmen are usually men of large fortune. In France this is seldom the case, and it is plain that it was not the case with him. From Naples, where the news reached them, Mrs. Craven returned with her father to Rome. Only three months before, the ladies had taken possession of a splendid palace in the Corso, highly enjoying their position (the highest held by any lady in Rome), as the wife and daughters of the representative of France under the elder branch of the house of Bourbon.

> We found our poor house in a very different condition from what we looked forward to—already dismantled and half unfurnished. A carriage with magnificent horses had just arrived from Vienna. In it we took our first and last drive round the walls of Rome. I cannot say much as to my gaiety that evening. I keenly regretted Rome, and still more the pleasant course of life which I had enjoyed from my childhood, and which for me was at an end. I was therefore melancholy enough. But this did not last long. Our tender father had always so much accustomed us to the thought that all that was brilliant in the position we had hitherto occupied, depended upon circumstances which might any day change, that when the day actually came, it seemed to me that I had always expected it. . . . We were quite in the dark as to our future lot. We imagined that it would perhaps be like that of our parents during the first emigration ; that is, very near absolute destitution, and we laid our plans accordingly. Eugénie said that she could teach music. I thought myself competent to be governess to some very young children. (Vol. i. p. 16.)

Things were, in fact, not near so bad as the young people fancied; although M. de la Ferronnays had to sell a country seat on the banks of the Loire. This is nearly all

that would be recorded of him in a dictionary of contemporary statesmen. For Catholics, before this work was published, he had a special interest, as his intercession was the means of the conversion of Alphonse Ratisbonne, which took place while he was lying dead at Rome. Many interesting particulars are given in the volume before us. Especially we have his own testimony, that although he had never absolutely lost his faith, its exercise was long suspended, and that the single thread by which he was held and at last brought back to God, was the love to our Blessed Lady, which he never lost. It was this that made him sanguine of the conversion of Ratisbonne, when he heard that he had consented to wear a "miraculous medal." So high an honour conferred by God Himself upon the prayers of M. de la Ferronnays adds an additional interest to the record of those family joys and sorrows, to which he himself attributed the restoration of his religious life, and to which we are now to turn.

The heroine of the narrative is Alexandrine d'Alopeus, of whom we may safely say that seldom has any one been born whose lot promised to be much brighter in the natural order, or more hopeless in the supernatural. She had all the snares of wealth, beauty, and prosperity, her father holding one of the highest posts in the court of the Emperor of Russia. He was a Swede, her mother a Prussian Lutheran; and even in the Protestant world, there is probably no body by which Christian faith and Christian morals are so wholly forgotten as by the Prussian and Swedish Lutherans. It seemed settled beforehand that she was to be educated amid every possible allurement of splendour and luxury, and without any definite faith. So it would have seemed to human eyes. But nothing could be more remarkable than the watchful care of the Providence of God over her wellbeing. What probability there was that she would have been validly baptized if it had been left, as it naturally would, to a Lutheran minister, we do not know. The Catholic Church deems it necessary to baptize conditionally every convert so baptized. But the Emperor Alexander, wishing to do honour to her parents, volunteered to be her sponsor, and she thus obtained unquestionable baptism (from a schismatic priest) and the name of Alexandrine. Nothing seems to have been done by the authorities of the Greek Church to secure her having any Christian training. She was educated as a Lutheran; the Emperor, the Patriarch, and the other spiritual authorities to all appearance fully content that it should be so. *Non possumus* seems to have been the thought farthest from their minds. At fifteen she was to be "confirmed" in the Lutheran manner, and was instructed for the purpose by a

Lutheran minister. Was it owing to the grace of baptism that, out of so many Lutheran children who came to be prepared for the ceremony, this one found it impossible to satisfy herself with the utter uncertainty of his answers to her question, "What is truth?" and that she turned for the satisfaction of her difficulties to the Truth Himself; beseeching of her Heavenly Father to make clear to her the way of truth, and making to Him in return for this gift a solemn offering of her whole earthly happiness? "This prayer," writes Mrs. Craven, "she wrote at the time in a book, in which I read it with edification before it was fulfilled, and read it again with deep emotion after it had been accepted by God." (Vol. i. p. 29, note.)

It was in childhood, at St. Petersburg, that she made the friendship of Mrs. Craven, then Pauline de la Ferronnays; and when, a few years later, they met again in the brightest season of a girl's life and under the bright sun of Italy, their sisterly intercourse was at once renewed. She enters her thanksgiving in her journal—"I am at Naples, and I have once more met Pauline de la Ferronnays." But He who "leads the blind by a way that they know not" already had His hand upon her, to bring about the accomplishment of her early prayer, to make her not only a Catholic, but also one of a family of which the Catholic religion was the very life. This blessing, however, she was to purchase, according to the offer she had freely made, by the sacrifice not only of her country, her friends, her kindred, and her mother, but also of her whole earthly happiness. As yet her morning shone with unrivalled brilliancy. No cloud foreboded the tempests that were to darken her noon-day. At Rome, in January, 1832, she first met her husband, through whom so many blessings and so many sorrows were to come to her. Her journal, to which, after she had lost him, she made many additions, records all the joys and fears of their early love. On his side, but not on hers, it was "love at first sight." A few days later she writes:

I went with my friend Mary M. (an English girl) to hear the singing of the nuns at the Trinità del Montè. There I saw *M. de la Ferronnays* (as I then called Albert) on his knees the whole time. I felt an interest in him which I could not explain to myself, and above all a singular confidence in him; for on finding myself close to him as we left the church, I told him how much I had wished to kneel down as he did, and that if I had been with his sisters, I should have done so. "Why, then," he replied, "don't you do so at once; why have you so much human respect?" I was pleased with this boldness in a young man of twenty, who knew me so little. Never had I received from a man so wise a reproof. As I walked with him down the beautiful flight of steps from the Trinità del Montè I noticed his face,

and above all its expression. I hoped he would come that evening, and come he did.

The love-story which follows, though not without impediments, runs as smooth, perhaps, as the "course of true love" often has. If, in novel style, the work had ended with the wedding of the heroine, we might easily have enlarged enough upon it to fill an article of no common interest. But we have before us a narrative of real life; and in the world as it is, death rather than marriage is the real turning-point. And yet there was in this case something more than common. From the first, Albert's unbounded admiration made him more eager to see Alexandrine possessed of the faith than even to see her his own. The *Revue des deux Mondes* views this in a light highly characteristic. There is, it says, in Albert's passion something "durable and in keeping with the feelings of all generations," and something "essentially transitory," and which could not possibly have been found except at that moment. This "transitory feeling" it explains by adding, "It is impossible to say which most interested him in Alexandrine—her soul or her beauty." "He actually made, for her conversion, the pilgrimage of the seven Basilicas at break of day, barefooted and in a pilgrim's gown."*

If we would understand this (continues the *Revue*) we must recollect not only that the young man belonged to a family which had preserved the pious traditions of the past, but that we are in 1832, at a moment when the recollections of the Restoration were still in all men's minds, and when romanticism, insinuating itself into religion, had given birth to what is called neo-catholicism; when the literary taste of the Middle Ages had revived a devotion to the old legends; when the young friend of the Count of La Ferronnays, M. de Montalambert, was writing the history of S. Elizabeth of Hungary; when the Abbé Lacordaire, in his Dominican habit, was on the point of giving, by the fervour of his eloquence, a new life to all the ideas of the monastic chivalry of the past.

Men are resolved, it seems, that the emotions which spring from Christian faith are "essentially temporary," those which have their source in earthly passion "essentially permanent;" earthly love is a reality, Christian love a dream. All that comes from man is permanent, all that comes from God is but transitory.

Mrs. Craven mentions, what the *Revue des deux Mondes* passes over in silence,—that on this occasion Albert de la Ferronnays solemnly made the offering of his own life to God for the conversion of Alexandrine.

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* Those who have been at Rome need not be told that this dress effectually disguises the wearer; nothing being visible except the feet and the eyes.

Her own earthly happiness she had herself offered for the knowledge of God's truth. His life was now freely offered to obtain for her the same blessing. Both offerings were accepted. Through her marriage with him she was brought within the reach of the Church's attraction; and only ten days after that marriage appeared the fatal symptoms of the deadly malady which was to cut him off in the first bloom of manhood, and to throw over her whole life a dark cloud of childless widowhood. So is God wont to deal with His most favoured servants. He breathes into them a desire for sacrifices greater than they themselves at the time clearly understand. But, if they are faithful to His call, He is wont to take them at their word, not despising, but pitying their weakness, and accompanying special trials with special graces, until in the end they find themselves, to their own astonishment, able to do and bear things of which beforehand they would have pronounced themselves utterly incapable. Such was his experience, who, after a long life of trial, had attained this confidence, "I can do all things through Christ strengthening me." The real distinction of these volumes is, that they set vividly before us one more such example in our own day. It is this which raises them far above a mere family history. They exhibit in detail a work of Almighty God as much more truly glorious than the creation of a world, as Grace is more exalted than nature. At the opening we find Alexandrine possessed of all the happiness this world can give, and inspired freely to offer it all for the knowledge of God's truth. We find her husband in the first dawn of earthly love offering his life that she might attain it. And then we pass through many scenes which show how the offering of each was accepted to the full—of him his life, of her her earthly happiness. She "passes through fire and through water," and at last we find her enjoying even in this world the abundant fulfilment of the promise, "There is no man who hath left house, or brethren, or sisters, or father, or mother, or children, or lands for My sake and the Gospel, who shall not receive an hundred times as much now in this time." We find her, even here, in a state of habitual blessedness, exceeding, as she deliberately and repeatedly declared, all that she could have imagined possible of happiness upon earth. As soon as she has attained it, she passes out of our sight. And then, what human imagination shall presume to paint the reality, shadowed forth as far as words can shadow it, in the remaining words of the promise, "and in the world to come Life everlasting?"

But we are anticipating. As yet Alexandrine is hastening, in the first glow of youthful hope and enthusiasm, to that

glorious land, both in the natural and supernatural order "the joy of the whole earth," where she looked for nothing but enjoyment. Already, indeed, there was upon her, though she knew it not, the spell of that voluntary offering with which, when her sorrows broke upon her, she distinctly connected them. In her keenest agony on the night of her beloved husband's death, she wrote, referring to it, "Jesus, I have given Thee my happiness, give me Thy faith." But for the time, she was like the hero of the poet, when hoping for the blessings of a peaceful home, he needed to be reminded, "Remember, destiny has marked thee from mankind." Little did she imagine how soon and how roughly her heart was to be wrung with agony, how few were to be her days of unalloyed earthly blessings; how many her months, first of keen anxiety and chilling fear, afterwards of utter desolation. The narrative which supplies the foundation of these volumes was written by herself, chiefly from her own and her husband's journals. It fills three large volumes, very closely written. She has entitled them, "Our Life and Our Love." The first volume is headed "Love;" the second, "Love, Marriage;" the third, "Love, Marriage, Death." From these books we have large extracts. Nothing could be more beautiful, more graceful, more refined, more poetical, than her whole account of these early scenes. This makes it more remarkable, that Mrs. Craven should feel that, to French readers, her sister's conduct requires an apology which can be found only in the fact that she was a foreigner, and therefore not aware of, or bound by French rules of *convenance*. It is important to observe that she feels this apology to be needed, not because there was any incongruity in the social position of the parties; much less the least concealment or clandestine communication; or, again, that the lady, in the least degree, showed her affection before the gentleman had declared his—any of these things might be thought to require an apology in England. It is that, while all that passed had the full and explicit approval, both of his family and her own; while everything of position, &c. was exactly suitable; and while the passionate affection of Albert was most strongly declared and manifested by a thousand signs, she did not remain wholly indifferent to him until after their marriage. Under these circumstances the apology is well worth quoting as an illustration of national manners.

I must draw attention to the fact that Alexandrine was the daughter of a German mother and a Swedish father, and had never lived in France before her marriage. This will answer the objections likely to be raised in the minds of some French readers by some circumstances of this narrative, which

clearly show that Alexandrine was by birth and education a foreigner. They must remember that in some countries the idea of a marriage with which inclination has nothing to do is as strange as it is familiar in our own. In them it is thought as extraordinary, and I should almost say as wrong, that persons should marry without acquaintance, and therefore, of course, without love, as it is considered natural and right in France. I am not called upon to pronounce which of these two systems is the best, but only to explain that Alexandrine had been brought up in the former, and was, in consequence, used to much more independence than is allowed to young ladies in France. Her history shows clearly the disadvantages as well as the advantages of this system; but it seems to me that, if the question could be decided by a single example, that of Albert and Alexandrine would turn the scale in favour of a marriage like their own, preceded by a pure and noble love, only rendered deeper and more tender by their union, and transformed by death into a heavenly bond, still more sacred and indissoluble than that of earth. (Vol. i. p. 68.)

Beautiful as is the love-tale before us, we omit all that we have written on it ("*spatiis exclusus iniquis*"), and yet we feel that our readers can but imperfectly appreciate what it is our chief object to develop,—the total change in Alexandrine which a few years wrought out, unless they have read the expressions, not only of her love, but of the ungovernable tempest of her agony when Albert lay in imminent danger at Cività Vecchia. In 1833, and again in 1834 the two families were as one, at Naples and Sorento, and the marriage took place in the latter year, on April 17th. It was followed by what she calls, looking back on them, "a few days of earthly Paradise," at Castellamare, where almost immediately the united families met again. On the tenth day the bridegroom was taken with a spitting of blood. He was sent, in search of health, to Sorento; and this was but the first of a series of changes of residence with the same object, which ended only with his life.

Alexandrine still contrived to persuade herself that she had no serious fear. In looking back on this period, she wrote afterwards to M. de Montalembert:—

. . . Yes, certainly our happiness was very delicious! I could have dreamed of none so great, and it must have struck others more than ourselves who did not know how rare it is upon this earth. His health alone prevented my feeling perfectly happy; but I was always expecting happiness, and with what certainty! . . . I was so sure that he would recover! I think that pitying angels must have drawn a veil before my eyes, for it was not natural with my character and my continual anxieties about him. . . .

But man is made up of inconsistencies, and she had evidently more of fear than she dared to confess to herself. She writes—

As we were lodging near a church, funerals passed pretty often under our windows, and in Italy the body is exposed, and a flower placed between the

lips. I had seen more than one go by without any feeling of dread. But, now that Albert was ill, though I still went to look at every funeral that passed, it was with quite a different feeling—a vague, terrible sensation, which I dared not define to myself, and I remember I felt a superstitious satisfaction when the body borne by was that of a woman, an old man, or a child. I was afraid of seeing a young man carried by.

But they were not to stay long there. Patients are sent from one Italian town to another as they are sent from England to Italy. Alas!—*Scandit æratas naves*—go where he would, the fatal malady was slowly, but too surely, consuming the vitals of Albert. The winter of 1834-5 he spent at Pisa. It was marked by the unexpected pleasure of a two months' visit from the Count of Montalembert, the dearest and most intimate friend of Albert, and from this time of Alexandrine, by whom, a little to his surprise, he was at once received as a brother. From this time he appears in her journals and letters as "Montal."

Journal, Dec. 26th.—I have told Eugénie of Albert's communion. One thing I did not mention—perhaps I did not like to mention—it is that that Communion plunged me into tears. I was myself taken by surprise at the grief I felt in seeing him on his knees before the Altar. Was this grief caused by my not being united to him at such a moment? Was it a presentiment of the truth, to which I would not yet surrender my will? I believe both feelings entered into it.

Mrs. Craven remarks that this last sentence, like many other things, was, of course, added to the Pisa journal when it was copied into the "narrative" after Albert's death. When she was at Pisa in 1841, five years after her widowhood, she added—

A few days ago, in the same chapel I myself had the same happiness that Albert had that day; more closely united to him than on the first occasion, though he was now no more. I did not again shed tears as I had then; the feeling with which my heart was filled was one of thankfulness to God, who had permitted me to communicate there, in that same spot.

She writes to Eugénie—

Besides my study of Dante, Montalembert is reading us legends; just now some delicious ones about S. Francis of Assisi, a Saint of singular sweetness, who addressed all creatures as brothers and sisters. He said *fratre lupo*. With this wolf he had a long talk. He called the turtle-doves "my sisters." Montal is also writing the life of S. Elizabeth, a German queen. He has travelled much in Germany for her sake. How he loves this Saint Elizabeth. He has collected the smallest, the most minute details on this subject. He told us the history of a knight who always wore the colours of a sainted lady, who had appeared to him in a vision. So pretty. There is more of the

story, but I have no room to tell it in a letter. Tell me what you think of the life we are leading. For my part, I like it much. Besides all this, we subscribe to the circulating library at Leghorn, and our tables are covered with reviews, newspapers (those for Montal), Walter Scott's novels for Albert, and other books of all kinds for him and me. Albert is beginning German, but he does not throw into it your laudable enthusiasm. I am sure you will soon know it.

Tuesday, January 13th, 1835.—We went to the *cascine*, and then we went all together to order a bonnet for me, and very merry we were over it. At dinner Albert suddenly resolved to go to a ball given that night, but which we had all three refused. I resisted, fearing it would hurt him; but he insisted, and ended by saying, "I will." He went and told my maid to prepare my things, and by degrees I suffered him to persuade me to make myself look as well as possible. I was full two hours about it. To complete the fun, we obliged Montal to go with us. We had to beg very hard, for he had nothing to go in. Albert lent him almost everything. Then we were obliged to get him a shoemaker, and a barber to cut his hair. All this made us very merry; but what made us laugh more than all the rest was that, as we had no man servant just then, we made the shoemaker's boy walk behind us to the ball.

This playful introduction of no less a man than Montalembert is highly amusing to French readers and critics. Albert wrote next day—

My little Alex was charming in her handsome blue dress and her diamonds.

Alexandrine to Eugénie:—

He is gone, our dear Montalembert; we could make him stay no longer. We sat up with him till half-past two; and then he started. He shed tears on leaving us; so much does he regret the loving family life, as he called it, that we live, and to which he had got so much accustomed with us. He is our friend for life; which is very pleasant. Tell Pauline I have received her letter, and will answer it. But we are still without a servant; and now that we have not even Montalembert for a multitude of small services which he did for us with so much kindness and good humour (such as going out to post our letters, to buy us chesnuts, &c. &c.), we are in difficulties. Our little maid does not like to go to the post at night; and besides, I am afraid she will make blunders between the letters she is to prepay and those she is not; so that this dearth of servants even prevents my writing.

At Pisa Alexandrine heard with astonishment of a young English lady who had become a Catholic, and said that she seemed to be in Paradise. "I was so earthly," she writes, "that I thought it must require a great deal of imagination to be able thus to place one's happiness in things invisible. I could not understand it, and was equally astonished when Albert said to me, 'Oh, if you knew the happiness of receiving

absolution.' But he spoke with such a look that it is still graven on my very soul." A few days later she went with Albert to the Franciscan House at Santa Croce. While waiting for him, a lay brother, Fra Clementino, brought her a cup of coffee, which she swallowed with "a mixture of gratitude and disgust." Meanwhile the good brother exhorted her to become a Catholic, promising if she did, to give her a chaplet of beads from Jerusalem. "Five years later," writes Alexandrine, "I walked alone and in widow's mourning to the same convent. As I came up to it, I met a brother with a wallet on his back. I asked if Father Luigi (Albert's confessor) was in the house; he was absent. Then I asked if Fra Clementino was there? It was himself. He remembered me, and said he had as much joy in seeing me as if he had seen his mother rise from the dead. He hastened to look for the Jerusalem chaplet, and gave it me, as he had promised. He too had wept for Albert; and when he spoke of him to me, he wept anew for pity and tenderness. And yet a sweet joy was the chief feeling of our meeting; for our adorable faith gives consolation for everything, and destroys nothing but sin." Such, as Mrs. Craven remarks, had already been the change in her, who only five years before had been unable to imagine how it was possible to place one's pleasure in things invisible!

The spring of 1835 was advancing, and Albert went with his wife on a visit to her mother, at the magnificent château of her second husband in Southern Russia. He seemed restored by the journey, and they were both once more in a dream of Paradise. But it lasted, as before, only ten delicious days. The spitting of blood returned. She was alone with him when he was seized with so much violence that she expected him to die in her arms, and for some time could not leave him even to call aid. While he was slowly and doubtfully recovering from this dreadful attack, she wrote:—

> I had risen very early; I came out of his room into my own, in a state of silent agony as to my future. I did not dare look it in the face. I looked round me; my beautiful room seemed no longer rose-colour. I sat down at my window, and the hues of the morning no longer smiled on me. Suddenly the idea struck me of opening the Gospel, and looking what was to be my lot. I opened my New Testament, and read, "Honour widows, who are widows indeed." It was as if I had seen a ghost. I almost screamed. Never till then had I distinctly formed in my thoughts that terrible word, *widow*. (Vol. i. p. 304.)

September 1*st*.—They began their long journey by land towards Italy, through Poland and Vienna. There Alex-

andrine, for the last time in her life, put on an evening dress. They established themselves at Venice, where it had been settled (we know not why) that they were to winter. At first Alexandrine writes to her sisters in her old playful style. She has turned into a cook, a sick-nurse, a farm-woman; she has *diselegantized* and *desuaved* herself, and it is alarming how much she finds herself made for such a life. "Nothing is left of the poetical Alexandrine. She is surrounded with stores of oil, potatoes, rice, candles, &c., and knows, I assure you, the cost of it all, down to the price of an egg." But by little and little the cloud gathers darker and darker. Early in her stay at Venice she expresses her panting thirst for rest:—

> If in the grave there is a consciousness of sleeping, and of awaiting the judgment of God, if no great crimes cause you to fear Him, this repose, mingled with vague ideas, but no longer with the perplexing ideas of earth, this sensation of having accomplished your destiny, is perhaps preferable to all that earth can offer; for however delightful it may be, everything here is always full of all sorts of disquiet and shame,—an insupportable mixture. I express myself ill; but the explanation of the language is, that I thirst for rest; and that if age, or even death, give it me, I shall bless them. If what I have said seems to you sad, pay no attention to it. I have a headache, but I am happy in spite of these ideas. (Vol. i. 335.)

On the margin of this passage, opposite to the words "I thirst for rest; and if age or death give it me, I shall bless them," she has added, on going over it seven years later:—"Without waiting for age or death, rest has been given me by Faith."

But the storm comes first. She is slowly losing hope. They have been joined by Albert's favourite brother Fernand. On the night of Sunday, March 6th, she had a sudden alarm, and Fernand ran for the doctor. "I was anxiously watching my Albert, waiting the return of Fernand. He returns. I see his lips quite pale. He spoke to me with an effort, and said we must send for a confessor. 'Have we come to that?' I said, 'have we really come to that?' and then, almost at the same moment, I added:—'Now I am a Catholic.' With these words, self-possession, if not happiness, came back to my soul. I asked, with a sort of impatience, what was the name of this horrible malady?' 'Pulmonary consumption,' replied Fernand. Then I felt all hope leave me. All this was in the next room. We were obliged to return into his. Fernand opened the shutters. I looked out upon the morning; the palaces were gilded as at other times. But I could no longer understand

anything. I watched the light fall upon Albert's face, and felt myself in a sort of stupor, but only internally, for many days past I had practised myself in hiding my fears. And that beloved Albert, gazing upon the new day, but not knowing how momentous it was, said in a sad, sweet manner, 'Oh, would they were all here! I fear I shall never see them again;' and then, 'Oh, France! France! would I might go there, and then lay down my head.'"

The same day Fernand started, on horseback, for France, to bring Albert's parents and sister. Alexandrine waited, fearing that they would not arrive in time. The resolution she had formed never wavered. She wrote to Pauline upon her future. Perhaps she might one day gain courage to become a *sœur grise* in France. It seemed at first as if she was converted by her affections. She neither could nor would believe except as he believed. This is the view which it of course delights the *Revue des deux Mondes* to take. Still she says, "from the moment when I had said *Now I am a Catholic*, never, even for a moment, did the thought so much as cross my mind that it was possible any other religion should be true. March 14th I entered in my journal these words, *Moment of inspiration.* I so marked that day because I was writing to my mother for the first time since Albert's danger, and desired to tell her all. Before beginning my letter, therefore, I knelt down, and asked those of my Catholic ancestors who were in Heaven to help me." And then she wrote a persuasive, affectionate, earnest letter, too long to insert here. The La Ferronnays arrived March 23rd, but letters were still written, for Pauline was at a distance, and Eugénie kept her informed. To this we owe our full accounts of all that passed. "Alexandrine," writes Eugénie, "is so Catholic—she has a thirst for our religion. In her letter to-day to M. de Montalembert is this strong expression, 'I shall be more happy as a widow and a Catholic than as still the wife of Albert, and still a Protestant.' What do you say to these words, Pauline? They seem to me the utmost that it was possible to say." And now the great desire of all was that he might live long enough to return to France. His medical attendant told his father that his being still alive was a miracle, and therefore he could not say that his recovery was impossible, as it needed nothing more than another miracle. We have an account of the journey to France in letters written day by day to Pauline. On May 11th they reached Paris. Almost the first thought was Alexandrine's reception into the Church. As soon as the ceremony was over, she writes:—

I threw myself into the arms of my Albert, and then embraced in turn each of our beloved family. The Abbé Martin then came up to me, and said, "Madame, you have now brethren through the whole world;" and I felt myself as it were in a new life—happy! happy! How greatly I was astonished, and how much I feared that I had been by the side of my Albert, too joyous and too gay all the rest of the day.

She had determined to have for her confessor the Abbé Gerbet (who died two years ago Bishop of Perpignan), whom she had never seen, but had read, at Venice, an article by him. For her first communion it was settled that Albert should go to church with her. Afterwards Eugénie writes:—

The Archbishop has given permission that mass should be said at midnight on Sunday in Albert's room; that he may communicate at it fasting. Otherwise, in order to communicate at the same mass at which Alexandrine is to make her first communion, he must have received by way of viaticum (as he cannot remain fasting till morning) which would have been too mournful for such an occasion. But can you imagine such a mixture of the sweet, the solemn, and the mournful? At midnight, in his room, an altar dressed up, flowers, lights; Alexandrine, her first communion; Albert, perhaps his last.

On Saturday evening Alexandrine entered in her journal some thoughts of triumphant thanksgiving that "love is stronger than death."

In bidding Albert farewell to go to my confession, I asked of him pardon for all I had done against him. With how much tenderness and humility did he answer me.

Towards evening the doctor came. I was putting on my dress for my first communion. I charged Eugénie to follow him on the staircase, and ask whether Albert's state was such that he might die that very night. He replied that it was. But I no longer felt anything in the usual way. I felt myself exalted—as if beyond this world. Eugénie the same. I therefore dressed myself wholly in white muslin; and on my head, what veil?—my wedding veil!

Another (i. e. the Abbé Gerbet) has described that evening, that night; but what follows he has not said.

Albert was in bed; he had been unable to sit up. I knelt close to him. I took his hand, and thus did the Abbé Gerbet's mass begin. I knew not where I was, or what was happening to me, when, as the mass proceeded, Albert made me quit his hand, that hand which I regarded as so sacred, that in the holiest moment of my life I did not think myself wanting to God in holding it. Albert made me quit it, saying, "Go, go. Be wholly God's."

The Abbé Gerbet addressed some words to me before giving me communion, then he gave it to Albert. Afterwards I again took his beloved hand. I expected to see him die that very night.

Mrs. Craven adds :—

It was not so. God permitted that some days more should be left to Albert to enjoy the last and supreme joy of their union.

Next day Alexandrine wrote in her journal :—

I was at the High Mass at S. Sulpice. It was the Feast of Corpus Christi. Everything there was charming. The hymns, the thuribles, the flowers scattered. Eugénie told me to look about me. But I kept my head down, I felt again that lively contrition and sorrow for my sins which I had yesterday evening. In the same church, before my abjuration, I have often heartily made this prayer, "Oh, for one moment of faith, of hope, and of love, and then to die there." For then I had not yet the faith, but had the will to have it. (Vol. i. p. 407.)

Sunday, June 26th.—During the last mass, if ever I looked towards him, he made me a sign to look at the altar. The window was open, but the night was dark. At the communion, M. Martin de Noirlieu, who said this mass, came towards Albert (accompanied by his father, who acted as server). He placed upon his lips one half of the sacred Host, and gave the other to me myself. I felt the sweetness of this, which I remarked even at that solemn moment. The Abbé Martin divided the Host, because Albert could not, without suffering, open his mouth. Even thus he had pain in swallowing it. It was necessary to give him some water, and this little incident disturbed him. But the Abbé Gerbet, who was also present, reassured him. Then Albert exclaimed, "My God, Thy will be done !"

Oh, my God ! that was a thanksgiving which must have been acceptable to Thee.

The altar was covered with blue moire and with flowers. It had been arranged by Eugénie. That blue moire was one of the dresses of my *trousseau*, which had never been made up. This was the use to which it was put.

On Monday, 27th, he received extreme unction. The same day Alexandrine wrote to the Abbé Gerbet :—

I should regard it as a great grace from God if you are able to come. However, I am calm. Continue your prayers for me. I no longer pray. I only think upon God, and entreat Him to remember that I asked of Him the Faith instead of happiness.

(*Journal.*) *June 28th.*— This evening I called Albert's attention to the rising moon. It looked terrible, and this was just what I felt at Rome when he was dying at Cività Vecchia.

The window was almost always open towards the beautiful trees of the Luxembourg, and the perfume of honeysuckle, &c., which came in through it was sometimes almost too strong.

Afterwards Montal came and brought me Albert's old letters to him, for which I had asked. It was a dagger into my heart. But I at once set myself to r . the words which rent me by their sweetness !

The Abbé Martin gave him absolution and plenary indulgence for the night. I was on my knees by his bed. After that, I said to him, "Oh, kiss me!" He lifted up his head—so feeble!—put out his lips, and kissed me. Then I asked leave to kiss his eyes. He shut them in token of consent.

Later still. Unable any longer to endure our not pouring out our hearts to each other, and longing to make the most of the last minutes that still remained to me, I said to him, "Oh, Albert, Montal has brought me your letters. They are so ravishing to me!" He stopped me, saying, "Enough, enough; do not agitate me." "Oh, Albert, I adore you!" Such was the cry of my heart, torn by not being able to talk to him. For fear of disquieting him I was compelled to be silent; but my mouth closed upon the last word of love that it had pronounced, and he heard it, as he had always hoped, while dying . . . .

I wished to sit up; but I was no longer myself. Whether from grief or sleep I know not, but my head wandered to such a degree that I thought I was speaking to Fernand in the embrasure of a window, when he was not there. I was afraid I was going out of my mind; and Eugénie forced me to throw myself on my bed. It was always to her more than any one else that I trusted to wake me at the proper time. Already, once or twice, on waking up, I had had a frightful panic, thinking that it was come, that terrible moment at which, at all costs, I desired to be present.

That night (between June 28 and 29) I saw Eugénie by my bedside. A shock came over me. She calmed me. Albert had said, "Where is Alex?" "Do you wish for her?" asked Eugénie. "I should think so," he said. And then he became delirious. I was, myself, again wandering in my mind. I passed twice by Albert's bed, and went into the next room, without knowing what I was doing.

Eugénie drew near, holding pressed against her breast a crucifix indulgenced for the hour of death, lent her by the Abbé Dupanloup. Her appearance was like that of a sweet angel of death, for that crucifix was the sign that the last moments had come. Albert perceived it, seized it himself, and kissed it with transport, exclaiming, "Thanks, my God." Then he became calm.

He was moved and placed with his face opposite the rising sun. He had fallen asleep with his beloved head resting upon my left arm. I was standing. I was afraid I should slip. The sister insisted upon taking my place; but Eugénie stopped her, and told her that it was all right; and that I was happy as I was. He awoke, and had recovered his natural voice, and talked to Fernand in a very natural manner.

At six o'clock I saw, I understood, that the moment was come. I felt such strength come over me that nothing could have torn me from my place by his side. My sister Eugénie came close to me. (He had been placed in an arm-chair close to the open window.) His father was kneeling on the other side; his poor mother standing bending over his head; the Abbé Martin at her side.

Oh, my God; no words were spoken except those of his father,—words full of blessing, sublime accompaniment to the agony of a son. "Thou who hast never given me a sorrow—best of children—blessings on thee. Thou

art gazing upon thine Alexandrine" (his eyes, already fixed, were turned upon me). "Thou blessest her also."

The sister said the Litany of the dying.

And I, his wife! I felt what I could never have imagined; I felt that death was happiness! And I said within myself, *Now, O Jesus, Paradise for him.*

The Abbé Martin began the words of the last absolution; and, before they were finished, the soul of Albert took its flight!

Alexandrine's History is finished. At least we have reached the end of the period which she so called. From this day, it was not she who cared to preserve a record of the remaining events of her life. (Vol. i. p. 423.)

The same night she wrote:—

Albert! Albert! tenderly beloved one. Thou art with me no more. Beloved one, brother, husband, confidant! I must live without thee. Oh! God be praised, at least, that I feel thy loss irreparable. Beloved one! now I feel how tenderly I loved thee; I have always loved thee. I feel that to me there has been upon earth only thyself.

Jesus, I have given Thee my happiness: give me Thy faith. (Vol. i. p. 425.)

She continued to write only for some days after Albert's death. Eight days later she wrote:—

My God, put not asunder what Thou Thyself hast joined. Remember, my God, my Father, and forgive my boldness—remember that we have always remembered Thee. Remember that not so much as a line of love has been written between us, in which Thy name has not been spoken and Thy blessing invoked. Remember that we have often prayed to Thee together. Remember that our desire has always been that our love should be eternal!

And now Alexandrine was left alone, a widow and childless; separated by a whole continent from her mother, her brothers, her native land; and in a country which she never saw till she brought to it her one earthly object of love—to die. His dying request and her own change of religion determined her to remain a Frenchwoman; but in France all she had were his sisters, brothers, and parents. In the twelve remaining years of her life she lost her father-in-law, her sisters Eugénie and Olga. Pauline was kept generally at a great distance by her duty to her husband, and the only remaining sister was a child. It was a dreary lot. But Mrs. Craven says, Albert's death—

Divided the life of Alexandrine into two portions—one occupied by incidents the most various, and emotions the most different; the other by God alone, sought and found in the perfect acceptance of the sacrifice—an acceptance which became so entire and so sweet, that of her short and crowded life, it is to this second portion, and not to the first, that the term

happiness can be applied. Happiness, serene and immortal, she found in truth in that abyss in which she seemed to herself to have seen it for ever swallowed up.

But this was not yet. She passed through three different states. In the beginning there was a wonderful courage, which supported her through her agony. At the end, there was a state of love and joy, in which she found a happiness, the existence of which, in this world, she could never have believed: but between these two states was one in which nature claimed its own, and in which her sufferings were indeed terrible. She did not immediately cease to write; she felt it a relief, and we have passages of her journal as beautiful as any, which she wrote leaning against Albert's coffin. Hiding herself in the church of S. Sulpice, she attended his obsequies. July 7th, the family went to Boury, in Normandy, a country-house which was to have been Albert's home, and which it had been his great desire to reach before he died. Thence Eugénie wrote to Pauline:—

Alexandrine is in a state to break one's heart. Her manner is calm and resigned, but no one else sees her as I do. Before me she lets all her misery be seen. She is fearfully changed. Her only wish is to die. The only person able to calm her is the Abbé Gerbet. I wish he could always be with her. Poor beloved one. She never murmurs, never asks of God. "Why this misery!" I hope, therefore, that this extreme grief is not displeasing to God. And therefore, since it is a consolation to her to indulge it, I do not agree with those who would wish to divert it—to divert it as they understand the word, because they cannot resign themselves to see her sad for the rest of her life. For my part, I think that if only her grief remains quite Christian, and not like that of "those who have no hope," she may be allowed a sadness which will, more and more, become her nature. Pauline, her life can never more be other than miserable. (Vol. ii. p. 16.)

Alexandrine's journals speak of her having no pleasure in any view except that of the sky; she wonders whether she will ever again have pleasure from beautiful scenery. She repeatedly mentions her desire to sleep, in the hope of dreaming of him, but says she never does (do people often dream, except in novels, of the thing most in their waking thoughts?) Her thoughts are full of heaven and of God; but it is God through Albert. It is Albert and God—not God and Albert. She writes to Pauline:—

I am frozen and petrified; I have no activity for good. Even in religious objects, I have lost the keen interest I used to feel before his death. He has taken my heart away with him. Towards others,—and I sometimes think even towards my own misery, I feel a barbarous insensibility. I eat, I sleep,

I breathe the air, and, above all, I still listen to music, with a pleasure which tears me, and at the same time charms me. I love to hear the airs he used to listen to, and then nothing so much as music makes me believe in heaven and in happiness to come. Oh! miserable me! We should have been so happy. I have now difficulty in saying to myself, "he is happy." My earthly nature, always so strong, cannot form to itself the idea that the joys of Heaven are worth more than those of earth. For I have recollections of happiness which it seems to me impossible that anything should exceed.

I believe my desire is sincere to follow Albert, it matters not through what places, it matters not through what sufferings, so that only I arrive where he is, and see him happy. Alas! I so much forget God for him, that I know not what God will do with me. Perhaps He will make me live long, to recover that zeal for Him which I once had. Oh! I am sometimes tempted to say that He has wholly abandoned me. He has let me fall heavily from a height from which I saw the heavens, and now I am in a pit, absolutely dark. The first days of his death were so good in comparison. The first evening (he had spoken that morning) the sky, with its stars, and the moon, seemed to me smiling, happy! I felt the happiness of Albert, and I certainly did not suffer more than when he was absent on earth. One of those days at S. Sulpice, the sound of the organ and the sight of the blue sky through the windows, gave me an ecstacy of happiness to come, and made me shed delicious tears. Now—what darkness! Only think, I am not even able to dream of him! God then loves your father more than me. But your father did not love Albert more than I love him. To him, he was not everything as he is to me. Will you send me back all Albert's letters that you have? You must also let me have back my own, that I may read over again the exact picture of our happiness; first, because I am more interested in that than in anything else; and, next, because I am writing our history. (Vol. ii. p. 25.)

Yet she writes in her journal:—

My God, remember that I have always asked to share no other happiness than that which comes from Thee. All happiness which comes from any other than a heavenly source terrifies me . . . . Oh, if I could begin anew our sweet life together, with the knowledge of the day on which it was to end. And yet, miserable that we are, the past may well teach us a lesson; above all, that of not failing towards the living, who may any day be taken from us. We are always falling back into our thoughtlessness, and always wounding others, without remembering that these wounds may easily turn against ourselves with double force, tearing us, perhaps, far more than we have torn them. Jesus, pardon me; Albert, pardon me; and may I be with you both, with one and with the other.

Our space compels us to pass rapidly over the years which followed the death of Albert. The despair of his widow made her the object, not merely of compassion but of anxiety. Eugénie writes:—"Oh! how miserable a life will hers be. She is changed—wasted. That long black dress hanging straight down, her fine figure bent, her attitude so neglected,

her expression of total indifference, which gives her the expression of one who looks for nothing. What misery it is to see her." She lived with his family at Boury. Her life was for some years without event and without change. But nothing could be more beautiful than the manner in which Mrs. Craven exhibits and traces the gradual change wrought in her by Divine grace, and, so far as she was concerned, merely by a simple discharge of very ordinary duties,—the chapel in the house, the charities of the family, and the village. She leaves home rarely, and that only on some call of charity; and there is a delicious letter, written on the second anniversary of her husband's death (from Ischl, in Austria, where she went to be with her mother). She relates in detail how she had been able to soothe the last hours of a young priest, dying, like her own husband, of consumption. At this time she owed very much to the skill of a great master of consolation, the Abbé Gerbet, who spent much time at Boury, and some of whose letters to her are given us. Her husband's body was removed thither from Paris, and laid in a grave in which space was left for her own. Her chief pleasure was to visit and adorn it. Over the double grave she erected a cross, with the inscription, *Quod Deus conjunxit, homo non separet.* On returning to Boury she writes:—

I have been to the burial-ground. It seems as natural to be there as if I had seen it only the day before. I feel so much in my element, that the only thing that surprises me is to leave it, not to come back. Everything here is so familiar, so thoroughly "home." *

But by degrees the reader is made sensible of a change. As Mrs. Craven says, she is not less devoted to the memory of her husband; but whereas it had been "Albert and God," it becomes "God and Albert." For some time, after exerting herself for others, she was liable to what Eugénie calls, "terrific accesses of despair." Gradually this is spoken of as a thing gone by.

In 1839-40 the family revisited Italy, and the now increasing change is marked by what she writes in the scenes of her short earthly happiness. We have already quoted some of the additions made at this time to her old journals. She now says:—

It is with double pleasure that I pray here in these churches at Naples, where I once lived only for human love,—in this Naples, where I once believed that I had all in having Albert,—in this Naples, where I no more find Albert,

* She uses the English term, "*tout est si home.*"

where I shall never see him more, and where I have nothing left but God—nothing but God! As our human vileness so often makes us feel, as if those who have God had not enough.

The window looks upon the garden of the Palazzo Acton, where I was married, and beyond that I see le Vomero. Oh, with what surprise did I look upon all that the morning after my arrival. I love to look upon it all again in this way; and I trust that it is the bounty of God, the sweetness and happiness of my absent angel, and not my own indifference, that makes these recollections so sweet to me . . . .

You ask me how I shall be myself here after Rome. Oh yes, Rome no doubt has quite another atmosphere, exactly that which breathes life into hearts that have suffered, because there, in that Holy City, all speaks of God; while here all speaks of earthly happiness. And so when that is gone, it might be painful to live here, for there is no theatre comparable to this for scenes of earthly love. But alas! how has the scythe of death cut down all that society since our time. (Vol. ii. p. 250.)

But Italy was in her eyes as dear and as beautiful as ever, although its beauty was now less of earth. She writes:—

And now, after so many sorrows, my passion for this land is the same, or rather it is stronger, for now I know why I love it; I know the source from whence this delicious fragrance flows over Italy.

Oh yes, I do love, and I shall ever love, this land, whose people believe in an eternal father-land, in invisible friends to whom they speak in their joys and in their sorrows,—this land, whose every town sees its God really present, and continually exposed to the eyes of a worshipping crowd! I love this land, which has tasted every glory, and has referred them all to God,—this land, whose inhabitants have attained in perfection every kind of beauty, and yet are less subject than others to ambition and to madness. I love this land, whose sons and whose flowers shed a fragrance sweeter than any anywhere else,—this land which gave birth to S. Francis of Assisi, and the other sweet S. Francis, and to so many other saints with hearts of fire,—this land, in which every festival is religious, in which one meets on one's road the habit worn by S. Benedict, S. Dominic, S. Francis, S. Ignatius, and so many others, whose names are written with theirs in the book of life,—this land, in which so many humble and hidden lives, both in the village and in the cloister, are closed by a holy death. Oh! I do love this land, in which the wheat and the vine seem to hasten their growth, that they may serve in the most sacred of mysteries,—this land, so sweet to the soul, so enchanting to the eyes, that it seems hardly possible, even at the point of death, to say, "I am going to see something far better than Italy."

The year 1842 brought many fresh afflictions. The death of M. de la Ferronnays, of her own brother, and of Eugénie; and Olga immediately after followed. But these new trials were not sent till she had been prepared for them:—

Her whole life now seemed translated into a higher region. She still thought continually of Albert, and still loved him as intensely as ever, but in one sense she may be said to have ceased to mourn for him. For it seemed as if there had flashed upon her soul an overwhelming light, the immense reality of the happiness reserved for those who weep.

She one day found Pauline in floods of tears, when Olga was dying under her roof, and said, with an expression of something beyond courage, almost of joy—"Are you weeping because our Olga is going to Heaven? Would you really call her back, now that she is so nearly out of this world? Tell me, then, what happiness can you assure to her on earth?"

She was at this time permitted by her Director, Father Ravignan (the Abbé Gerbet had for several years been absent from France), to try whether she had a religious vocation. She herself spoke of this as "her best cross." The result confirmed his opinion that she had not. "For months before," Pauline writes, "her mind had been in an agony between unwillingness and doubt whether she was not called by God." This doubt was now set at rest. "She came back joyfully, for the restlessness she had felt for some time was now entirely calmed;" and she wrote, "I am returning to our most beloved mother, to resume, or rather to learn the sweet character of Ruth."

This was the last perturbation of mind she was ever to know; for the time had now come when the poor pilgrim, whose passage through the valley of the shadow of death had been so dark and terrible, and who so long had climbed with weary feet the Hill of Difficulty, had gained, by imperceptible degrees, the "Delectable Mountains," from which were continually before her eyes the "Heavenly City" and the "Shining Ones" who walk in its light. The words of the poet do but soberly express the literal truth of the recompense with which she was already repaid.

> "Thy reward is now divine,
> A foretaste of eternal pleasure."

Henceforth her life was marked by two characteristics,—the love of poverty and of the poor; and an uninterrnitting, overflowing, never-failing joy. This joy, as she herself declared, was far beyond anything that she could have conceived possible on earth; and thus was fulfilled to the letter the promise of Him to whom in the earliest dawn of life she had offered her whole earthly happiness, and by whom the offering had been accepted; when He said that whatever was given up for

Him should be repaid an hundred-fold "now in this time." As to her love of the poor, to them Mrs. Craven says, she "gave everything she had in this world,—her thoughts, her time, her money, her health, and at last her life." She spent much of her time in Paris, as the guest of Madame de Mun, the mother-in-law of Eugénie, who had been grievously afflicted, just before the marriage, by the death of her only daughter. and had found another daughter, only to lose her after three short years. Here, again, Alexandrine took the part of a comforter, and at the same time had greater opportunities of labouring among the poor. There was one family which she loved to visit; chiefly, she said, that she might "learn from them a lesson of content—learn never more to complain. The husband was a painter, maimed for life by a fall from a scaffold. By his side lay his wife, dying of consumption, and their only child, ten or twelve years of age, was unable to help them, being not only sick, but an idiot." She was "on the landing-place coming out from this miserable dwelling, when her ears were suddenly filled with the strains of music. It was only a regimental band passing in the street; but the music harmonized with her interior happiness, and she was seized with such joy, that she told me," says Pauline, "she had never felt anything like it in the happiest days of her life."

Her once elegant apartment had before this been stripped of everything like ornament, the value of which had gone to the poor, and it was a bare-looking room about which Pauline one day watched her hastening "with activity, and a face radiant with smiles."

Both our minds (she says) were struck at the same moment with the recollection of those terrible days when her grief was so black; and she referred to it in words which cannot but excite wonder in any one who knew what, to the very last, was the unalterable depth of her love. "Oh, yes, it is true; those were indeed cruel and terrible days; but now, by the grace of God, I weep for my Albert gaily"!

In the summer of 1845 she spent a few weeks with Pauline, whose husband was then stationed at Baden. Short as was her stay, her time was occupied by the poor, and her room stripped as bare as possible. Her only reading now was in books in which God held the chief, not to say the only, place; except now and then a little of the poetry which she had read or translated with Albert. As to merely literary works, novels, memoirs, histories, which were the subject of conversation around her, and in which she had formerly delighted,

her pleasure in them was gone. She no longer cared to listen to them. Her taste for the ornaments of the intellect had vanished with her taste for all the ornaments and amusements of the world. Music was the only exception.

A beautiful summer evening was closing in, and they were standing together on a balcony before the Hôtel d'Angleterre. It looked down upon a busy crowded scene of gaiety and amusement. A band was performing a waltz, and performing it admirably; and the whole was thronged with groups enjoying the pleasure of delicious weather in the open air, of society, mirth, and music.

"A few years before Alexandrine would have shunned such a sight, from fear of the regret which the contrast of her own lot might produce, and also because (from distrust of herself) she was afraid of being drawn into any worldly pleasures." Pauline could not help remembering how she had expressed this in a letter to Eugénie when she was in England enjoying the pleasures of society.

Thank you (she said) for thinking of us [Albert and herself] in the midst of the music and flowers with which you were surrounded. What pain they would have given me. You see, it is to spare myself that I shun the gaieties which would remind me of the pleasures of that life of love which for me is gone by for ever.

Remembering expressions like this, Pauline now asked her what effect was produced upon her mind by looking on from a distance upon this scene of mirth and pleasure, which vividly recalled to herself days long gone by.

She replied with a smile, that she now never thought of those days; and then went on gazing, now at the promenade, now at the starry sky, with an expression which she sometimes wore, and which made her beautiful indeed. While I write I can see her as she then looked; for that moment was one of those difficult to describe, but impossible to forget. For a moment she remained gazing thus, and then drawing from her pocket a little book in which she was accustomed to copy passages which struck her, "Look here," she said, "this alone is truly beautiful, interesting, and important;" and then she read me these words in Latin (I think from S. Augustine) *O amare! O ire! O sibi perire! O ad Deum pervenire!* I shall never forget the tone of voice with which she read these words, nor the hour, the place, the day when I heard them. O how impossible it is to communicate the impression to others. . . . . .

In the days of sorrow which we had lately passed through together, Alexandrine never had a single access of grief such as she had formerly found it so difficult to master. Consolation she needed from no one. She was herself the tranquil consoler of others; so that, as M. de Montalembert well

expressed it, "she had now mounted above the reach of grief." How often in those times has a word from her restored courage to me,—a word often spoken with tears, but a word of calming serenity and contagious strength.

We must venture to conclude with one or two rather long extracts, because nothing else will give an idea either of the state to which Alexandrine had now arrived, or of Mrs. Craven's extraordinary powers of observation and description. The first describes Alexandrine's life in Paris in the winter of 1847. She had then resumed all her occupations

With an ardour beyond her strength, and a liberality beyond her means. She was daily curtailing more and more the small portion of her income, which, after a rigorous calculation, she had reserved to herself, and before long she came hardly to possess necessaries. I one day chanced to open her wardrobe, and was literally alarmed at its emptiness. At such discoveries she would smile, and would make excuses in answer to any questions or expostulations; but she went on in the same way depriving herself of everything, and daily managed to do with something less than on the day before. Her remaining jewels, I need hardly say, had long ago been given away or sold; but as soon as she lighted upon anything belonging to her which was of the least value, she hastened to get rid of it, to swell the treasury of the poor. One day she took a small gold and enamel case from a beautiful miniature of the Princess Lapoukhin at the age of twenty, and when its disappearance was noticed, explained, with some confusion, that this ornament (the last of any value which she had retained) added no value in her eyes to the charming portrait of her mother. At last, at the time of which I am now speaking, it may be said that she no longer possessed anything. Her whole wardrobe consisted of two black gowns, and some linen, barely enough; so that she really was as near absolute poverty as was possible in her state of life.

It was generally on foot that she made the long expeditions from which she returned about dinner-time, often wet through with rain, and covered with mud. One day she was in a distant quarter of Paris, in a House of Sisters of Charity, in which (as in every other) she had friends, when one of the sisters, after inspecting her from head to foot, said that she had a most urgent request to make of her on behalf of a poor woman who was in pressing want of a pair of shoes. Alexandrine instantly opened her purse and gave the necessary money. The sister disappeared, but returned in a quarter of an hour with a smiling countenance, bringing a pair of shoes, of which the charitable Alexandrine had, that day, very pressing need, and which the sister compelled her to put on on the spot.

From these long expeditions she would return, then change her morning for her evening dress, and immediately go to the *salon* of Madame de Mun, where was my mother, who had often spent the morning in the same way.

Before long I came in my turn, for that winter I often took my place in the circle already so many times narrowed, and so soon to be totally broken

up. Let me pause for a moment and once more look at that *salon* and those whom it contained. That long table, by which Madame de Mun and my mother were working, while Eugénie's children were playing by them, and that other place, just by the lamp, occupied every evening by Alexandrine. I see her now, with her head stooping over her work, her brown hair parted in two thick tresses, a head-dress which suited her better than any other, but with which no one will suspect that vanity had anything to do.

There then she sat, next to the lamp, often really beautiful in her simple black dress, always calm, smiling, and animated, whenever the conversation turned upon those dear and great interests which filled her whole soul and life; inattentive and silent when it was otherwise. On these last occasions she often drew from her pocket the little book in which were written so many beautiful things, and while the conversation went on, she would read some of them or write in others. The *habitués* of that salon still remember to have often seen her thus employed, but none of them who chanced to relate anything which interested her soul or confirmed her faith will ever forget the beaming expression with which she would thank them.

In the summer of 1847 Mrs. Craven paid her last visit to Boury. She says:—

13th July, 1847, the day before I left Boury, we went, according to our custom, to the burial-place to pray upon our two dear graves; she on the stone which covers both that of Albert and the place which, twelve years before, had been prepared for herself; I kneeling close to the grave of Olga. The evening was very beautiful and very hot. On leaving the burial-ground, we walked slowly by the longest way. What we were speaking of at the beginning of this walk, I do not remember. As we were leaving a corn-field, and reached the road which led to the château, I turned round, and, looking at the sky in the direction of the sun, which was setting in so brilliant a light that it clothed with beauty that gloomy landscape, I said, "I like the setting sun." "I do not," said Alexandrine; "since my sorrows (a very rare expression in her mouth, and which on that account I remember) "since my sorrows, the setting sun seems sad; it brings night, and I do not like night; I like the morning, I like the spring; they bring before me the reality of eternal life. Night represents to me darkness and sin; evening makes me feel that everything has an end; and all this is sad; but morning and spring remind me that everything wakes up, and is born anew. That is what I like." I am not sure of each word, but I am perfectly sure that that was the exact sense of what she said: and I can still see her looking at that evening glow, which made such a different impression upon us.

Thus we went on our way; and when we had passed the gate, she said, carrying on what we were saying, "Only think; everything which pleases us so much on earth is absolutely nothing but a shadow; and the reality of it all is in Heaven. Love, love; after all, is it not the sweetest thing on earth? Is it not easy to imagine, that to love Love itself must be the perfection of this sweetness; and to love Jesus Christ is nothing else; if

only we learn to love Him in the same way that we love upon earth. I should never have been comforted, if I had not felt that this kind of love can be felt for God, and that it endures for ever." In answer I said several things not necessary to relate, and we came to the bench not far from the château.

Several persons were on the lawn. We stopped and sat down, still continuing our conversation. After a few minutes she rose, and went to gather some jessamine which was growing on the wall. She gave it to me, keeping a little sprig in her own hand, and stood before me, going on with what she had been saying. I had said to her, "You are very happy to have so much love to God." She answered me (and her words, her expression, her attitude, will ever remain engraven upon my soul), "Oh, Pauline, how can I help loving God! How can I help feeling transported when I think of Him? How can I take to myself any merit, even that of faith, when I think of the miracle He has worked in my soul, when I feel that after having so ardently loved, and longed after earthly happiness, after having possessed it, lost it, and been in the depths of despair, my soul is now so transformed and so filled with happiness, that all that I have known or imagined is nothing, absolutely nothing, in comparison!" . . . Surprised to hear her speak thus, I said to her, "If the life with Albert of which you used to dream were placed within your reach and assured to you for many years?" She replied, without hesitation, "I would not accept it."

This was our last conversation in this world. It is thus, standing before that bench, with her animated expression, her eyes turned towards Heaven, that little jessamine flower in her hand, that she comes before me, when I try to picture her to myself, as she was when I saw her last on earth. Next morning I left Boury. I have often since returned to pray in the burial-ground; but never from that day have I entered the château.

No wonder Mrs. Craven's life is rather in the past and the future than the present.

Early in Nov. 1847, Alexandrine engaged a lodging in Paris, at the convent of S. Thomas of Villa-nova, that she might carry on her usual employments at the season when her mother-in-law was absent. She had occupied it only for a very few weeks, when she was called to take possession of her Eternal Mansion not made with hands. She made a retreat, from which she returned to devote her whole time to God and the poor, undisturbed by any calls of family or of society.

At all hours, and in all weathers, she was abroad; often coming in, benumbed with cold, to a room in which she would not allow a fire to be lighted in her absence. She contented herself, too, with food very different from that to which she was accustomed. Who can say to what degree she thus diminished her strength? Who can say whether she was not already struggling against sickness while she thought she was only resisting fatigue? One morning, when she was, as usual, at Mass in the convent church, a lady who heard her cough and saw her kneeling, so pale, so

poorly clad, and looking so weak, pitied her, and went to one of the sisters of the convent to say that there was a "poor lady in the church evidently too poor to buy necessaries, and to whom she should like to give some milk if she was in need of it, and unable to pay for it."

The charitable lady was astounded when told that the poor woman was Madame Albert de la Ferronnays, but Alexandrine herself laughed heartily at the mistake, without however treating herself less severely than before. For some weeks more she continued to live the same life, and to wear out her remaining strength. Thus she arrived at the first days of 1848—1848, a year in so many ways, and to so many persons, memorable and fatal, and which has in my past life none to compare with it except 1842.

In the first days of January she was suffering from fever. On the Epiphany, though very unwell, she insisted on going into the church for confession and communion, but was afterwards so ill that she went to bed and asked for and obtained extreme unction. Madame de la Ferronnays came to her the same day, and wrote continually to Pauline. Till the evening of the 8th there was no great change; then, after a suffering day, she seemed better. Madame de la Ferronnays and a friend, who were with her, went to bed. At three in the morning they were called.

Sister Mary came in; looked at her, and told me that she thought the moment very near. What a sudden seizure, prepared as she was. Alexandrine saw us, and said: "Do you think I am worse?" The sister said, "Yes." A minute afterwards she replied, "But what makes you think that I am going to die?—I do not feel worse than usual." The sister replied that she was weaker. I pressed her hand, unable to speak. She was quite calm. She spoke with difficulty, but pronounced very well all that she wished to say. For a moment she thought that what was given to moisten her mouth would strengthen and restore her to life; and seemed terrified at the thought of it. We had to reassure her, telling her not to fear, for nothing could bring her back to life; in a few minutes she would see God. We only wished to give her a little refreshment. . . . She answered with a clear and firm voice to the prayers for the dying, and to all the short prayers and ejaculations which were suggested to her. For one moment she had a painful agony, and something of delirium. She fancied she had not received the sacraments; and asked why no prayers were said by her. She seemed uneasy that there was no priest by her. It was painful, but short; a kind of last trial. Sister Mary told her she had nothing to fear; that God was near her, and that she must put all her trust in Jesus Christ. She immediately became calm, and said: "How much good you have done me; I am at peace again!" At that moment two priests came in with Father de Montezon, who gave her the last blessing and Plenary Indulgence; and continued saying prayers by her, in which she joined, and made the answers, repeating the names of Jesus, Mary, and Joseph, when they were pronounced. When she

was believed to be unconscious, she put out her lips to kiss the crucifix. At half-past eight she ceased to breathe. Dear angel; she was united for ever to her Albert and to all our dear Saints, and we will not weep except for ourselves.

In the memoir of F. Ravignan we are told that Alexandrine had offered her own life for his recovery from a sickness pronounced to be hopeless. Mrs. Craven only says: "It is well known that he was absent, and his life almost despaired of; and also that he was restored to life as soon as she left the world." It was a fit ending of a life so full of wonderful interpositions of the Providence and grace of God, and so wholly devoted to Him.

From her deathbed she dictated a letter to Pauline:—

We shall not be parted, and I shall very soon be where the marvellous unity which binds us together in God is understood. I hope that I shall be able to see you; but pray much for me when I am in Purgatory. What purity must there be to enter Heaven! And yet, by the infinite grace of God, I have a sweet confidence in the excess of His mercies. I shall love you more there, where all is love; and we shall talk together, the other beloved ones and I. But oh! I cannot speak of what it will be to see God, and the Holy Virgin, all the Angels, all the Saints; and to be freed from all the pains so various and so terrible of this life of sin. Embrace Augustus, whom I unite with you in my heart.

And then one to her mother:—

I am no better; but I hope nothing will shake your confidence in God, which I know to be firm, and which will lead you into truth and love. We shall meet again. We shall never be separated. But that this may be so, you must in all sincerity give up your dear will to God, to follow the light, which is but one. And to aid you in entering upon this happy path (of which at this moment I appreciate the happiness infinitely more than ever), I implore you, as I have often done before, to pray every day to the Holy Virgin, the Mother of Mercy, to guide you. You know how very dearly I love and venerate you, and how much my sufferings would be increased by what you suffer at this moment; if there were not the arms of God in which to leave everything. *Au revoir!* I feel a sweet assurance of it, and then with no more suffering; and, above all, with the infinite happiness of never more offending God. I unite the good Prince in all my warmest feelings towards you.

At the close of this letter to her mother she would add with her dying hand, in German, the three words which follow:—

"Liebe süsse Mama! (Dear sweet mother)."

This was the last act of her life; her last thought of earth.

Imperfect at best must be our estimate of a work of God's

grace, such as we have been contemplating; but, in order to form any idea of it, we must go back in thought to the commencement of the life of Alexandrine d'Alopeus, and consider how everything seemed to mark her out as one whom the world was to claim for its own. The victory remained with Him whose love drew her through all obstacles to Himself, and who has bid us have confidence, "because He hath overcome the world."

We have confined ourselves to the history of Alexandrine, both as being the real subject of these volumes, and as being, in itself, a single and important whole; but Mrs. Craven, writing more in the form of annals, has given us, alongside of this, two other narratives, neither of which is, in our judgment, inferior to it in beauty, or in the purity, sweetness, and life of the character described; those of her sisters, Eugénie and Olga. We heartily wish our space would allow us to give at length these delightful pictures. But, in truth, if we were to translate all that is specially beautiful in the volumes before us, we should translate the whole. Of Eugénie, as she appears in the first volume only, the *Revue des deux Mondes* says:—"Mrs. Craven, we believe, will excuse a preference which she has not herself been able to help avowing; and will not be surprised if we say that the pages (all too few) which bear the name of Mdlle. Eugénie de la Ferronnays stand out prominent beyond the rest of the work with a brilliancy all their own. They reveal to us one of the rarest of spirits—a spirit threefold noble—both with the nobility of the world, and of nature, and of God. A thorough maiden of high condition is Mdlle. Eugénie de la Ferronnays, *a gentlewoman,* as they say in Mrs. Craven's second country; thoroughly Christian, and at the same time thoroughly French. Sentiments, the real grandeur of which is veiled by the lightness with which they are worn by the heart in which they spring up—a radiant piety which illumines the whole soul, and leaves no corner dark—a longing for perfection, not springing from disgust at our innate imperfection, and having nothing to do with the experience of evil, but darting upwards toward God with a simple gladness like the song of the lark, soaring towards the Heaven; a joyous love of death all sparkling and all melodious, which knows neither the gloom of melancholy nor the discord of sighs: a love of God so intimate and so familiar that it ventures even upon the loving playfulness of a daughter with a father; a liveliness in religious submission which is only found in the Catholic Church, and even there rarely to the same degree."

This is no more than a just appreciation of the singularly beautiful character which, as the *Revue* says, only comes in, in an episode to the first volume, but which is more fully developed in the second. Its distinguishing characteristic was the "joyous love of death" which the reviewer describes. Mrs. Craven says that in the spring of her youth, in earth's brightest corner, at Castellamare, when the united families of young people were daily meeting, in every kind of pleasure, and in none upon which they could not ask the blessing of God, Eugénie, who enjoyed the whole with the freshest and most sparkling gaiety, would often say to her, "Oh, my dearest, how lovely is life; and what then *will* Heaven be? Death is far better than all this." We must not allow ourselves to trace her like a beautiful vision down to Albert's death, her offering of her own life for his recovery, and her ardent desire that the offering might be accepted.

After Albert's death we find her wholly devoted to Alexandrine. She had always had for Mrs. Craven an intense love and admiration, which the object of it apologizes for disclosing, on the plea that such love reflects honour rather on the person who loves than upon the person who is loved. It is impossible to imagine anything more touchingly beautiful than her letter on the evening of Pauline's marriage. That same marriage was a happy event, not only for the persons concerned, but for the world; as without it the materials of these volumes could hardly have existed; and among them there are hardly any more beautiful than Eugénie's constant letters. She thus describes her life at Boury in 1837:—

> You want to know what I am doing. I really hardly know. What I am certain of is that I am not dull. I read, write, and sing; sometimes I have a sore throat, and sometimes a headache. I have a class of little girls, to whom I teach the catechism. I walk, I visit sick people in the village. Very often I am so merry that I can hardly speak without singing, and my voice may be heard all day long; often, too, I am sad, and think my life interminably long; because there is nothing here but sighing and complaining. My most distinct feeling is a peace and a calm, for which I daily thank God.

She expressed the strongest hope that she might always be permitted to remain with Alexandrine. In March, 1838, however, she was married to M. Adrien de Mun, and she is the more careful afterwards to express how entire is her happiness in married life, as she has before expressed so strong a wish to remain at home. Four years later she died, leaving two sons; but it is remarkable that before it pleased God to call her away, she had lost her desire of death, and only sub-

mitted to His will: as if that were the frame of mind in which it is His pleasure that death should be met, even by His most favoured servants.

Olga died much younger, in Mr. Craven's house at Brussels, Feb. 10, 1843. From her journal the narrative for three years is chiefly compiled. She seems not to have been in gifts or graces behind any of her family.

Mrs. Craven's volume ends with the death of her mother, in her own house at Baden, Nov. 18, 1848, the year of Alexandrine's departure.

Her two brothers have been called away since these volumes were published. Fernand died in 1867, alone of the family without the last sacraments. He was on a visit to the Duke of Chambord, the head of the family to which his own has always been so faithful; and was, with him, taking a drive. The Duke spoke to him, and received no answer. He looked more closely, and found that his friend had died in silence by his side. Faithful even to death. R. I. P.

Mrs. Craven ends her book by requesting the prayers of her readers that she may have the grace to be faithful to all required of her by the things she has related; and that the memorial of those who so much loved God may kindle His love in the hearts of others.

Note.—Since this article was written, Mr. Bentley has published an English translation of the *Recit d'une Sœur*, by Miss Bowles, which, we believe, is faithfully and skilfully executed. Much of the delicate grace of style, and even of the peculiar tone of thought, necessarily evaporates in the translation of such a book; but so far as a very cursory examination enables us to judge, Miss Bowles has discharged her task carefully and conscientiously.

Art. III.—THE IRISH DISESTABLISHMENT.

Debates in the House of Commons on Irish Disestablishment and Disendowment.

Pleas for Secularization. By Aubrey de Vere. London: Longmans.

Ireland and its Churches. By James Godkin. London: Longmans.

The Church Establishment. Freeman's Journal Commission. Dublin: James Duffy.

IT was said by a Protestant, Sydney Smith, that no such intolerable abuse as the Irish Establishment exists in Europe, Asia, or the discovered parts of Africa. There is no need of being a Catholic to see its monstrous injustice, and no Catholic would dream of advocating such an institution if the cases were reversed. Let us indeed only suppose for one moment that the cases *were* reversed; and let us imagine the judgment which a Protestant would pronounce. A Catholic ruler comes into possession of some country, the vast majority of whose inhabitants have been Protestants ever since Protestantism began. Zealous men of earlier time have built temples for Protestant worship and given endowments for the promotion of that worship. The ruler lays hold of these temples and endowments; he compels the great Protestant majority, who are poor, to build fresh chapels and support ministers from their own substance; while he appropriates to the benefit of his own religion all that has been bequeathed by Protestants for Protestant purposes. The few Catholics, who possess nine-tenths of the property, are spared the expense of supporting their own religion, their priests being maintained in affluence on Protestant plunder. What would be the judgment formed by Protestants concerning such a ruler as this? And yet at last he considers himself infallibly certain that his Faith is the one pure religion which came from God,* and that every human being would be the better and happier for its acceptance. Moreover, he accounts Catholic bishops and priests to be placed by God in spiritual supremacy over *him* no less than over his subjects; and is forward in paying to those bishops and priests that very homage, which he desires for them from his people. What then will a candid Protestant say of the case before us? The sect, in whose behalf England has committed this shameful injustice, neither possesses unity nor

* Of course he *is* infallibly certain of this; but even Protestants admit that he *considers* himself thus certain.

claims authority. Englishmen, acting through Crown and Parliament, invented its religious tenets, devised its discipline, and then forced it down the throat of Ireland their reluctant dependency.

But if this be a candid Protestant's view, what will be a Catholic's? God has founded His Church as the one ark of Truth, the one way of salvation. Pious Irishmen of successive generations have contributed, from their wealth, to *assist* her in the great work imposed on her by her Founder, in the great work of rescuing souls from Satan and training them for God. Their English masters begin by themselves apostatizing from that one Church; and then proceed to make use of Irish Church property, for purposes which its donors would have regarded with unutterable loathing and detestation. The endowments, which had been bequeathed for the salvation of souls, were at the Reformation not merely confiscated, but devoted to the purpose of promoting damnation on a large scale. Irishmen had to stand by helpless, while the Immaculate Bride of the Lamb was thus shamelessly insulted before their eyes.

Then further let it be remembered even by Protestants, that the real extent of insolence, involved in such tyranny, should be measured by the effect which it legitimately produces on the mind, not of a Protestant Englishman, but of Catholic Irishman. Looking at the thing politically, Englishmen treat Ireland as they would not dream of treating Malta, Canada, or India; and it is absurd to suppose that, while this exceptional despotism remains unredressed, Irishmen can be attached members of the British Empire. Looking at the thing religiously, our holy religion is treated in Ireland as the very Hindoo idolatry is not treated in India. The Irish Establishment, while it lasts, practically proclaims, that the Catholic Faith is considered a more desperate and irreconcileable enemy to the English nation than any other creed, Christian or Pagan, over the face of the earth. No Catholic can account himself admitted within the pale of the Constitution until this ignominy has been wiped out.*

There is but one theory, which can afford the least palliation for what England has done. There are still some English, and more Irish, Protestants, who regard the Catholic Church as the predicted synagogue of Antichrist, the abode every unclean abomination; who sincerely think that all

* When we say that no Irish abuse is nearly such an insult, nor in itself nearly such a grievance as the Establishment, we do not necessarily deny that, under *present circumstances*, there may possibly be one or two others which, for the moment, are even *more* practically disastrous.

religion and morality perish under her poisonous breath. These men, if honest and consistent, desire not merely that the Establishment may be retained, but that all those civil disabilities may be re-imposed on the Catholic, from which he has so happily escaped; nay, they must wish that no small portion may be re-enacted of the old penal code. We have not a syllable to say against the legitimacy of their inference, or against the hypothetical truth of their practical conclusion. Our difference with them is on their fundamental premiss: for we know with infallible certainty that that communion is the chosen abode of Christ, which they denounce as the synagogue of Antichrist.

At last, however, such very extreme Protestants as these are comparatively few; and all others should in consistency admit, that a more insulting grievance than the Irish Establishment does not exist. Two years, or one year ago, there was little thought that the hour of liberation was so nearly at hand: but this was always certain, that whenever the critical period should arrive—whenever the political dial should mark the propitious hour—the Catholics of these islands would combine as one man, to work out their own deliverance and that of the Church. On *this* particular, at all events, there is no fear of Catholic politicians neglecting their duty. The coming elections are to turn on this disestablishment question; and in these elections all Catholics will be found in each place voting for the same candidates. Then after the election is over—so long as this question, having been raised, remains unsettled—they will temporarily and provisionally throw their whole weight into the scale of that party, which at the moment is labouring in their behalf. They will unite in overthrowing every impediment, and removing every obstacle, which stands in the way of their great purpose.

But while there is almost complete unanimity among Catholics as to their appropriate practical course, a few speculative difficulties have occurred to individuals. These difficulties indeed, we believe, do not cause any doubt, in the Catholic who entertains them, as to his practical course; but their satisfactory speculative solution eludes his efforts. We will proceed therefore at once to their consideration. And we will then conclude our short article, by dwelling on one most serious *practical* perplexity which seems to meet the Catholic at every turn, in the present position of politics. Firstly however on these speculative difficulties; which, as it appears to us, admit of very satisfactory solution.

Some Catholics are made anxious by the circumstance, that

the plunder on which the Establishment has thriven for three centuries, belongs in real truth to the Church of Christ; and they do not see on what principle a Catholic can support any other application of it, than unconditional restoration to its rightful owner. We reply, that the Irish bishops, acting publicly under the eyes of the Holy See, have themselves advocated a different destination. It is quite certain therefore that the Holy Father, on behalf of the Church, waives all claim to restitution.

But the chief speculative difficulty felt by Catholics is connected with the Catholic doctrine concerning union of Church and State. The Syllabus infallibly condemns the proposition (LV.) that "Church should be separated from State, and State from Church:" and the "Mirari vos,"—also an infallible Rule of Faith—teaches affirmatively that the "mutual concord" of Church and State "has always been propitious and salutary for the interests of both." We are of course the very last to call in question the peremptory obligation, incumbent on all Catholics, of accepting the Church's doctrine on this head. If—which God forbid!—there be really any Catholics in England, who consider that the union of Church and State in a Catholic country is essentially otherwise than beneficial;—that promotion of the people's spiritual welfare is external to the civil ruler's legitimate province;—that the Church's divinely given authority extends only over the individual, and in nowise over the civil government as such;—we have not a word to say in defence of such Catholics.* They rebel against the Church's infallible teaching, and commit mortal sin. But we are quite unable to see, how the most hearty renunciation of these grave errors can throw any difficulty on the question of Irish disestablishment.

Occasionally indeed you hear language almost implying that the Irish Establishment is the Church, instead of being the Church's determined enemy. To say that the Church-State†

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* Take such instances as these of the Church's teaching, from the "Quantâ curâ" alone. "Quæ falsæ ac perversæ opiniones eò magis detestandæ sunt, quòd eò potissimum spectant ut impediatur et amoveatur *salutaris illa vis* quam Catholica Ecclesia, ex Divini sui Auctoris institutione et mandato, liberè exercere debet, non minùs erga *singulos homines* quàm erga *nationes populos summosque eorum principes*." "Contra [sanam] doctrinam asserere non dubitant, optimam esse conditionem societatis, in quâ Imperio non agnoscitur officium *coercendi sancitis pœnis* violatores Catholicæ religionis, nisi *quatenùs pax publica postulet*." Again, Syllabus, prop. 24: "Ecclesiæ vis inferendæ potestatem non habet neque *potestatem ullam temporalem* directam vel indirectam."

† For convenience sake we will use this, instead of the more cumbrous expression, "Church *and* State.'

principle is ipso facto violated by disestablishment, is simply unmeaning. As well might you say that that principle was violated, when the English Government forbade the religious practice of Hindoo widows being burnt alive. An adult Irish Protestant, if in invincible ignorance, may be travelling towards heaven; but in strictness he is no more a member of the Visible Church than is an idolatrous Hindoo.

Other Catholics urge with great truth a different consideration. The Church-State doctrine, they say, involves a condemnation of the tenet that the province of civil government is confined to ends purely secular. We have already strongly maintained, that no Catholic is permitted to hold such a tenet. But so far from being *exclusively*, it is not even *principally* on secular grounds, that a good Catholic would overthrow the Irish Establishment. His hatred of it is different *in kind* from his hatred of any tyranny which is purely oppressive and anti-social. He detests it pre-eminently, because it is so injurious to the *spiritual* welfare of Irishmen, Catholic or Protestant.

A third difficulty, founded on the Church-State doctrine, requires more prolonged consideration, though we think it quite as baseless as the two preceding. The Catholic bishops, it is urged, decline receiving for the support of priests any portion of the available property; and by consequence disestablishment involves a substitution of the "voluntary" principle for the principle of Church and State. Now this phrase—the "voluntary" principle—has various different senses: but in the only sense which is here applicable, there is no opposition whatever—quite the contrary—between the voluntary principle and Catholic doctrine. For more than one reason it is worth while to make this clear; and we will therefore, in the first place, briefly consider what is involved in that Church-State doctrine, which successive Pontiffs have so earnestly inculcated ex cathedrâ.

The highest form which could be assumed by union between Church and State would be, that in every matter connected, however indirectly, with man's eternal welfare, the civil ruler should defer unreservedly to the Church's counsels. Suppose Nero had been converted to the Gospel, and become a saintly Christian: consider what would have been the influence of SS. Peter and Paul, under such circumstances, over the empire's entire administration, and you will see the highest union of Church and State. But while saintly men are few—i. e. under every constitution of society which has existed or ever will exist on earth—the notion is simply chimerical of such an union as *this* being permanently established. This moreover

is eminently a case in which to aim at an impracticable end would be merely disastrous; and the Church has never therefore in practice put forth her full claim.

But in many countries and many periods the State has been bound to the Church in most salutary union, though that union has fallen indefinitely short of its highest ideal. Under such circumstances, the State assumes Catholic doctrine as the foundation both of its jurisprudence and its legislation. Its law of marriage, e. g., is identical with the Catholic law, and the State reserves to the Church her due supremacy in deciding all causes matrimonial. Then in various ways it supports the Church with the secular arm. It exercises severe control over the publication of books. If no hereditary Protestants are among its members, it strictly prohibits every attempt to introduce non-Catholic worship; and at all events it most carefully provides, that the education of Catholic children shall be purely and exclusively Catholic. Coming more nearly to the present question, it secures to the Church all those endowments, which pious Catholics have devoted to her service.

Here, in passing, we will add one word to prevent possible misconception. When Gregory XVI. put forth the "Mirari vos," there was hardly any European state whose relations with the Church reached even the standard which we have just described. Yet even under these circumstances the Pontiff infallibly declared, that this union had *always* been beneficial to both the united societies. He cannot indeed, without monstrous unfairness, be understood as meaning that even such a union as existed under Joseph II. deserves this eulogy; but his words surely import that *on the whole*, even up to *his* time, the blessings of such union greatly exceeded its evils. He taught then, that even a considerable surrender of the Church's independent action is a less serious calamity, than that de-Catholicization of a country which is involved in the severance of Church and State.

To return, however. The argument which contrasts the Church-State principle with "voluntaryism," implies that the former principle necessarily involves a State payment of priests. But there is no shadow of ground for such a supposition. The Church's endowments did not come from the State, but from the pious gift of zealous individual Catholics; and in those countries where at present the State confers on priests some pittance, this is but an infinitesimal restitution for some preceding robbery of the Church's revenues.

Doubtless it is quite imaginable that the State might enforce a voluntaryism, which *would* contradict the Church-State principle. It might refuse to secure to the Church possessions

left for her service. And indeed the present law of "superstitious uses" (so far as it goes) is a direct violation of the Church-State principle; it despoils the Church of property which is really hers. But as to the Irish Establishment, it was itself founded on one of the most monstrous transgressions of the Church-State principle which was ever perpetrated; we mean, of course, the plunder of Church property, while the whole nation remained zealously Catholic. Nor can any one in his senses allege that the law of "superstitious uses" will derive any further strength, from the success of Mr. Gladstone's present proposal.

No doubt Cardinal Cullen and the other Irish bishops, for most intelligible reasons, refuse to place the Irish Church in that relation towards a bitterly anti-Catholic and tyrannical Government, which would result from State support of the clergy. But as to "voluntaryism" in any objectionable sense, it is simply monstrous to say that they do otherwise than abhor it. Do they ask, then, that the State shall take from the Church what pious donors have given her during the last century? do they ask that the State shall require Catholics to pay rent for the use of those chapels and schoolhouses, which the preceding generation of Catholics have built? *This* would be "voluntaryism," in the only sense in which that principle is opposed to the principle of union between Church and State. And we will venture to say that no man living would regard such "voluntaryism" with greater abhorrence than the Irish Bishops. Why, they have actually accepted a State subvention for Maynooth, and desire one for the Catholic University. Nay, put the impossible case, that Parliament should frankly admit the Church to be the one legitimate owner of all Church property in Ireland, conferred in Catholic times. Put the impossible case, that Parliament should wish to restore her that property, as to its one legitimate and indefeasible owner. We do not see the slightest appearance, that the Irish Bishops would hesitate to accept such restitution as their legitimate due. That the Church should re-enter into possession of property conferred on her by pious Catholics of the past, as the confessed and absolute owner of that property,—this is one thing. That she should become the stipendiary of a violently anti-Catholic nation to which Irishmen are politically subjected—this is a different and indeed most opposite thing.

One concluding word on "voluntaryism," though somewhat episodical to our main design. You may sometimes hear a Catholic say, that voluntaryism is the state of things which prevails among Catholics of this kingdom; and that it pre-

sents certain *incidental* advantages over union of Church and State. Now, from what has been said, it is at once evident that such a Catholic expresses himself altogether incorrectly. What do you mean by voluntaryism? we would say to him. Do you mean the condition of things under which priests receive no payment from the State? But this has been the condition of things, where Church and State have been most firmly united; for the State has done no more, than to secure for the Church the possessions bestowed on her by pious individuals. Do you mean then by "voluntaryism" the condition of things under which the State does *not* secure this? But such is *not* the condition of things among the Catholics of this kingdom; otherwise, as we have pointed out, you would have Government requiring them to pay rent, for the use of chapels and schoolrooms built by their co-religionists of the last generation.

Yet we think such a Catholic means something, though he does not mean exactly what he has said. He intends to say, we think, that where Catholic endowments have remained untouched for many centuries, and the clergy consequently enjoy much wealth, there exists a tendency to decay of zeal. Well, we suppose no Catholic would suggest, as a cure for this evil, that the State should despoil the Church periodically. But we would here point out that this evil, be its magnitude greater or smaller, is by no means without a remedy on the Church-State principle. Pious donors of old intended, not the injury, but the benefit of souls; and would have heartily accepted the Church's judgment as to what is benefit and what is injury. Let it be supposed then, merely for argument's sake, that (most contrarily to their intention) their gifts are now injurious to souls rather than beneficial. So soon as the Church may form this judgment, she will desire (saving of course present interests) to alter somewhat the disposition of their gifts; and the State should of course give its cordial co-operation towards effecting the Church's desire. In truth, so far as such evils *have* anywhere existed, we believe that they have arisen from any cause rather than the Church-State principle. They have arisen, we believe, not from the State's loyal subordination to the Church in all things indirectly spiritual, but rather from its defending prevalent abuses against the Church's animadversion.

We cannot then see any force whatever in the speculative difficulties which have been raised, on Catholic principles, against Irish disestablishment. But we do think there is one most serious evil in the present situation; viz., its tendency

to strengthen the connection, already (we think) far too close, between Catholic public men and Liberal politicians. It is now more than a year (see April 1867, Art. V.) since we earnestly protested against the Catholics of this empire identifying themselves with either of the two great political parties; and every month which has passed since that time, has but increased our conviction in the same sense. But of the two parties, the Liberal seems to us more anti-Catholic even than the Conservative; and we are proportionately the more alarmed at this particular feature in our present prospect.

Before saying more however on the Liberals, a word on their enemies the Conservatives. In the article to which we have just referred, we dwelt on the anti-Catholic bitterness and prejudice which constitutes so large a part of their political strength. "If you were to poll," we said, "all the priests in the British islands, we believe nineteen-twentieths would depose that among the Protestant gentry they find Liberals far more friendly to the Church than Tories; far more ready to promote her just claims; far more ready to protect her against the oppressions of the Establishment. There are few Catholic interests so important, as the obtaining for priests their due position in workhouses and prisons." Who have offered the greatest impediment to this? "In the great majority of instances Liberal magistrates vote for justice to the Church, and Conservative magistrates against it." Recent events singularly corroborate this view of the case. It has been maintained by their Catholic supporters, that the Conservatives, in opposing Irish disestablishment, are influenced by the Church-State principle. We can see no signs of this. Their two main arguments have been (1) the religious corruption of Rome; and (2) the vital importance of preserving the State's supremacy in spirituals. The phrase "union of Church and State" means one thing in the mouth of a Catholic, and just the opposite in the mouth of a Protestant Conservative. We are not here speaking of the circumstance, that what Protestants account "the Church," is considered by Catholics an heretical sect: but we are speaking of another consideration entirely different. The Catholic means by "the union of Church and State" the State's due deference to the Church on matters indirectly spiritual; but the Protestant Conservative understands by the phrase an iron despotism, exercised by the civil over the ecclesiastical society. This circumstance was illustrated again and again by the language heard from the most distinguished Conservatives in the disestablishment debates.

Mr. Disraeli undoubtedly, in the earlier part of the session,

appeared to exhibit a much better spirit. But since the political battle has begun to go against him, he has certainly shown various signs of wishing to avail himself of the No Popery cry, as a means of retaining office. We need hardly remind our readers of his preposterous talk, about a supposed combination of Catholics and Ritualists; and about the serious peril of Roman Catholic despotism, with which forsooth England is threatened. Either he was sincere in his language, or he was not. If he was sincere in it, he is as hopeless an anti-Catholic fanatic as Mr. Whalley. If he was not sincere in it—and no one certainly believes him to have been sincere—two inferences at once follow. It becomes evident how the exigencies of his position, as leader of the Conservative party, compel him to assume an anti-Catholic position; and this is one conclusion on which we laid considerable stress last year. Then secondly he has made it impossible to believe, without great qualification, his most earnest asseverations. He has endeavoured to get up a No Popery cry: and we are here assuming that he has personally no sympathy with that cry, nor any agreement with the opinions which it embodies. He has shown himself desirous then of promoting what he knows to be blasphemy and false witness—we have no right to say for his personal ambition—but, at all events, for the furtherance of those political ends which he has at heart.

There is another opinion, which we expressed in the same article, and which has been vividly illustrated by recent events. We said that even where the intention of a Conservative *Cabinet* is equitable and kind towards Catholics, its hands are often entirely tied by the bigotry of its supporters; of Irish Orangemen and of English country gentlemen. On the present occasion many Irish Protestants have said, that at last they would rather have Mr. Gladstone's plan than Mr. Disraeli's; that they would rather give up their own ecclesiastical plunder, than see State money given for Roman Catholic purposes.

It seems to us, then, a profound mistake that any Catholic should identify himself with the Conservative party, or repose any kind of confidence in its leaders. But this is no reason whatever why he should not earnestly support—as it is indeed his sacred duty to support—whatever individual measure they may introduce which tends to the Church's benefit. In European politics they are much less unrelentingly opposed than their opponents to the Pontiff's civil sovereignty, and to the great principles which that sovereignty represents. Some few of them indeed are hardly hostile to those principles

at all. And there is one most vital truth undoubtedly of domestic policy, which they apprehend indeed very inadequately, but which, at least, is far more cherished by *them* than by the *other* great party in the State. That divorce of politics from religion, which is the most imminent social danger of our time, and against which the Holy Father so urgently warns his children, is deprecated by the great body of Conservatives, though languidly and feebly; but it is the one leading political principle of the most influential Liberals.

Now here we are well aware that several admirable Catholics take a different view from ourselves, on the dominant principles of the Liberal party in these islands. That they are disposed to draw a wide distinction between British and foreign Liberalism. We have no wish, as we have no right, to dogmatise on such a matter. We sincerely hope that these Catholics may be in the right, and that our own anticipations may be unfounded. But we may be allowed frankly to express our convictions. To enter on the subject indeed, in an extent at all proportionate to its importance, would be to write a long article on nothing else. But we will briefly express our meaning.

Some twenty or thirty years ago it was the approved Liberal cant in England, that a civil ruler, as such, has no concern with the moral and spiritual welfare of his subjects, but only with the protection of person and property. Whatever incidental harm may have been done by this ridiculous formula, there was at all events one drawback from its evil effects; viz. the circumstance that no one could, by possibility, put it into practice. If it meant anything, it meant that when any proposal was before Parliament, no member was permitted by God to take into account, as influencing his vote, the *moral and religious tendency* of that proposal. On this theory a legislator is commanded by God to vote for any measure which slightly increases the people's security and physical enjoyment, though he were firmly convinced that its effects on piety and morality would be disastrous. No earnest man—be he Christian or Deist—could in practice endure so detestable a rule of conduct; and since therefore the current language could not by possibility be understood as meaning *this*, it could not be understood as meaning anything whatever. It was a mere formula: used by rival religious bodies, as a fling against the Establishment; and used by worldly men, for the sake of resisting with more plausibility religious measures which they abhorred.

Very different is the view now gaining ground among Eng-

lish Liberals. The "Pall Mall Gazette" has again and again distinctly maintained, that the State should possess a moral and religious theory of its own, and found thereon its whole legislation. This is the view which, consciously or unconsciously, has dominion over the ablest and most influential members of the Liberal party, and which (we are confident) is rapidly and widely spreading among them. The principle of dogmatic religion—or in other words of a definite revealed Faith—is not at all regarded by them as a matter external to the State's province, but quite the contrary: they consider it as one most principal evil against which the State ought to contend. This has long been the rallying point of the great Liberal and infidel faction throughout Europe; and English Liberals are growing yearly into greater sympathy with their brethren on the Continent. Hence it is that intolerant bigots, like Mr. Lowe, oppose so bitterly denominational education. We are firmly convinced, as we stated in our last number (p. 524), "that on the issue of this contest between denominational and secular education, more than on all other issues put together, depends the future well-being of the Empire." Yet on the other hand, we cannot but strongly think that the principle of secular education, as *opposed* to denominational, tends more and more to become the principal bond of union for English Liberals. Nor do we expect that many years will pass before the tendency shall have reached its consummation, and anti-denominationalism shall have become recognised as an essential bond and watchword of the Liberal party.

Mr. Gladstone stands, no doubt, in such matters immeasurably above the average of his followers; yet we cannot admit that his leadership affords Catholics any security. For ourselves, when we look back at the circumstances of his past career, we cannot feel the confidence which some excellent Catholics entertain, that he may not be gradually absorbed into the vortex of anti-Catholic principle with which he is surrounded. Even at present he openly avows his sympathy with Continental liberalism. "I claim," he said, on April 30th, "to be in spontaneous concurrence with that party all over the world (by whatever name called) which in every country is endeavouring *for the sake of social justice* to break down the system of *religious ascendancy*.*" In illustration he expressly referred to the anti-Papal movement in Austria; and it is difficult to see where such a principle can possibly

* An excellent article on this speech appeared in the "Westminster Gazette" of May 9th.

stop in its application. At all events, to our own mind this is quite certain: *either* Mr. Gladstone will surrender his present convictions on denominational education, *or* he will not long retain his position as Liberal leader. Meanwhile we are very curious to see the ground he will take up, when he is obliged to face the question of a charter for the Catholic University. That his party would permit him to grant anything of the kind, even were he personally disposed so to do, is of course the most extravagant of suppositions. But Mr. Gladstone is seldom content, without broaching some theory to explain his conduct; and we are very curious to see what speculative principles he will enunciate, as bearing on this particular subject.

The spirit then which now predominantly animates the Liberal party, and which (we are persuaded) is rapidly growing among them both extensively and intensively, is impatience and disgust at every assertion of definite religious dogmata: *i.e.* at the assertion of them as being certainly true, and as being essential to the welfare of society. As yet the State Establishment, from its prominent position, is the principal mark for their attack. This aversion induces them again and again to protect Catholics against its various aggressions and injustices; and at the present moment is one principal reason of their supporting Mr. Gladstone's measure. In the earlier part of our article we have earnestly maintained that a *Catholic*, in supporting that measure, does not tend ever so remotely to violate the Church-State principle; but we have never thought of doubting that a vast number of those *Protestants* who promote it, do so on principles fundamentally and violently anti-Catholic.

This fundamental opposition between Catholicity and English political Liberalism will before very long, we expect, be as externally manifest as it is now intrinsically certain. The Irish Establishment is doomed, and the English will not be very long in following its sister to the grave. On the other hand, the Church is rapidly increasing in strength and numbers; her children are becoming far more alive to the vast extent of her doctrinal teaching; and her dogmatic exclusive peremptory character becomes daily more manifest. If the anti-dogmatic Liberals have hated this poor mongrel inarticulate Anglican denomination, what will be their feelings towards the One Holy Catholic Apostolic Church, when she stands revealed before men (all intervening clouds removed), in her true colours? The ultimate battle—for which present events are gradually procuring a free stage—will lie between those two irreconcileable enemies, Catholicity and Liberalism.

It is the Church's interest indubitably that the battle should not begin prematurely; but even at the present comparatively early period, everything which strengthens the Liberal party is the Church's serious calamity, everything which weakens that party is her great gain.

It is to us then a matter of keen grief, that this attack on the Irish Establishment—an attack in itself so just and so necessary—has incidentally added much strength to the Liberal ranks. At the beginning of this Session that party consisted of "leaders who could not lead, and followers who would not follow." It is now, alas! more united than it has been for many years past. Various circumstances have conduced to this; and especially the outrageous and monstrous character of that Establishment, which Liberals are assaulting and Conservatives defending. We may be quite sure indeed that this union of Liberals will not long remain unbroken. Their present work is merely the work of overthrow, while the task of reconstruction as yet is future. When the Catholic plunder, so long monopolized by the detestable Establishment, has to be redistributed—there will be much wholesome discord in the Liberal ranks. Such discord cannot possibly avert the doom of the Establishment; but it should do wonders in enlightening the Catholic boby on the true character of many of its contemporary allies. Let Catholics then be on the watch, as discussions proceed, both to disavow emphatically the anti-Catholic principles by which so many of their allies will defend the Catholic cause; and also to give their voice for that appropriation of the Church's revenues, which, of all obtainable appropriations, may be least out of harmony with her spirit and her interest.

One great advantage will arise from that speedy settlement of the question, which now seems almost certain. When once it is out of the way, Catholics will again be free to pursue their appropriate policy, and assume a position entirely independent of the two great parties. Every sign of the political horizon makes us more desirous of so happy a consummation. When the struggle now looming in the distance becomes present and energetic, it is most important that Catholics shall have fixed themselves in their true political position. That true political position consists in union with each other, and non-union with externs. They can have no deep and permanent sympathy with British Conservatism; and still less, of course, with Liberalism, whether British or other.

Every day the question of Catholic higher education becomes more pressing. As we pointed out last year

(April 1867, p. 393), there are many great political verities, in which all those Catholics must agree, who will consent to be taught by the Teacher of all Christians; and these verities are more practically momentous than any others. It is unspeakably important, that the rising generation shall be trained in the firm grasp and full appreciation of these verities; that the young Catholic shall have learned to regard it as his first political duty, to co-operate heartily in their support with his brethren in the Faith. When this foundation is firmly laid, we do not think that a loyal Catholic will experience any serious difficulty, in seeing his way through the political perplexities and entanglements of our time.

Art. IV.—GLASTONBURY.

A History of the Church in England, from the earliest period, to the re-establishment of the Catholic Hierarchy in 1850. By the Very Rev. Canon Flanagan. In 2 Vols. London: Dolman. 1857.

IT is curious to note the difference in religious tone of the county histories and other books of antiquities which we possess. No antiquarian record of any part of the British empire can fail to be largely occupied with things ecclesiastical. The old faith, with the old practice, has left its indelible stamp on the land. Ruined abbeys and priories; ancient almshouses, dragging on a mutilated existence, with revenues diminished or misapplied; market-crosses, *minus* the holy Rood and *plus* a statue of the reigning king; remarkable details in the architecture of the county churches; curious old forms of tenure of church lands; popular customs, guild observances and festivals, their meaning now lost or obscure,—these things, from the nature of the case, engage antiquarian writers. Take from the county historian the Catholic relics existing in his shire, and you mulct him of a good half of the interesting things he has to tell of. He is left with a Roman camp or two—"a prætorian here, prætorian there," which Ochiltree might dispute with him; half a dozen gentlemen's seats, a remarkable gooseberry, some "oldest inhabitant," of capricious memory, and a shapeless mass of limestone on a hill-side, which might be cromlech, or might be boulder.

This being so, two lines of treatment are open to the county historian, when he sets to work on his chief material. He

may go up and down, like an "Old Mortality," whose departed heroes shall be monks and canons, instead of Roundheads and Covenanters. He then deciphers, with patient reverence, those records written in the dust; and, without subscribing to the tenets of the dead men who wrote them, gives them fair allowance of credit, as truthful annalists and honest souls. Or, pandering to the times, and infected by their spirit, heir of the prepossessions and mis-statements of the eighteenth century, and bestowing them upon the nineteenth, he writes as Byron, Jonathan Oldbuck, and others, have written and spoken of the monastic homes they inherited from the spoiler.

Such a division of antiquarian writers into the reverent and flippant, the candid and the prejudiced, is susceptible of this further remark, that, as a rule, the reverent and candid belong to an earlier period, the flippant and prejudiced to a later. We shall see instances in point, among the authorities we are now about to quote on the subject of Glastonbury.

Nor is such a distinction surprising. It is, indeed, merely a commentary on the religious history of England. When a limb is newly severed from its parent tree, the leaves at first show little or nothing of the fatal amputation. So of the schism under Henry VIII. All that had sprouted and bloomed on the Anglican "branch," in virtue of the sap which it derived from the trunk, still showed what of late years it has been the fashion to call *signs of life*. It was by a gradual though sure process, that the separation became as manifest in its results, mental and spiritual, as in its historical facts. *Diminutæ sunt veritates a filiis hominum.* Unbelief began to weight the scale against what lingered of the banished faith, and flippancy to outface the ancient reverence. The calumnies which interested motives uttered against the monastic Orders in one century, lived on as a kind of popular jest in the succeeding, and became stereotyped in the literature of the last generation.

In this article we are to notice the first and last scene in a long monastic drama. Not that the intervening occurrences at Glastonbury fail of a very real interest; but because its first traditional foundation, and its too certain dissolution, after some fifteen centuries of life, form its two most striking epochs. They may, in a sense, be said to contain the whole description of a spot, perhaps the most remarkable in all England from a religious point of view. One of these periods is needed to interpret the other. Deny S. Joseph of Arimathæa, and you are thrown upon mere feeble conjectures to account for the wealth and consideration which rendered the great Benedictine monastery a prime mark for the monster Henry. Suppose the ancient legend true, and Glastonbury,

such as it was in the sixteenth century, becomes religiously congruous, nay, inevitable.

The history of this place, sacred in Catholic eyes, remarkable to any one pretending a knowledge of the past, divides itself obviously into five chief periods. The first includes the coming, the lives and deaths, of S. Joseph and his eleven companions. The second, the revival of Christianity in Britain, and therefore in Glastonbury, under the auspices of King Lucius, and through the mission of SS. Phaganus and Diruvianus, sent thither by S. Eleutherius from Rome. The third, Glastonbury, still Celtic, and more or less distinctly monastic, that is, with a life partly cœnobitic, partly eremitical. This is the period of the Patrick who was surnamed Sen-Patric, or Patricius Senior (apparently a monastic saint anterior to the apostle of Ireland), together with his followers, including S. Indractus and his slaughtered companions; and subsequently of S. David, the great bishop of Menevia. The fourth, Glastonbury from the coming of S. Augustine, through the early Saxon kings, down to the reign of Edmund, at once disciple and patron of S. Dunstan. The fifth, from the introduction of the Benedictine rule by S. Dunstan (himself a native of Glastonbury, or the neighbourhood), in the year 942, to the martyrdom of the sixtieth and last abbot, Richard Whiting, and the dispersion of the community—a period of nearly six hundred years.

We are about to reverse the natural order of things, and take our readers into the sixteenth century, before investigating the story of Glastonbury in the first. For, though we would not deprive them of some notice of Whiting, the last and martyred abbot, our chief present interest lies with S. Joseph of Arimathæa. The death of the princely old abbot, with two of his community, on the Tor Hill, up which his murderers dragged him to be hanged and quartered, might be paralleled by other events of the period, at Tyburn and the Tower of London. But the alleged, and (we hope to show) more than alleged coming of S. Joseph to Iniswytryn, the future Avalon or Glaston, is an event of absorbing interest, with which few can compare. In some of its features it resembles the coming of S. Patrick to Ireland, three centuries and a half later, while in the proof it affords of a cultus of the Blessed Mother of God in apostolic times, we know nothing to compare it with, except the oratory dedicated to our Lady on Mount Carmel.

To look in, then, upon Glastonbury Abbey shortly before its supression, we are introduced into a stately and impressive scene.

As this surpassed all the abbeys in England, except that of Westminster, in the largeness of revenues, and exceeded in extent all the cathedrals except old S. Paul's in London, so we may reasonably imagine that it was adorned with as stately and as many, if not more, fine tombs than any other church in our island; and Cressy tells us ("Church History," book ii.) that the multitude of persons interred here is so great that it cannot be reckoned. At the time of the dissolution, here were as great a number of monks and officers as in any convent in England, a little before which, viz., 26 Henry VIII., the revenues were valued at £3,311. 7s. 4d. Dugd.; £3,508. 13s. 4d. Speed.—(Willis's "Mitred Abbeys," vol. i. p. 99.)

These tombs were of Saxon kings and others, in goodly array. Camden begins the list with King Arthur and his Queen Guinever, and goes on to enumerate "Kentwyn, Edmund I., Edgar, and Edmund Ironsides, four dukes, four bishops, and thirteen abbots; besides other eminent personages, all whose monuments, except a few of unknown religious, removed to Wells, are totally destroyed, or concealed under rubbish."* The buildings, with the noble abbey church, and the various offices and courts, with the walled enclosure, occupied an extent of sixty acres. Nor will this surprise us, when we remember that the community was of some hundred religious, and that the abbot, beside the retinue almost indispensable to a man occupying his temporal and ecclesiastical station, maintained around him a sort of University in miniature, as well as a middle school, or *petit séminaire.*

This is a mere outline of the picture; nor are we now able to fill it in as it deserves. We must leave Dugdale to enumerate the abbot's lodgings, including "the great chamber, seventy-two feet long and twenty-four feet broad;" "the high chamber, called the king's lodgings," with eleven other apartments in the same block of building; then, the prior's lodgings, with its separate hall, chapel, kitchen, and apartments: above all, "the almoner's house," and "sub-almoner's office," a detail of which would go far to reconcile the modern mind to an establishment which was the dispensary for medical relief as well as the public soup-kitchen for regular dole, in behalf of the whole neighbourhood.†

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* Camden's "Britannia," vol. i. p. 101.

† Camden says of the abbot and community (p. 193, ed. 1600), *Quasi regnassent, eorum etiam nutum vicini omnes spectarunt.* Gough, in his edition of Camden (vol. i. p. 81), rather unfairly translates it, that they "*lived like kings in the utmost affluence.*" Camden is speaking rather of authority and influence over the neighbouring districts; Gough fixes his remark on their wealth; and with some implied censure on their spirit. One great testimony to the religious life maintained here is the fact that, from the time of S. Dunstan, superiors for all the Benedictine houses in England were selected from Glastonbury.

We must, however, indulge ourselves with one passage from Dugdale: "Of the library," he says, "(and the scriptorium adjoining it, where the monks were constantly employed in composing or transcribing books for the use of the library), not a vestige remains. How richly it was stored may be conceived from what the learned antiquary Leland reports of it, who visited the place but a few years before it was dissolved:—'It was scarcely equalled,' he says, 'by any other library in all Britain. He had scarcely passed the threshold, when the very sight of so many sacred remains of antiquity struck him with an awe of astonishment, that for a moment he hesitated.' He afterwards spent some days in examining it, by the permission of Abbot Whiting, and has, in his 'Comment. de Scriptoribus Britannicis,' given an account of some of the more curious manuscripts he found there."

Dugdale adds, in a note:—"Bishop Tanner, in the preface to his 'Notitia Monastica,' has given a catalogue of upwards of fifty volumes, which were transcribed in one abbot's time."

Michael Drayton, though he writes in verse, is surely using no poetical license in his lament over the destruction of such a vast literary and charitable institution:—

> Oh, who thy ruin sees, whom wonder doth not fill
> With our great fathers' pomp, devotion, and their skill?
> Thou more than mortal power (this judgment rightly weighed)
> Then present to assist, at that foundation laid;
> On whom, for this sad waste, should Justice lay the crime?
> Is there a power in Fate, or doth it yield to Time?
> Or was their error such, that thou couldst not protect
> Those buildings which thy hand did with their zeal erect?
> To whom didst thou commit that monument to keep
> That suff'reth with the dead their memory to sleep?
> When not great Arthur's tomb nor holy Joseph's grave
> From sacrilege had power their sacred bones to save;
> He who that God in man to His sepulchre brought,
> Or he which for the faith twelve famous battles fought.
> What? did so many kings do honour to that place,
> For avarice at last so vilely to deface?
> For reverence to that seat which had adscribed been,
> Trees yet in winter bloom, and bear their summer's green.

Glastonbury, indeed, was England's "second Rome," as it is often called in ancient charters and chronicles. It merited the title from the number and preciousness of its relics, and from the bodies of saints buried within its precincts; as well as from the extent of its privileges and influence. The spot on which the light of the Gospel was believed first to have

shone, on which the "beautiful feet of those who brought tidings of good things" first halted, could hardly rank after any other in the island. Hence we are not to wonder at royal gifts and royal charters,* privileges from the Eternal City, "hides" of land, jewels, architecture, treasures of church furniture, troops of retainers, farms, granges, benefices, lavished on the favoured place. The irresistible, irrepressible momentum of a Catholic kingdom's devotion poured these offerings upon a soil on which the Cross was believed to have been first planted. Perilous gifts, as exciting the cupidity of men who would cast sacred ashes to the winds for the costly reliquary containing them, and abolish the daily Sacrifice to secure the jewelled chalice in which it was offered. Perilous, in a higher sense, and with a subtler danger: for wealth has often been the handmaid of corruption. To go no further for a reason, a well-endowed monastery was worth bestowing by some profligate king upon some unworthy favourite. Its broad acres were coveted by the ecclesiastical courtier in an earlier reign,

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* The following expressions occur in charters, the first, second, fourth, and fifth of which are to be found in the "Codex Diplomaticus Ævi Saxonici," published by the English Historical Society, London, 1839; the others in Dugdale.

Ina, King of West Saxons, June, ann. 702.—"In nomine Domini nostri Jesu Christi Salvatoris! Ea quæ secundum decreta canonum tractata fuerint, licet sermo tantum ad testimonium sufficeret, tamen pro incerta futuri [conditione] chirographorum schedulis sunt roboranda. Quapropter ego Ini, regnante Domino rex Saxonum, viginti cassatos pro remedio animæ meæ Beorhtwaldo abbati ad sanctum monasterium Glastingaburga videor contulisse," &c.

Idem, 704.—"Ecclesia Beatæ Dei genetricis Mariæ, et Beati Patricii . . . in pristinâ urbe quæ dicitur Glastingæa."

Idem.—"Ecclesia D. N. J. C. et perpetuæ V. M. sicut in regno Britanniæ est prima, et fons et origo totius religionis, ita et ipsa supereminentem privilegii obtineat dignitatem; nec ulli omnino homini ancillare obsequium faciat in terris, quæ super choros angelorum dominatur in cœlis."

Idem, 725.—"Ecclesia vetusta, quæ est in loco qui dicitur Glasteie, quam magnus sacerdos et pontifex summus angelorum obsequio sibi ac perpetuæ Virgini Mariæ, beato David, multis et inauditis miraculis, olim se sanctificasse innotuit." In the same charter: "Kentwinus rex, qui Glastingie matrem sanctorum vocare solitus fuerat."

Edmund, ann. 944.—"Celeberrima vetusta ecclesia sanctæ Dei genitricis . . præ cæteris sit liberior cum terminis suis."

Edgar, ann. 971.—"Ecclesia beatissimæ Dei genitricis semperque Virginis Mariæ Glastoniæ, *sicut ex antiquo principalem in regno meo obtinet dignitatem*, ita speciali quadam et singulari privilegii libertate per nos honoretur."

Canute.—"Concedo eccclesiæ Sanctæ Dei genitricis semperque Virginis Mariæ Glastoniæ jura et consuetudines, etc. ut nullus omnino illam insulam intrare audeat, cujuscumque ordinis sit aut dignitatis: sed omnia . . . tantummodo abbatis judicium et conventus expectent, sicuti prædecessores mei sanxerunt et privilegiis confirmarunt, Kentwines, Ines, Cuthredus, Elfredus, Edwardus, Edmundus, et incomparabilis Edgarus."

not less than by the secular in a later. Yet, in saying this, we are to remember that wealth, though perilous, is not of its own nature evil. It is the *love* of money which is called by the Apostle the "root of all evils;" and to that root the axe of mortification was often laid by wealthy churchmen in the Middle Ages. The great Ximenes wore his rough Franciscan scapular, and the yet ruder hair-shirt of penance, under the stately robes which beseemed the Prince of the Church, the High Chancellor, Primate, and Regent of Spain. Once (if we rightly recall the anecdote from his life) the Cardinal opened the rich folds of his robes, when in a public assembly the preacher took upon him to inveigh against the churchman's outward magnificence, as it met the eye; and by that simple and truly grand rebuke, demonstrated that he had never been seduced by his high state from practising the mortifications of his religious life. In days of faith, when men realised the blessings they received from the Church, they honoured it, even in a temporal sense, as being, after the sovereign, the first estate of the realm. A good third of the broad acres of England became ecclesiastical property; not through extortion and fraud, as non-Catholic historians would have it appear, but as one wide act of faith, commensurate with the nation. It was to the merit of the individual givers, and—most undoubtedly—to the peril of the individual receivers: a peril constant and alarming; but side by side with which grew the heavenly remedy. There was wealth and secularity, opposed point-blank by systematic penance and mortification. It entered into, and formed part of, the manifold and recognized perils of the priesthood and the religious state. At all events, it was not the unredeemed, uncounteracted danger of the present Lambeth, St. James's Square, or Farnham Castle.

But the central figure, all the while, in this picture? the ecclesiastical lord of this wide and fair domain? Walter Scott with his pen, Landseer with his pencil, would draw the abbot as—they have drawn him. It has become part of an Englishman's traditional belief, that the abbot is a fat abbot, proud and pursy, indolent or worse; a drone in his extensive hive, a cumberer of the rich ground which mistaken piety and abject superstition have made over to him. The joyous prior of Jorvaulz represents a popular picture as faithfully as the holy clerk of Copmanhurst.

Was it so with Whiting, the last and martyred abbot of Glastonbury? Had he become corrupted by the wealth and power that surrounded him? We answer, the fact of his martyrdom in itself is a strong negative presumption. Men

do not usually receive so high a grace, unsupported by grace habitual and sanctifying. A decline in vigilance, prayer, mortification, and the other virtues of the religious life, would leave the soul weak and defenceless on so great an emergency. He who will not take up his daily cross, will hardly lay down his life. Had Whiting been a degenerate monk, his name might have gone down to posterity with that of Cranmer.

Now Collinson, in his "History of Somersetshire," speaks as follows: and the value of his testimony is enhanced by the fact that he rather belongs to the irreverent and unbelieving class. Yet he says:—

This Richard Whiting, who was the last abbot of Glastonbury, finished Edgar's chapel and much enlarged the buildings of the monastery. He presided over this abbey in those unpropitious days to monks and religious societies, when the accumulated treasures of many ages, which had been derived to the Church from the bounty of kings and nobles, were appropriated to secular purses and avaricious interests. Whiting was unwilling to surrender his abbey to the king, or to lend an ear to any of the solicitations which were offered him: whereupon, by false pretence, they seized on him at his manor house of Sharpham, A.D. 1539, and without much formal process as to law or equity, he was dragged on a hurdle to the Torr Hill, where, without the least regard to his age, his sanctity, or his entreaties to revisit his convent, he was hanged, his head set upon the abbey gate, and his quarters sent to Wells, Bath, Ivelchester, and Bridgewater.

Collinson quotes, in a note, a MS. letter from "J. Russell, from Welles, the 16th day of Novembre" (1539), the terms of which would lead us to infer that instead of simple hanging, the abbot and two of his community who suffered with him underwent the unmitigated rigours of the barbarous and horrible execution then in use for real or alleged high treason.

"On Thursdaye the 14th daye of the present moneth the Abbott of Glastonburye was arrayned, and the next daye *putt to Execucyon* wyth 2 other of his Monkes for the robbyng of Glastonburye Churche (!) on the Torre Hyll next unto the Towne of Glastonburye; the seyde Abbot's Bodye being devyded in fower partes and Hedde stryken off," &c.

He was head (proceeds Collinson) of the most ancient abbey of England, whereof the governor had precedence of all the abbots in England till the year 1154, when Pope Adrian IV. gave that honour to the abbot of St. Alban's, in consideration of his having received his education in that abbey, and because our proto-martyr S. Alban suffered there. He was always a member of the Upper House of Convocation, and a parliamentary baron, being summoned by a particular writ to sit among the elders and barons of the realm. His apartment was a kind of a well-disciplined court, where

the sons of noblemen and gentlemen were sent for their virtuous education, and returned thence excellently accomplished. After this manner Abbot Whiting bred up near three hundred pupils, besides others of a meaner rank, whom he fitted for the universities at home. His table, attendants, and officers were an honour to the nation. He is said to have entertained five hundred persons of fashion at one time, and that upon Wednesdays and Fridays, weekly, all the poor of the country were relieved by his particular charity; and when he went abroad (which he seldom did, but to national synods, general chapters, and parliamentary conventions) he was attended by upwards of one hundred persons.*

We hardly know how we could add to the value of this half-conscious testimony from a thoroughly non-Catholic writer. It seems to us to sketch the outlines of a life and career which might contain all the elements of sanctity, and fitly end in martyrdom. *Mutatis mutandis*, for the difference of century and circumstance, it might be the external aspect of a S. Thomas or S. Edmund of Canterbury, or a S. Charles of Milan. A man has committed to him great means of influence for good, under the forms of abundant—even superabundant—wealth, and very high position in Church and State. He takes his part in the deliberations of every assembly to which he has a right as peer of the realm, prelate of the Church, superior of a wide-spread and influential religious order. Thus, through no less than three several channels his powerful voice is heard in the land. And his hand, in the administration of princely revenues, is no less potent than his voice. Suppose him faithful to his high trust, to the degree to which his Protestant panegyrist would advance him, do we not seem to hear in the Gospel the words of his final welcome? Has he not had many talents committed to him, and has he not brought in a proportionate return?

Let us look at this by the light of a supposed parallel case.

The *Times*, then, in a special article might say—

Silvanus, sixtieth duke of Bedford, whose demise is noticed to-day in our obituary, has left a name behind him which will not easily be effaced from the memory of his contemporaries, nor from the records of his country. Entering, comparatively late in life, upon the splendid inheritance which it was his destiny to enjoy, he appeared, from the first, to regard himself simply as the steward of his wide-spread possessions and influence. Re-

* Collinson's "History of Somersetshire," vol. ii. p. 255. "Leland," says Dugdale (art. Glast.) "in his MS. in the Bodleian Library, calls Whiting 'homo sane candidissimus et amicus meus singularis.' Through this he afterwards drew his pen." It was probably inexpedient, not to say dangerous, for the king's "royal antiquary" to speak in such terms of a man executed for resisting the claim of the royal supremacy.

maining unmarried, and without heirs for whom to accumulate any portion of his vast wealth, he thus kept himself free from the enervating influence of domestic ease and comfort, and the dissipation of spirit which is often the concomitant of high life. In his place in parliament, in the administration of his princely estates of Woburn and elsewhere, the late lamented duke employed the means and appliances at his command with an habitual sense of responsibility which has enbalmed his memory in the hearts of thousands. Woburn, indeed, throughout his career, presented an educational machinery such as might almost vie with Harrow or Rugby. Some three hundred pupils, the sons of noblemen and gentlemen, owe to its princely occupant the blessing of a virtuous education, which has sent them trained, disciplined, and accomplished, to fulfil their important posts of central or local influence and government in their native land. Others, of less distinguished birth, he brought up and sent forth to a university career. A boy of good conduct and promising abilities, of however poor parentage, was sure of being admitted into the schools supported by the duke's munificence. The almshouses established by his predecessors he maintained in a state of high efficiency.* And as to his Grace's more immediate and personal charities, it is enough to state that, twice every week, the poor of that part of the county of Bedford in which the Woburn estates are situate were entertained without distinction, and sometimes served by his own hand, in an almonry and refectory set apart for the purpose. The "Duke's kitchen," as it is called —a massive and substantial portion the extensive buildings—was erected under his own directions, and in close contact with the almonry;† thus serving the double purpose of providing for the numerous pupils and large retinue of his establishment, and of unweared ministrations to the poor.

We may imagine with what eloquence the leading journal would enlarge on the rare merit of such a paragon among dukes, and the blessing of any one belonging to such an Utopia as Woburn. But when, *mutato nomine, de* ABBATE *fabula narratur,* then

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* On the south side of the same street [in Glastonbury] is the hospital or almshouse of Abbot Richard Bear, founded and endowed in 1512 for ten poor women. . . . At the east end of the street is an old chapel or cell, dedicated to S. Margaret, founded by one of the ancient abbots. In the other street on the west side of the road stands the hospital of S. John, founded, or rather augmented for ten poor and infirm people, by Abbot Michael, A.D. 1246.—Collinson's "Somersetshire," vol. ii. p. 263.

Of this latter hospital Tanner says: "An ancient hospital for poor and infirm persons, dedicated to S. John Baptist, under the care of the almoner of the monastery, which was rebuilt near the park, the allowances of the poor augmented, and provision made for a chaplain to perform divine offices, by the munificence of Michael, abbot of Glastonbury, A.D. 1246."—"Notitia Monastica," p. 475.

† The Abbot's kitchen, built by Whiting, the last abbot, is octagonal, having in the angles four fire-places, sixteen feet long. In the flat part of the roof rises an arched octagonal pyramid, crowned with a double lantern, one within the other. *In a smaller pyramid hung a bell, to call the poor people to the adjoining almonry.*—Collinson, vol. ii. p. 261.

It was in allusion (says the Rev. Mr. Warner) to this characteristic (!) feature of the conventual life [viz., good cheer and gluttony as typified by the kitchen] that some wit of modern days inscribed on a pane of glass in one of the windows of the White Hart inn, Glastonbury, the following distich on the present state of its *abbey kitchen*:—

"Templa ruunt, sacræque domus, sed tuta, *palati*
Tanta fuit monachis cura, *Culina* manet."

Warner's "Glastonbury," pref., p. xlix.

This poetaster on glass may be just so far worth quoting, as he represents the superficial popular prejudice to which even Walter Scott (we say it with unfeigned reluctance) contributed a powerful impulse. If we were writing more than a brief notice of Glastonbury, it might be worth while to show (1) that this much-maligned kitchen was the latest of all the monastic buildings, being the special erection of Whiting himself, and therefore likely to be among the most durable part of the present ruins; (2) that, according to the popular account, it was built with great strength, to carry out a boast of the abbot, in answer to a threat of the king; (3) that it was less an object of spoil with those into whose hands the buildings fell than almost any other portion of them; (4) that it might have been purposely left, as a standing sarcasm, by men whose interest and whose pleasure alike it was to show that the monks, by their relaxed and self-indulgent lives, had deserved their doom:—

. . . et mero
Tinget pavimentum superbo
Pontificum potiore cœnis.

We have bestowed more attention on the Abbot's kitchen than the subject seemed to deserve. Only, it is never out of place to weaken, even, a long-standing calumny. We remember being shown in Exeter Cathedral, some years ago, the tomb of an old Catholic bishop. It represented him in an upper compartment, lying in all the insignia of his high office; then, below, the shrivelled and decayed corpse, as he would have been found had his remains been actually exposed. The moral, to a Catholic eye was obvious enough. It was simply a striking *memento mori*. But the verger who showed visitors round the building *would* have it (and perhaps his successor *will* have it to this day) that it was a bishop who had attempted an unbroken fast through the forty days of Lent; and his corollary was the rather strangely-sounding one, "You see, sir, what comes of trying to follow our Saviour"! So, we have no doubt, and equally in the interests

of good cheer, the very next pic-nic party who are ushered through the ruins of Glastonbury will be made to pause before the unruined kitchen with, "Observe, gentlemen, how fond those jolly old monks were of their dinner!"

Now let us make a sweep backwards, from Abbot Whiting, of nearly fifteen hundred years. We have seen what Glastonbury was in the days when the royal commissioners thundered at its gates; a princely monastery, entertaining kings and nobles, educating a large section of the youth of the land, owning half Somersetshire. But there is a reason for everything. Men do not go and plant themselves down in a marsh, and decree that the marsh shall be the cynosure of a great kingdom, held in chiefest honour, maintained without contradiction at home, asserted without contradiction abroad, as the place where the "beautiful feet" of the first evangelizers had stood; and therefore to be enriched with charters, lands, privileges, temporal rule, ecclesiastical pre-eminence—all that can increase its wealth and heighten its glory. They do not do all this without some definite reason. Other men do not accept it without a reason to the full as definite. Even the "dark ages" had a glimmering of good, strong, sturdy, Saxon sense, which would have received any groundless pretension to such claims with the synonym of that day—whatever it was—to our modern dissyllable "humbug."

A reason, then, must have existed for Glastonbury as it was under Ina, and from Ina through that list of kings, nobles, bishops, the bare enumeration of whom, and of their gifts, to be found in Dugdale, would swell our pages immoderately. That reason must be adequate to account for a devotion which penetrated Saxon, Dane, and Norman alike—which held on without intermission, from the conversion of Lucius to the apostasy of Henry. The pilgrim to Croyland in its palmy days would have answered you without hesitation that he went thither to S. Guthlac. He who turned his steps towards Verulam was seeking the magnificent shrine of S. Alban. Lindisfarne was visited for the sake of S. Cuthbert, S. Edmondsbury for the martyred king of that name. So of S. Neots, S. Ives, and more places than we need enumerate. So of Glastonbury. There must be some special memory attached to it, and the name of some sainted founder.

Whose is that name?

At the outset, it must be acknowledged that the coming of S. Joseph of Arimathæa, with his companions, and the grant made to them by the heathen Arviragus of the island Iniswytryn, and its surrounding "twelve hides of Glaston-

bury," has been discredited even by some Catholic historians. Lingard, in his History of England, simply ignores it, unless the second of the two following sentences may seem by implication even to exclude it. "At the distance of so many ages," he says, "it is impossible to discover by whom Christianity was first preached in the island." Then, after noticing the opinions which assign this mission to S. Peter or to S. Paul, he dismisses both as improbable beforehand, and resting "on the most slender evidence—on testimonies which are many of them irrelevant, all ambiguous and unsatisfactory." He then gives reasons for supposing the Christianity of Britain to have been derived immediately from Rome; and adds, in a note, "Nothing can be less probable in itself, nor less supported by ancient testimony, than the opinion that Britain was converted by oriental missionaries. The only foundation on which it rests is, that in the seventh century the Britons did not keep Easter on the same day as the Church of Rome."* The value of such a mere abstract opinion unsupported by document or show of proof, will be better tested as we go on.

In his "History of the Antiquities of the Anglo-Saxon Church," Lingard excludes the idea of S. Joseph more expressly. "I shall not," he says, "trespass on the patience of the reader by directing his attention to two other imaginary facts: the missionary labours of Aristobulus in Britain, and the foundation of the church of Glastonbury by Joseph of Arimathæa. No one can examine the authorities on which these statements are founded without pronouncing them at once collections of fables" (vol. i. p. 355).

Tierney, in his edition of "Dod's Church History of England," is not less hostile to the Glastonbury legend. And in opposing it, he ranges himself not only against the old Catholic historian he is editing, but against Camden, as quoted by Dod. We leave it to the reader to determine how far these writers, Lingard and Tierney, with the coldness and excessive caution they thought well to assume and to promote, can be allowed to outweigh the express testimony of such documents as follow. Tierney's coolness is rather amusing. "However, notwithstanding this authoritative assertion of Camden, the story of S. Joseph's connection with Glastonbury, like the other legends mentioned in the text, *is now universally rejected.*"

Leland is with him in his rejection of the story, and is therefore quoted by him. "Duce quodam Josepho, *sed non illo, nisi ego plurimum fallor, Arimathiano.*" ("De Script. Brit.,"

* "Hist. of England," vol. i. pp. 51, 52.

p. 20, in Meduino et Elvano.) Words which are, however, sufficiently important, since they throw upon the adversaries the burden of proof why a Joseph should be named as England's converter, what Joseph it was, and why it should not be the saint of Arimathæa.

On the other hand, Dod's words are express. We quote him here, though rather out of place, while we should state the opposite side, because of Tierney's comment, and inasmuch as they tend to throw light on the general run of the objections: —"The best attested account," he says, "is that S. Joseph of Arimathæa, with several companions and fellow-labourers, laid the foundation of the first Christian church of this island, at Glastonbury, in Somersetshire, as both ancient monuments, the tradition of the British and Saxon churches, and the generality of our historians, both ancient and modern, do give testimony." And what he adds is both sensible and significant, and would outweigh a greater mass of non-Catholic scepticism than we find actually to exist, against the Glastonbury legend. "Whoever was the first planter of Christianity among us (which in itself is no very material point), I cannot but take notice of the motives which have induced some writers to make choice of one opinion rather than another. Some are willing to deprive S. Peter of the glory of this work, out of a particular respect they have for his supremacy, and for fear they should become indebted to the See of Rome upon that account. The like inducement they have not to allow of the story of S. Joseph of Arimathæa; so early an instance of monastic discipline not being very consistent with the economy of our modern churches, who style themselves Reformed. They seem more disposed to give the honour to S. Paul, or any other apostolic preacher, where they do not lie under the like apprehensions."*

But greater writers than Lingard or Tierney had preceded them in discrediting the story of S. Joseph. J. Bollandus (followed, of course, by Henschenius and Papebroche) recites the account of Baronius, which we shall give hereafter, but only for the purpose of confuting it. The legend, say the Bollandists, appears so suspicious that they will not be led by it into that vexed question of the first introduction of the faith into Britain. And they refer this "fable" to the unknown author who, like a rhapsodist to the Iliad, first collected, or partly imagined, the *Gesta* of King Arthur and the Round Table, the juggles of Merlin, and the achievements of Sir Lancelot du Lac!

* "Dod's Church History of England," ed. Tierney, vol. i. pp. 2, 3.

We may forgive Bollandus and his companions for knowing little of the antiquity, the strength, and the continuousness of the tradition in England; though we can hardly be so lenient to the ponderous levity (to venture on an ὀξυμῶρον) with which they here treat it. They then proceed to speak of Freculphus Lexoviensis, an author of the ninth century, quoted by Capgrave, and maintain that in the passage cited he speaks merely of the dispersion of the disciples to preach the Gospel, without any special mention of S. Joseph.[1] This is true enough,—nor can one see why Freculphus should be particularly quoted on one side or the other. Meanwhile, the Bollandists adduce an alleged fact, which, if true, would overturn the legend at once. They say, that in the time of Charlemagne, Fortunatus, Patriarch of Jerusalem, fleeing from the infidels who were then laying waste the Holy Land, brought thence the *body* of S. Joseph to the monastery of Medianum, of which he became abbot. The place afterwards passed into the hands of canons, who seem to have borne no goodwill to their predecessors. The monks, however, returned into possession, and amid these changes the sacred relics were carried away and lost. An allegation of so much obscurity and so little proof must go for what it is worth, and may fairly be sifted by the light of other parallel cases which show the difficulty of proving relics of such antiquity. This would take us into another, though a most interesting subject,—but we forbear. The instance which rises first to our mind is that of the body of S. James the Apostle at Compostella, as against the claims of that "hand of S. James," for the safe custody of which, as a most precious relic, Reading abbey was founded by Henry II.

Lastly, we must number William B. MacCabe among those who, with mere generalities, and without much apparent investigation, have discredited the legend. In his valuable "Catholic History of England," he dismisses it, we must say, very superficially, on the authority of the Catholic writers we have already quoted; allowing that "*one* Protestant author, Camden," saw no reason to doubt it. We shall soon see whether Camden stood alone among his co-religionists.

Strutt, in his "Chronicle of England," asserts the early evangelisation of the island, while he rejects the story of Glastonbury :—

> Amongst those things which cannot absolutely be set down in the affirmative, none appears more certain than that the enlivening ray of Gospel light first shone upon this island some time between the years of our

or lost in the fatal discords and unfortunate wars which followed, so that none of them have been transmitted to posterity. The fables concerning Joseph of Arimathæa's coming hither and preaching the Gospel, are now exploded, as the idle inventions of the monks of Glastonbury, to give a greater air of consequence to their monastery (vol. i. part 3, c. 2).

And he then declares in favour of the theory which makes S. Paul the evangeliser of Britain.

Stillingfleet, Usher, and Collier, we shall see, follow on the same side as Bollandus. And now, except the flippant incredulity of a county historian or two, who will have nothing true that was monkish; and except a late reverend lecturer, who has contrived to put into a few popular pages as much nonsense as we have often seen between the covers of a book, we have noticed such writers as have ranged themselves against S. Joseph of Arimathæa.

Without a word of commentary, we pass on to the authors who have advocated the truth of the legend. Speed, a truculent non-Catholic writer, following breast-high the scent of the beast with seven heads and ten horns, and fulsome in his panegyric of Henry VIII. and James I., recites the story of S. Joseph with every symptom of credence. We modernize his spelling of 1611.

At which time (say they) were sent certain disciples out of France into Britain, by Philip the Apostle, whereof Joseph of Arimathæa, that buried the body of Christ, was chief; who first laid the foundation of our faith in the west parts of this island, at the place then called Avalon (afterwards Inis Witrin,* now Glastonbury), where he, with twelve disciples, his assistants, preached the gospel of life unto the islanders, and there left their bodies to remain for a joyful resurrection. This doth Gildas affirm, and Malmsbury, in his book of the Antiquities of Glastonbury, written to Henry de Blois, brother to King Stephen, and abbot of the same place, report, and is *consented unto* (for the matter, though all agree not touching the time) *by the learned antiquaries of later times, grounded on the testimonies of the best approved ancient writers*, who account the most happy influence of Christianity to have been by those glorious conduits conveyed into these remote parts of the world.—Speed's "History of Great Britain," lib. vi. cap. 9, "The first planting of religion in Britain."

Again, even in elaborating the anti-Roman argument, and standing up for the British bishops as against S. Augustine and his companions, he is strong for S. Joseph.

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* The reader will observe that the two first of these names ought to be transposed; Inis Witrin being the British name for island, Avalon the Saxon.

That these testimonies are sincerely by us produced, for the first preaching and planting of the gospel, and by such means and men as we have declared, and, particularly, by Joseph of Arimathæa and his associates, the consent of all writers, both foreign and home-bred, doth sufficiently approve; and the reverend regard had of the place, with the many charters thereof to this day remaining, are strong inducements for those our first Apostles' residences and burials; whereof one, exemplified under the seal of King Edward III., is to be seen at this day, reciting that the abbey of Glastonbury, being burned in the time of King Henry II., while it was in his hands, at the request of the Patriarch of Jerusalem (then present in England), instigated further both by the bishops and nobility, he did re-edify the same, causing diligent search to be made for the ancient charters of that foundation; and, among many recited in that exemplification, in one of them it is called *Origo religionis in Angliâ*; in another, *Tumulum Sanctorum, ab ipsis discipulis Domini ædificatum, fuisse venerabilem.* Also, in the same charter, amongst many other kings, there is mention made of King Arthur, to be a great benefactor unto that abbey; whose arms upon the stone walls, both in the chapel (called S. Joseph's), and in divers other places of the abbey, are cut, which is an escutcheon whereon a cross, with the Virgin Mary in the first quarter is set, and is yet to this day remaining over the gate of entrance, and is held to be also the arms of that abbey. This place is said to have been given to Joseph and his brethren by Arviragus, then king of Britain; and from hence were those two divine doctors sent to Elentherius by King Lucius, as by their epithets [epitaphs ?] doth appear: the one of them called Elvanus Avalonius, or of Glastonbury; and the other, Medwinus of Belga, that is, Wells, near unto this place. And to these persons and place, Polydore Virgil, that dwelled among us, and had perused most of our antiquities, ascribeth the original and precedency of our Christian faith, in these words: *Hæc omnia Christianæ pietatis in Britanniâ extitêre primordia, quam deinde Lucius rex accendit et adauxit*, etc. And our other later writers likewise with him agree of this place; further affirming that at first but poor, and without all pompe, was their oratory, built only of wreathen wands, as both Capgrave, Bale, Major, Scroope, Harding, Thorne, and others, affirm. Afterwards, by divers princes raised unto greater glory, with many large privileges and charters granted; to wit, of Edgar, Edmund, Elfred, Edward, Bringwalthius, Kentwin, Baldred, Ina, Kenwal, The Conqueror, Rufus, and others; all which were diligently perused by King Henry II., as we have said, and that Rectory (?) in these charters continually termed: *The Grave of Saints: The Mother Church: The Disciples' foundation, and dedicated unto Christ, as the first place in this land where His Gospel was first preached and embraced.*—Ibid, p. 207.

Once more, speaking of the benefactions or new foundations of Ina, king of the West Saxons, in the seventh century, he uses the following expressions. We give the passage, though it carries us further into the history of Glastonbury than we have yet gone, and is therefore partly an anachronism:—

The renowned Abbey of Glastonbury most stately he built to the honour

of Christ, Peter, and Paul . . . in a fenny place, sequestered from the roadway, where formerly had stood the old cell of Joseph of Arimathæa; and, that being decayed, Devy, bishop of S. David's, had thereon erected a new; which time also having ruinated, twelve men well affected in the north parts of Britain had repaired; but now by this Ina was quite pulled down, and, after a most sumptuous manner new-built: the chapel whereof he garnished with gold and silver, and gave rich ornaments thereto; as altar, chalice, censer, candlesticks, basin and holy-water bucket, images, and pale for the altar, of an incredible value . . . besides precious gems, embroached in the celebrating vestures.—"History," lib. vii. c. 7, p. 299.

Bishop Tanner, in his "Notitia Monastica" (p. 458), gives a brief summary of its history, of fifteen centuries; beginning still with S. Joseph:—

Glastonbury, olim Avallonia.

This place is reckoned in our old historians as the most ancient Christian church in Great Britain, founded, as they say, by Joseph of Arimathæa, about thirty-one years after our blessed Saviour's passion. Here was also accounted to have been the first regular congregation of monks, gathered, as we are told, by one of the S. Patricks, A.D. 435. This monastery was afterwards most liberally endowed by the munificence of Ina, Edmund the Elder, and other Saxon kings and nobles, and had Benedictine monks introduced by the care of S. Dunstan, A.D. 954. It was dedicated to the Blessed Virgin Mary, and valued, etc.

Camden ("Britannia," p. 182, by Gibson, 1772) speaks thus:—

In this island stood the monastery of Glastonbury, which is very antient; deriving its original from Joseph of Arimathæa, the same who buried Christ's body, and whom Philip, the Apostle of the Gauls, sent into Britain to preach the gospel. From hence this place was by our ancestors called "The first ground of God; the first ground of the saints in England; the rise and foundation of all religion in England; the burying-place of the saints; the Mother of the saints." And they said of it, that it was built by the very disciples of our Lord. Nor is there any reason why we should call this in question, since I have before shown that the Christian religion, in the very infancy of the Church, was preached in this island; and since Freculphus Lexoviensis has told us that this Philip "brought barbarous nations, bordering upon darkness, and living upon the ocean, to the light of knowledge and haven of faith."

It is notable, as illustrating the decline of belief in England in process of time, and as a commentary on Dod's remark, that Bishop Gibson, who edits Camden, throws discredit on the story, though he does not tamper with this passage, as he seems to have done with others, by interpretations.

The account of William of Malmesbury is as follows:—

Saint Philip (as is stated by Freculfus, in the fourth chapter of his second book) passed among the nation of the Franks, preached the Gospel to them,

and converted many to Christianity. Desiring to extend still further a knowledge of the true faith, he chose twelve of his disciples, each of whom he blessed by the laying on of hands, and then sent them to Britain to preach the Gospel. Philip is said to have appointed over these one who was his most dear friend, Joseph of Arimathæa, the same who had laid the body of our Lord in the sepulchre.

These disciples, with Joseph of Arimathæa, came to Britain in the year of our Lord 63, and fifteen years after the Assumption of Blessed Mary. They immediately began to preach the faith of Christ; but the barbarous king and people whom they addressed, on hearing things so strange and unusual, altogether refused to yield them any belief or attention. Yet, as these strangers had journeyed from afar, and as the strictness of their lives betokened their sanctity, the king of those parts expressed his willingness to grant one petition made by them; to assign for their dwelling-place a small island, lying on the borders of his dominion, covered with underwood, briars, and marshes. The name of this little island was Yniswitrin.

Later on, two other kings, who were also Pagans, taking note of the holy lives which these good men led, bestowed on each of them a portion of land; and at their petition, confirmed by grant by such sanctions as obtained in the country. The name which attaches to the twelve hides of land belonging to the abbey, is believed to be derived from this grant.

Soon after these holy men had commenced their common life in this desert island, they were admonished by a vision from the angel Gabriel, that they should build there, on a spot designated from on high, a church in honour of the blessed and holy Virgin Mother of God. A prompt obedience was given to this command. Walls were erected of wattled osiers, and a small chapel completed by them, in the thirty-first year from the Passion, and the fifteenth after the Assumption of the Ever-glorious Virgin. Poor, indeed, it was in appearance; but it was richly adorned with divine benedictions; and as it was the first church which had ever been built in this land, so did the Son of God distinguish it, as of greater dignity than the rest, by directing that it should be dedicated in honour of the Virgin Mother.

The twelve holy men of whom we have already spoken, devoted themselves in this place to the service of God and of the Blessed Virgin; for here they spent their days in watching, fasting, and prayer; and here, we may well believe, for it accords with piety so to do, they were often aided, by and through her, in all they needed.

Thus much we have been able to learn from a letter of S. Patrick, and from the writings of the ancients, among which may be mentioned a history of the Britons, which we have seen at S. Edmond's, and at S. Augustine's (the Apostle of the English), beginning with these words:—

"On the confines of western Britain there is a certain royal island, known by the ancient name of Glastonbury; it comprises a wide extent of territory, has streams well stored with fish, is surrounded by tranquil waters, is suited in most respects to supply the wants of man; but, what is greater than all, and of more importance, it seems to be singularly enriched with blessings from Heaven. On that island it was that the first Catholic neophytes found an antient church of the English, prepared, as it would seem, by Heaven, for

the salvation of man; and as time went on, He by whom all things were made, manifested by numerous miracles, that it was especially consecrated to the Virgin Mary, Mother of God."

Here it was the twelve holy men led an eremitical life for many years. In course of time all of them were taken away from this earthly prison; and then the spot which had been the dwelling of saints became the haunt of wild animals, till at length it pleased the Blessed Virgin to bring the remembrance of her oratory back to the minds of the faithful.*

Polydore Vergil, whom Usher describes as *vir naris emunctioris* (compared with John of Tynemouth, whose account, taken from the books of Glastonbury, Usher had noticed disparagingly just before), speaks as follows:—

Joseph, a native of the city of Arimathæa, who, as the Apostle Matthew witnesses, had buried the body of Christ, came into Britain with no small following; whether by chance or design, God so willing it; and there, when himself and his companions had preached the Gospel, and sedulously taught the doctrine of Christ, many were thus brought over to the true religion, gifted with the precious fruits of salvation, and baptized. These men, doubtless under an *afflatus* of the Divine Spirit, having obtained from the king the donation of a small space of ground (near the town of Wells, about four miles off), laid there the foundations of the new religion, where now is a stately church and a noble monastery of the order of S. Benedict. The name of the place is Glasconia.† This was altogether the commencement in Britain of the Christian religion, which King Lucius (as we shall shortly relate), fresh from the font of baptism, greatly rekindled and increased when it had become almost extinct.

And before this writer, Lepidus Bartholinus had said the same thing in fewer words.

Let us come to old Hollinshed, who says in his Chronicles ("Hist. of England," p. 37, ed. 1586):—

In the days of the said Arviragus, about the year of Christ 53, Joseph of Arimathæa, who buried the body of our Saviour, being sent by Philip the Apostle (as John Bale, following the authority of Gildas and other British writers, reciteth), after that the Christians were dispersed out of Gallia, came into Britain with divers other godly Christian men, and preaching the gospel there amongst the Britains, and instructing them in the faith and laws of Christ, converted many to the true belief, and baptized them in the wholesome water of regeneration, and there continued all the residue of his life, obtaining of the king a plot of ground where to inhabit, not past a four miles from Wells; and there, with his fellows, began to lay the first foun-

* W. Malm., "Antiq. Glast.," vol. iii. pp. 292, 293. (Gale.)

† A typical error, occurring more than once in printed copies from the old MSS., occasioned by the peculiar form of the letter *t*, as given by the monastic writers.

dation of the true and perfect religion; in which place (or near thereunto) was afterward erected the abbey of Glastonbury.

We owe some apology for putting Baronius so late on our list. He mentions the tradition that S. Lazarus, his holy sisters Martha and Mary, SS. Nicodemus, Joseph of Arimathæa, and Marcella, were placed by the Jews in a vessel without oars, rudder, or sail, and committed to the open sea. Then, after speaking of the providential guidance which landed them at Marseilles, he quotes a "Manuscript hist. Angl. qui hab. in Vatic. Bibliothec.," to the effect that S. Joseph proceeded thence to Britain, where he preached the gospel and died. Usher, consistently with himself and his thesis, denies the antiquity of this MS., which he contends was written in his own time and that of Baronius. But it seems plain that they who deny S. Joseph to Glastonbury, might equally withhold S. Lazarus from Marseilles, S. Martha from Tarascon, and S. Mary Magdalene from the Sainte Beaume. And we can see no antecedent improbability in the account that one of that holy and zealous company pushed onward through the "fresh fields and pastures new" then opened to them all, while others found their sphere of labour soon after the first landing. And such a supposed improbability should be overwhelming indeed, to countervail what Dod truly calls the "testimony of ancient monuments, the tradition of the British and Saxon Churches, and the generality of our historians, both ancient and modern."

As a commentary on the latter part of the quotation given above from Dod, we take the following note from Tanner's "Notitia Monastica." Tanner himself, as we shall see directly, believes—at least makes no attempt to discredit—the story of S. Joseph. Stillingfleet, he says, "contends for King Ina's being *founder* of this monastery.* He thinks here might be a very ancient church in the British times, but there is no good ground for what is said in the Monasticon and other writers, of S. Joseph of Arimathæa, S. Patrick, or S. David being ever here. And Collier, in his 'Ecclesiastical History,' vol. i. p. 8, follows him. See also Archbishop

* Whereas, on the contrary, William of Malmesbury says that Ina, following the counsels of S. Aldhelm, "granted to the monastery of Glastonbury the same privileges which Aldhelm had obtained for Malmesbury."—("Gest. Reg. Angl.," vol. i. p. 49. See Maccabe, "Cath. Hist. of England," vol. i. p. 522.) This certainly does not look like a first foundation. No chronicler, however inaccurate in expression, would have failed to say that Ina founded the monastery, and granted it certain privileges; or, that he granted them to *his* monastery of Glastonbury.

Usher's 'Antiquities of the British Churches,' chap. ii. and vi." *

Let us examine this for a moment. There might be a very ancient church here in the British times, but there is no good ground for its foundation by S. Joseph. What better ground, then, is there for its foundation by any other? What other name has ever been associated with its origin? Why did King Ina fix on a marshy spot, of which William of Malmesbury expressly says that it was *in quodam recessu palustri posita, nec situ nec amenitate delectabilis;* to erect there for the first time, according to the theory, a monastery, which he endowed with more than ordinary munificence? † Why, in doing so, was he only the first of a line of other Saxon kings and nobles? Ancient British churches, we imagine, resembled all other ancient churches in the circumstances of their foundation. They were not planted haphazard, σποραδὴν, up and down the country; they were built over the spot of a martyrdom, or on land granted by a convert or well-wisher among the great ones of the country, or over the relics of a saint, or by designation of a miracle or revelation, or in obedience to some other special reason which defined their site. The first rude church of S. Alban's was erected on the hill where the proto-martyr of Britain suffered. The little edifice of S. Martin's, at Canterbury, is said to have arisen on the foundations of the palace ceded to the Church by Ethelbert after his baptism.‡ The first altar at Basingwerke stood there because of the fountain which sprang up

* Tanner's "Notitia Monastica," p. 458.

† King Ina gave 2,640 lb. weight of silver to make a chapel at Glastonbury; 264 lb. of gold for the altar; the chalice and pater had 10 lb. of gold; the censer, 8 lb. and 20 mancs of gold; the candlesticks, 12 lb. of silver; in the covers of the book of the Gospels, 20 lb. and 40 mancs of gold; the vessels for water, and other vessels of the altar, 17 lb. of gold; the basins, 8 lb. of gold; the vessel for the holy water, 20 lb. of silver; the images of our Lord and S. Mary, and the twelve apostles, 175 lb. of silver, and 38 lb. of gold; the altar and priestly vestments all interwoven with gold and precious stones. —Stevens, vol. i. p. 422, from older authorities. Tanner's "Notitia," pref. p. iii. note.

‡ At all events, the church of S. Pancras, standing between Canterbury and S. Martin's, was dedicated by S. Augustine, as the first building he set apart for Christian worship, because it occupied the site of "a temple, in which King Ethelbert while a pagan used to pray and, surrounded by his nobles, to sacrifice to demons. . . The altar in the south porch . . *still stands there.* It occupies the spot on which had been placed a statue of the king." (S. Beda, "Hist. Eccles." lib. ii. c.) In so doing he carried out the injunctions of S. Gregory, who sent him; which were, that in destroying the pagan altars and groves, he should consult for the local and familiar associations of the native mind by erecting Christian temples in the same spots.

on the martyrdom of S. Winefride. And so of other ancient examples in these islands; for the list would be extensive in England and Scotland, and overwhelming if it included Ireland. The reason of our oldest churches occupying their special locality is as definite as when we say that S. Peter's stands on the Vatican because the Prince of the Apostles was buried in a catacomb on its slope, or that the Mother and Mistress of all Churches stands on the Lateran because of the donation of his palace there by Constantine, fresh from the laver of his regeneration.

Now, S. Joseph is said to have settled at Glastonbury by the donation to him and his eleven followers of a small island in the marshy plain through which the Brue, now greatly diminished, wound its way between the Sedgemoors to Bridgewater Bay. This donation was made by King Arviragus, who, pagan though he was, was struck by the sanctity of the new comers, and became willing that they should settle within his realm. His conduct stands in contrast with that of the native prince and inhabitants of Venodocia, in North Wales, the place of their first landing from Gaul, where they were ill-treated and imprisoned. It must be confessed—for we desire to hold an even balance in weighing the *pros* and *cons* of every part of the story—that North Wales does not lie precisely on the way from Gaul to Loëgria, of which the present Somersetshire formed a part. We should like to have heard of contrary winds, the loss of a rudder, or some other cogent reason for this deviation in the course of the little band of missioners. Yet it must be remarked that much ingenuity has been expended in determining the course of S. Paul's wanderings by sea, when "neither sun nor stars for many days appeared," and they were "driven up and down in Adria." And (to come back to our subject) not a few obvious coasts, promontories, and islands presented themselves, for S. Lazarus and his companions to drift to, on their way from Judea, instead of touching land for the first time at Marseilles. "There are many improbabilities," says an immortal writer, Butler, the Anglican philosopher, "in the story of Cæsar, or any other," which are overcome at once, if sufficient evidence can be brought to establish its facts. Let any one present his readers with the well-attested facts of S. Francis Xavier's life and apostolate in the Indies, and withhold the amount of evidence on which they rest. What would be thought of their antecedent probability? However, this special incident of S. Joseph's landing in North Wales is easily detached from the rest, and might have been an unauthorized addition, a marginal comment creeping into the text, a fraud on the part of some

chronicler or transcriber, or, finally, may be one of the countless truths that are stranger than fiction.

Accepting the statement that S. Joseph first touched British soil in Armorica, the treatment he received there is in accordance with every probability. His coming would have been some two years after the taking (A.D. 61) of Mona, or Anglesea, and the massacre of Druids and priestesses, by Suetonius Paulinus at the head of his legions. In the retaliation inflicted by British arms under Boadicea, while Suetonius was still absent in that distant quarter, three Roman stations, London, Verulam, and Maldon, had been taken and burnt, and seventy thousand of the foreigners and their adherents put to death by the sword or by torture. This sanguinary revolt, again, was avenged, on the return of Suetonius, by the death of eighty thousand Britons in a pitched battle, which was followed by the suicide of their queen. The vengeful feelings excited in the breast of a nation by such events are not calmed in a moment; and we may imagine the light in which a band of foreigners, arriving with strange garb and language, and from the direction of Rome, would be regarded by the worsted and expatriated Britons. Driven up, as they were, into a mountainous corner of the land, whose fair pastures, through its length and breadth, their immediate forefathers had occupied in peace, and with such memories of blood and fire still alive within them, the only wonder seems to be that the Welsh Britons did not visit their wrongs on the new comers by instant martyrdom. And there must indeed have been something in the presence of these strangers to conciliate respect and confidence, when we find the British king Arviragus disposed (as it would seem, even on their first landing near Yniswitrin) to favour them and settle them in his territory.

Speaking of the donation of Arviragus, Dugdale only mentions "a small island, then rude and uncultivated;" though the nature of the ground, and still more the names of some places in the neighbourhood of Glastonbury, would seem to indicate more than one. But what follows in Dugdale is of greater importance:—

> To each of the twelve was assigned for his subsistence a certain portion of land called a hide, comprising a district denominated to this day, *The Twelve Hides of Glaston.* . . . They enjoyed all the immunities of regal dignity from ancient times and the first establishment of Christianity in this land. One peculiar privilege which this church possessed by the grant of King Canute, was that no subject could enter this district without the permission of the abbot and convent.

. . . every . . . , whether of . . . or of Glaston-

bury, beginning, indeed, with "Domesday Book," mentions, as a matter of course, the Twelve Hides. But the most interesting account of them is from the first of Dugdale's "Chartæ ad Cœnobium Glastoniense spectantes." It is an extract from a Latin MS. history of it in the Ashmolean Museum, num. 790. It is headed, "Of the different names of the same island, in which the said church is situate, and how it was inhabited" (fol. 6-8).

This island, then, was first called by the Britons *Ynswytryn*, that is, Glassy Island, on account of the stream, of glassy tint, that flowed around it in a marsh. It is called an island because enclosed on every side by a deep marsh, as those are more distinctly called islands that are known as situate in the sea. It is called Avalon, either from the British word aval, which means apple, because the place abounds in apples and orchards, or from some one named Avalon, who once bore authority in that district. Lastly, the Saxons, when they brought the country under their yoke, called it in their tongue Glastynbury, i. e. Glastonia, thus interpreting its former name. For glas, in English or Saxon, means *vitrum*, and Bury, *civitas*, &c.

This island has also [other] islands lying around and tributary to it, the names of which are: Bekery, called Little Ireland, where S. Brigid dwelt of old; Ferramere, where S. Benignus once led an eremitical life; with the island of Westhey to the west, and Godeney to the east; called Godeney, that is God's island, because there is in it a small church of the Holy Trinity. Padnebeorge, a district bearing vines. Andredesey, or Ylond, excelling the rest of the islands for its pleasant situation. It is called Andredesey on account of a little church of S. Andrew which is there. Martinesey is another island, so called because of a little church of S. Martin in it. These islands, then, with many other places, as will more fully appear below, enjoy together the same privilege and pre-eminence from the beginning. And, taken all together, they are called the Twelve Hides.

The island district here indicated extended to the spurs of the Mendip hills; and the names still remaining of Nyland, West Zoyland, Mere, and others, show what was originally the nature of that part of Somerset. John of Glastonbury ("Hist. de Rebus Glaston.," tom. i. p. 13) gives us other names; as Pinnelake, The Burne, Fulebroc, Ylake, Ywere, Wynerdlake, Bachinwere, and so forth, till we almost feel ourselves over ankles in the marshes. There is one significant name amongst them, however—Abedesdiche, which we may claim to call the Abbot's Ditch or Dyke; and to adduce it in evidence of the benefit conferred by the community on the county agriculture. The more so, as Collinson mentions "S. Dunstan's Dyke," after speaking as follows. The river Brue, he says, traverses the Twelve Hides "to its junction with the Yeo, and thence falls into the Parret, near Burnham, commixing soon after with the Channel. The soil is fenny, having been formerly

overflown [*sic*] by the waters of the sea, which retiring, and being excluded by sluices and sea-walls, the marshes have from time to time, by much industry, been drained and reduced to profit." — Collinson's "Somersetshire," vol. ii. p. 237.)

But we must return, and draw to a conclusion.

Usher acknowledges one thing; nay, insists on it as an important fact—"*minime prætereundum.*" In European synods, whenever a question arose as to the dignity and precedence of the English crown as against those of France and Spain, the advocates of England used to appeal to the Glastonbury tradition. Four times especially, in the fifteenth century, this question was mooted; at the Council of Pisa in 1409, that of Constance in 1417, of Sienna in 1424, and of Basle in 1434. The arguments adduced at the second of these councils have been summed up in a special treatise;* and published by Sir R. Wingfield, the "orator" (technically so called) sent by Henry VIII. to the Emperor Maximilian. Usher had also seen it in two MS. copies; one in the King's Library, the other (once belonging to Cardinal Bembo) in the collection of Sir Henry Wotton. It was in the 30th session of the Council that the question was mooted: "Is it right and reasonable that the kingdom of England should rank with that of France in a General Council?" Among other allegations to prove the affirmative, it was said that—

> Immediately after the Passion of Christ, Joseph of Arimathæa, a noble counsellor, who took down Christ from the Cross, with twelve companions, came early in the morning into the Lord's vineyard to dress it; that is, into England, and brought multitudes to the faith. The King assigned to them for their maintenance twelve hides of land in the diocese of Bath; and it is written that they are buried in the monastery of Glastonbury, in the [said] diocese of Bath. And the said monastery is especially known to have been endowed from ancient times with the twelve hides aforesaid. But the kingdom of France received the faith of Christ in the days and through the ministry of S. Dionysius.†

Usher proceeds to give the allegation (to the same effect) of the English advocates at the Council of Basle. It was opposed by a divine of rather formidable titles and pretensions; viz. Alphonsus Garcia de Sanctâ Mariâ, Doctor of Laws, and Dean of the churches of Compostella and Segovia; he, of course, advanced the claims of S. James on behalf of Spain. The

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* Nobilissima disceptatio super dignitate et magnitudine regnorum Britannici et Gallici, habita ab utriusque oratoribus et legatis in Concilio Constantiensi. Lovanii, 1517.

† "Brit. Eccles. Antiq.," p. 13, *uti supra.*

first of his four points is the only one which is much to our purpose. It is a point-blank denial that S. Joseph ever came to England at all; and rested on the absence of any "history or authentic writing" which could be adduced for it.

The reader, we think, will be at no loss to account for this absence, if he reflects on the wholesale mutual destruction of Romans and Britons, and the subsequent desolation of the whole land by the invading Saxons.* Documents would not be spared when the blood of man was shed in torrents; and the more terse and summary the records of that early period, the more easily would they lie within the grasp of the spoiler. To us, the visit of the British S. David and seven of his suffragans to the Saxon Avalon in 530, and his gift to the then monastery, of the celebrated "sapphire of Glastonbury," of which we have a very undesigned proof in the list of spoils presented to Henry VIII., is worth many documents.

"*Item*, delyvered more unto his maiestie the same day (XV die Maii, Ann. XXXI—vide *supra*) and of the same stuffe, a superaltre, garnished with silver and gilte, and parte golde, called the greate Saphire of Glasconburye."—Dugdale, in Glast. Append. num. 140.

Henry de Blois, nephew to Henry I., who from a Cluniac monk became Abbot of Glastonbury, has left a writing which his friend, William of Malmesbury, has prefixed to his own treatise on the place. In this the abbot details the decayed condition of the abbey on his first coming to it. In illustration of this, Adam de Domerham ("Hist. de Reb. gestis Glastoniensib.," ed. Hearne, p. 309) says that Henry de Blois found the "sapphire" given by S. David, which had been concealed for fear of spoliation during the long wars, in a doorway of the Church of the Blessed Virgin, and that he adorned it with gold, silver, and precious stones:—"*sicut adhuc apparet, magnifice decoravit.*"

He also gave to Glastonbury the church of Pukelschurche, that its revenues should always maintain a wax-light "in ecclesiâ universalis Dominæ Sanctæ Mariæ, quæ, ob antiquitatem sui, *antiqua ecclesia*, vulgo EALDE CHURICHE, dicitur."

There is no assignable reason for the visit or the offering, if what the chroniclers say be a mere "monkish legend." On the whole subject we should like to compare, in all their breadth, the mere external proofs of S. Joseph's coming to Iniswytryn with the mere external proofs of S. Patrick's coming to Ireland.

* See S. Bede, "Hist. Eccles.," lib. 1, c. 6, § 15; c. 13, § 32; Gildas, Hist. § 11, 20; "the lamentations of the Britons to Ætius," &c.

Let us endeavour to state the argument in the most matter-of-fact way.

There is a spot in England, remarkable for two things, at least: a primæval tradition and a primæval tenure. The tradition is, that this spot was the first in the island to receive the light of faith. The tenure is that of twelve portions of ground, immemorially exempt from all burden, and endowed with special privileges. Both these, the Glastonbury tradition and the Glastonbury tenure, ascend beyond any documents existing in the country. When Christianity is restored, after a century of decay, the new missioners, who bring it from Rome, come to this spot, uncentral as it is, and attracting them by no natural advantages. They are led thither by no apparent motive, except that tradition had always pointed it out as *the* spot where the faith first shone in Britain. They are said to have pursued there a search which had no assignable meaning, unless they believed the tradition; to have discovered, not only marks of the decayed Christianity, but relics pointing to one individual; and to have petitioned the king who invited them over, to renew in their favour the original grant made to that individual and his followers, of the twelve portions of land. What is more certain is, that some four centuries after this traditional event, S. David, accompanied by seven of his suffragan bishops, came to the spot, not only to venerate it, but to add to the ecclesiastical buildings already there. This new foundation he gifted with a super-altar of sapphire, stated to be "of inestimable value," known thenceforward as "the sapphire of Glastonbury," and remaining in the abbey as one of its chief treasures, until the dissolution, when it is expressly named in the list of jewels transferred to the King. Again, some seventy years after, the third evangelisation of the country, now become Saxon, took place under S. Augustine and his companions from Rome. The legate turns his eyes to Glastonbury, and takes measures to erect it into a yet more regularly constituted society. From this time we have an unbroken history of gifts and privileges poured on the place by Saxon kings and nobles, until the desolation of the country by the Danes. Out of that desolation it is raised by King Edmund, and under S. Dunstan becomes a Benedictine abbey.

Now, from the period of its becoming Benedictine, there is only one name, and that the same as in the earlier notices, mentioned as the original founder. But, as our opponents join issue as to the earlier proof, we continue our argument.

A marshy, therefore (in its then state) nearly useless tract, is said to be given by a heathen king to a Christian missioner. Is there anything improbable here, *à priori?* He respects

him enough to allow him to settle in his territory; yet he is not disposed to be so generous as to assign to him the fat of the land. But there is the further detail already mentioned, and remaining to be disposed of by those who deny the story. The missioner stated to have come is stated to have been accompanied by eleven companions. Twelve portions of land are said, therefore, to have been given them. Those twelve portions have existed, and been privileged, from time immemorial. Now, they who object to the name always associated with these transactions are bound to furnish us with another. And he must be one who shall be accompanied by just so many companions as shall account for the twelve hides of Glastonbury. But there is absolutely no such name even hinted at. It is not that we have to balance probabilities between two claimants. Apostles and apostolic men are mentioned, with various degrees of likelihood, as having preached the faith in Britain before the time of Lucius. But, as to Glastonbury, "the fountain and origin of all religion in the realm of Britain," it is *aut Joseph, aut nullus.*

Moreover, by the time the place has become Benedictine, if not before, motives may be assigned which would make the existing community anxious to trace for themselves another origin. Writers who would make out the "monkish historians" and monks in general to be compounds of fool and knave in various proportions, may rest assured that, when they once took to forgery with the hearty good will attributed to them, they would have forged a legend dated, not from Jerusalem, but from Rome. To bring in S. Joseph gratuitously would have strengthened the cause of the British synod at Benchor. S. Joseph embarks at Joppa, and lands at Marseilles. Had he touched at Ostia or Puteoli, he would have found the first Pope in prison, would probably have been refused an interview by the guards, and have failed in gaining from him any mission or jurisdiction. It seems, then, a certain *ignoratio elenchi* which has withheld Usher, Stillingfleet, and the rest from wielding this topic of the coming of oriental missioners,* as they have wielded the Council of Jerusalem, and the part taken there by S. James. We might have

* Thus, Dr. Lappenburg, of Hamburg:—"The agreement of the British with the Eastern churches respecting the celebration of Easter, shows a conformity most satisfactorily, perhaps, to be accounted for by the supposition of an historic basis for the several legends respecting the preaching of the doctrines of Christ by oriental apostles. It is even probable that the first tidings of the new faith did not come from Rome, where it was still under oppression, but rather from one of those congregations of Asia Minor," &c.—"History of England under the Anglo-Saxon Kings," vol. i. p. 48.

expected them to do their best to fix S. Joseph at Glastonbury; just as their co-religionists have made the most of the remarkable groups of seven churches up and down Ireland, as betokening an Asiatic origin for the Christianity of the island.

False traditions, after all, are not of such easy manufacture at any given period of time. Doubtless, the further we recede backwards from the discovery of printing, the easier it becomes to palm a forged document on the ignorant or the unwary. Doubtless, also, there has always existed in men of more zeal than discretion, and more local or family partiality than conscience, a tendency to frauds, miscalled pious. A remarkable instance of such a forgery, dictated by erring devotion to an apostle and evangelist, but so important that it involved the degradation of the ecclesiastic who perpetrated it, is given by S. Jerome. Another, nearer to our subject, is to be found in Dugdale, in the shape of a charter of S. Patrick, which is doubtless interesting in itself, and might be applied, with considerable modifications, to a namesake of the great Apostle of Ireland. It never, in our judgment, could be other than an unjustifiable attempt to add to the glories of Avalon, those of the spiritual father of an entire nation, whose relics, with those of SS. Brigid and Columba, most undoubtedly rest in the now desecrated cathedral of Down.* But this particular point comes invested with its own interest, and we hope to return to it in a future page. Meanwhile they who suppose the early centuries of the Church in England to have been a gape to swallow every improbable or unfounded monkish fiction, show no very clear perception of the degree in which human incredulity has ever risen up to question what was not of faith. Disbelieving, as non-Catholic writers and theorists do, the mysteries of that revelation of which they accidentally receive disjointed fragments, they have inevitably lost the distinction between divine and human traditions. Their historical acumen has thereby suffered, no less than more important mental and spiritual faculties. There were other and rival orders (the Cistercians, say) rising into importance, while the Glastonbury account was being embodied in document after document: how is it

* Roger de Hoveden, who had no interest one way or the other, records ("Annal." pars post Hen. II., p. 561, ed. Savile): "Prædictus autem Johannes de Cerci, ante Purificationem S. Mariæ, obsedit et cepit civitatem de *Dun*, quæ est caput *Bluestre*, ubi etiam requiescunt corpora sanctorum Patricii, et Columbæ confessorum, et S. Brigidæ virginis." And so the old distich:

"Tres sancti in Duno tumulo tumulantur in uno;
Brigida, Patricius, atque Columba pius."

that on their part no voice is ever raised against it? William the Conqueror we take to have been not precisely a man of over-credulous mind or over-timorous conscience, prepared to accept for gospel whatever was spoken under a cowl. Yet we read that, on taking possession of his dominion, *visis et cognitis cartis ecclesiæ Glastoniæ,** he granted to them certain lands in perpetuity. He was likely to have been surrounded by eyes as sharp as his own, and more accustomed to the examination of documents; and men who surround a king, in the eleventh century, as in the sixteenth, are ready enough to gain the royal favour by the exposure of frauds, real or supposed, which they might allege had been palmed on his predecessors. Yet the credit of Glastonbury then rested on the tradition of S. Joseph; and the fierce Norman confirms it.

To come latter; is not the motive which may easily have biassed such writers as Usher and Stillingfleet to cast discredit on the story, sufficiently obvious? Old Dod has already given it to us, in his plain, common-sense way: "So early an instance of monastic discipline was not very consistent with the economy of our modern churches, who style themselves reformed." Besides, there was the latent dislike of anything which came to them through a monastic chronicle. *Odisse quem læseris* is, unhappily, a deep-seated principle in human nature. A spiritual descendant of Henry VIII. was not likely to lend a willing ear to the accounts of those whom the father of the schism had dispossessed with equal injustice and cruelty. It is not necessary to assume this bias to have been conscious or permitted; it becomes a moral fact of yet deeper significance if we suppose it otherwise.

And so we arrive at our conclusion. The grounds on which the coming of S. Joseph is denied, appear to us without weight, as against the strong reasons for supposing the Glastonbury legend true.

This hasty and imperfect sketch has left much interesting matter untouched; as, Glastonbury under S. Patrick, though not the Apostle of Ireland; and, again, in the time of S. David, S. Dunstan, and others. In truth, the interest attaching to this spot is pre-eminently great. Its undoubted antiquity, and that apostolic origin which we hope has not been unfairly claimed for it; its treasures of learning and reputation for sanctity; the wide spread influence for good which accompanied its long career, and the act of martyrdom that closed it; these are elements constituting a special regard which distinguishes Glastonbury above our other

* See his charter, given in Dugdale, Append. num. X.

mitred abbeys, whose ruins are so beautiful to the eye and so oppressive to the soul. We hope to return to it in a future number, and to fill in some details which are here necessarily left in mere outline. Meanwhile, we would suggest how many similar avenues of research lie open, interesting not only to the antiquarian, but to every English Catholic, nay, every Englishman whose intelligence and heart are open to the influences of the past. Dugdale, Tanner, and the earlier monastic chronicles to which their references point the way, afford a rich mine in which the materials of Catholic topography and religious history lie ready to hand. We may trust, then, to see this present attempt on behalf of Glastonbury surpassed by some systematic and exhaustive notice of S. Alban's, S. Edmondsbury, Croyland, and half a dozen more.

ART. V.—FEMALE LIFE IN PRISON.

Memoirs of Elizabeth Fry. By her Daughters.
Female Life in Prison. By A PRISON MATRON.
Memoirs of Jane Cameron. By the same.
Prison Portraits. By the same.
Report of the Eagle House Refuge for Catholic Female Prisoners.
Life of the Marchesa Giulia Falletti di Barola. By SILVIO PELLICO. Translated by LADY GEORGIANA FULLERTON.

WE men of England account ourselves in all simplicity a humane and kindhearted people, and it is therefore a problem somewhat difficult of solution, why we have been wont from time to time to tolerate cruelties seldom paralleled in countries where the estimate of human life and the horror of violence and bloodshed is lower and less intense than our own. It would seem that John Bull's habitual respect for law and order leads him to take for granted that, in our social system, *whatever is, is right,* and to extend the benefit of the legal fiction, that *the king can do no wrong* to whatever emanates from the supreme authority of the state, whether it be written on the pages of our statute-books or living in the administration of our prisons and workhouses. And so the nation passes on, thanking God that it is not like other nations, while some festering sore which is preying on its very vitals is left to be discovered and bound up by the hand of some good Samaritan like Elizabeth Fry.

When that loving and heroic woman was locked up with her Bible in her hand amidst the degraded and unsexed women who were huddled together in filth and wretchedness on the bare floor of their prison-house, two evils in our social system were crying aloud to God for vengance,—the reckless waste of human life by the application of capital punishment to crimes simply affecting property, such as forgery, horse-stealing, sheep-stealing, and again the callous disregard of the physical sufferings and moral pollution consequent upon the then existing state of our prisons. Not fifty years had passed since Howard had fallen plague-stricken on the shores of the Black Sea. He had travelled 13,000 miles on his pilgrimage of love through France, Switzerland, Belgium, Holland, and Germany; everywhere he had found suffering and abuses, but none to equal what he had witnessed in England. One exception to the general picture of misery and misrule he met with, and, albeit a Protestant and a dissenter, he freely and faithfully recorded it, bearing willing testimony to the admirable state of the Roman charities under the Pontificate of Pius VI. Howard's book on the *State of Prisons* has been said to have effected a reform in the prison discipline of the civilized world; yet, marvellous to say, the British public had fallen asleep again after the effect of his stern and startling lesson had worn away. Thumbscrews and torturing scull caps, such as he had found in our prisons, were no longer in use, yet the state of the women's wards in Newgate when Elizabeth Fry first visited them in 1813, seems scarcely credible in a Christian and civilized nation. Her visit and the occasion of it are simply recorded in the narrative of her life :—

Four members of the so-called Society of Friends, all well known to her, visited some persons in Newgate who were under sentence of death. Their representations of the destitute condition of the female prisoners first induced her to visit them with a view of providing them with necessary clothing. At that time all the female prisoners in Newgate were confined in the part afterwards occupied by those awaiting trial. The larger portion of the quadrangle was then used as a state prison. The partition wall was not of sufficient height to prevent the state prisoners from overlooking the narrow yard and the windows of the two wards and two cells of which the women's division consisted. Into these four rooms, comprising about a hundred and ninety superficial yards, nearly three hundred women with their numerous children were crowded, the tried and the untried, the guilty of misdemeanours or of felony, without classification, without employment, and with no superintendence by night or day but that of a man and his son. Destitute of sufficient clothing, for which there was no provision, in rags and dirt and without bedding, they slept on the floor, the boards of which were in part raised to supply a sort of pillow. In the same room they lived, cooked, and

washed. With the proceeds of their clamorous begging from any stranger who might venture among them the prisoners purchased spirits, which were openly drunk from a regular tap in the prison. The ear was constantly assailed by most terrible language, and beyond what was absolutely necessary for safe custody little restraint was imposed on their communication with the exterior world.

Military sentinels were posted on the leads of the prison, but such was the lawlessness pervading the women's quarter that the governor himself was reluctant to enter it, and advised the ladies to leave their watches in his house lest they should be snatched from their sides.

Mrs. Fry entered this chamber of horrors accompanied only by one lady, a sister of Sir T. F. Buxton. What she then witnessed sank deeply into her heart, although she attempted nothing more at the time than to supply the most destitute with clothes. A vivid recollection of the green baize garments, and the pleasure of assisting in their preparation, is still retained in her family. She carried back to her home and into the midst of far other interests and duties a lively remembrance of all that she had seen, which within four years from that time gave rise to the systematic efforts for ameliorating the condition of these poor outcasts which were eventually rewarded with so large a measure of success.

Let it not be forgotten that amongst these hopeless ones were many who had entered that abode of sin and misery comparatively innocent—wives, mothers, and maidens—whose one crime had been committed (it may be) to save some life dearer than their own. Condemned by the fearful laws of those days against forgery, and other offences of the like kind, to the same fate with the murderess and the infanticide, and exposed by the mal-administration of those laws to the contamination of their companionship, the too probable destruction of the soul was thus added to the death of the body; and, more horrible still, innocent children were shut up in this den of sin and misery, with their guilty or unhappy parents. We read of a mother surrounded by her seven children awaiting the birth of the eighth to undergo the sentence of death for forgery, under which her husband had already suffered.

For these unhappy victims, thus perishing at their very door, no voice, as yet, of statesman, philanthropist, or orator had been uplifted to plead. The impassioned and indignant eloquence of Burke had made the House of Commons thrill at the tale of the far-away wrongs of the Princesses of Oude. The persuasive accents and patient perseverance of Wilberforce were winning their way, year by year, to the heart of England, and wearing away, link by link, the fetters of the negro slave. But for these unhappy beings no word as yet had been spoken. Like the victims of some wicked enchanter,

they were doomed to wear their hideous and brutal form until some benign being should recall them to humanity by the kiss of a sister's lips and the love of a Christian's heart.

> Now wist I of a woman bold,
> Who thrice my brow would sign ;
> I might regain my native mould,
> As fair a form as thine.

No one certainly would seem less to answer to the description of a *woman bold* than the gentle and naturally timid and sensitive being by whose agency so arduous a work was to be effected. It is, however, a remarkable fact that with very few exceptions the women who have received a mission to do great things either for God or man have been essentially feminine, and often even naturally fearful. This was the characteristic in no ordinary degree of her who worked so marvellous a reformation in our prison system.

Elizabeth Fry was descended on both her father and mother's side from ancient Norman houses. The name Gournay or Gurney, well known in Norfolk from the days of William Rufus, is derived from the town of Gournay-en-Brai, in Normandy. Her mother was a descendant of the Barclays of Ury, in Kincardineshire, and granddaughter of Robert Barclay, the well-known apologist of the Quakers. John Gurney, a Norwich merchant, joined that sect soon after its foundation by George Fox, and thus, by many generations on both sides, Elizabeth was an hereditary member of the so-called *Society of Friends*. Very different, however, were the members of the circle which graced the refined and literary home of the Gurneys of Earlham from the fervent and fanatical companions of George Fox. The fervour had cooled down with the fanaticism, and the children of those who accounted themselves to be the especial and privileged dwelling-places of the Holy Ghost had come not only doubtfully to inquire *whether there be any Holy Ghost*, but to the utter disbelief of the great doctrine of the Blessed Trinity, the name of which their fathers had rejected because they found it not in the Bible. The great body of educated Quakers had sunk to the level of mere natural religion, and were ready without a shock, and almost without a consciousness, to receive the Deism and even Atheism which loaded the air, then heavy with the pestilential vapours of the French Revolution. Notwithstanding the care taken by Mrs. Gurney of her children's religious training, Elizabeth's mind was deeply affected by these evil influences, and it was from this dead level of scepticism that she eventually rose by painful and persevering

efforts to the measure of Christian faith and the energy of Christian love which she eventually attained.

The history of her mental and spiritual conflicts traced by the hand of her daughters, disfigured as it is by the phraseology of her sect, is deeply interesting, but would be out of place in this short sketch of her prison work.

In some notices of her early childhood written by her own hand we find traces of the exceeding sensitiveness, timidity, deep and tender affections, and thorough conscientiousness which distinguished her character throughout the course of her after-life :—

My earliest recollections are, I should think, soon after I was two years old. My father at that time had two houses : one in Norwich, and one at Bramerton, a sweet country place, situated on a common, near a pertty village. Here, I believe, many of my early tastes were formed, though we left it to reside at Earlham when I was about five years old. The impressions then received remain lively on my recollection, the delight in the beauty and wild scenery in parts of the common—the trees, the flowers, and the little rills that abounded on it ; the farm-houses, the village school, and the different poor people and their cottages. Here, I think, my great love for the country, the beauties of nature, and attention to the poor began. My mother was most dear to me, and the walks she took with me in the old-fashioned garden are as fresh with me as if only just passed ; and her telling me about Adam and Eve being driven out of Paradise. I always considered it must be just like our garden at Bramerton. I remember that my spirits were not strong ; that I frequently cried if looked at, and used to say that my eyes were weak ; but I remember much pleasure, and little suffering or particular tendency to naughtiness, up to this period. Fear about this time began to show itself—of people and of things. I remember being so much afraid of a gun, that I gave up an expedition of pleasure with my father and mother because there was a gun in the carriage. I was exceedingly afraid of the dark, and suffered so acutely from being left alone without a light after I went to bed, that I believe my nervous system was injured in consequence of it. Also I had so great a dread of bathing (to which I was at times obliged to submit) that the first sight of the sea, when we were as a family going to stay by it, would make me cry. Indeed fear was so strong a principle in my mind as greatly to mar the natural pleasures of childhood.

She speaks also of her exceeding reserve :—

This reserve made me little understood and thought very little of, except by my mother and one or two others. I was considered and called very stupid and obstinate. I certainly did not like learning, nor did I, I believe, attend to my lessons, partly from a delicate state of health that produced languor of mind as well as body ; but I think having the name of being stupid really tended to make me so, and discouraged my efforts to learn. My natural affections were very strong from early childhood, at times almost overwhelmingly so ; such was the love for my mother that the

thought that she might die and leave me used to make me weep after I went to bed, and for the rest of the family my childlike wish was that large walls might crush us altogether, that we might die at once, and thus avoid the misery of each other's death. I seldom, if I could help it, left my mother's side. I watched her when asleep in the day with exquisite anxiety, and used to go gently to her bedside to listen, from the awful fear that she did not breathe. My imagination was lively, and I once remember, and only once, telling a real untruth with one of my sisters and one of my brothers. We saw a light one morning which we represented far above the reality, and upon the real thing being shown to us we persisted in our original story.

My mother (she says), as far as she knew, trained me up in the love and fear of God, and I now remember the strong religious feeling with which I used to sit in silence with her after reading the Scriptures and a psalm before we went to bed. I have no doubt that her prayers were not in vain in the Lord. She died when I was twelve years old; the remembrance of her illness and death is sad even to the present day.

In the two years which followed, these religious impressions seem to have faded away :—

At fourteen (she says again), I had very sceptical or deistical principles. I seldom or never thought of religion, but altogether I was a negatively good character. Having naturally good dispositions, I had not much to contend with, but I freely gave way to the weaknesses of youth. I was flirting, idle, rather proud and vain till the time I was seventeen, when I found I wanted a greater and better stimulus to virtue, as I was wrapt up in trifles.

In her early girlhood Elizabeth Gurney fell, we are told, for a time under the influence of a Catholic friend of her father's, which had a beneficial effect upon her mind, so far as to stimulate her to higher aspirations and deeper conscientiousness than she witnessed in those around her. For some unexplained reason this gentleman does not seem to have attempted to instruct her in the Catholic faith. The singular freedom from sectarian bigotry and prejudice apparent in her diary and letters probably arose in no slight degree from her early respect for this Catholic friend. Her friends, perceiving the struggle going on in her mind, recommended her to read various religious books, but she said that till she felt the want of religion herself she would read nothing of the kind. "If I ever felt such a want," she says, "I would judge clearly for myself by reading the New Testament, and when I had seen for myself, I would then see what others said."

This *seeing for herself* ended, as might have been expected from the influences which surrounded her, in the adoption of the peculiar tenets and practices of the more religious portion of the sect to which she had always nominally belonged, and

in her becoming what is quaintly termed *a plain Friend.* Her brief career of gaiety did not extend beyond the age of eighteen, at which time she is said to have been exceedingly attractive. Her journal bears witness to her enjoyment of dancing, especially when honoured with the hand of a royal duke as her partner,* and to the supreme gratification of watching the Prince of Wales, then said to be the first gentleman in Europe (alas for Europe if the saying were true), through the whole duration of a concert at the opera-house. In spite of her natural timidity and delicate health, she was an accomplished and fearless horsewoman. All this time, however, the poor, for whom from her earliest childhood she had a tender love, were not forgotten. Many hours daily were given to the visiting of the sick and to the instruction of the village children, and her journal bears frequent testimony to her conscientious struggles with the feelings of vanity and worldliness excited by the pleasures in which, half against her convictions of duty, she indulged. Her affection for her family and her sensitive fear of giving them pain by taking a line different from their's, long held her back; but gradually the change was effected which marked in her eyes, and in the eyes of those among whom she lived, the giving up the world for God. Dancing and music were laid aside, the scarlet riding habit was exchanged for the sad-coloured gown, and the fair and flowing hair which was one of her chief personal attractions, was gathered up under the quiet Quaker's cap.

At twenty Elizabeth Gurney became the wife of Joseph Fry, a member of a family distinguished through many generations for *plain Quakerism,* in which, instead of being accounted, as in her father's house, the most serious, she was held to be the most worldly element of the party. In the diligent and conscientious discharge of her duties as a wife, a mother, and a mistress of a family, she spent the years which intervened between her marriage and the beginning of her labours in Newgate. It had been predicted of Elizabeth Gurney in the first days of her religious change by a great authority in her sect, a certain *Deborah Darby,* that she should one day be "a light to the blind and feet to the lame." Whatever relation these words may be supposed to bear to her public ministrations in the meeting-houses of the *Friends,* they may be fitly applied to her labours amongst the poor outcasts to whom so great a portion of her time and so large a measure of her love were devoted.

Her work at Newgate really began with her second visit,

* The Duke of Gloucester, then quartered at Norwich.

about Christmas, 1816, when she was at her own request left alone amongst the women for some hours. She read to them the parable of the *Lord of the Vineyard,* and made a few simple observations on the labourers called at the eleventh hour, and on Christ having come to save sinners, even such as had wasted the greater part of their lives. Some asked *who Christ was*; others feared that their day of salvation was passed.

The children, who were almost destitute of clothes, were pining for want of proper food, air, and exercise. Mrs. Fry particularly addressed herself to the mothers; and, pointing out to them the grievous consequences to their children of living in such a scene of depravity, she proposed to establish a school for them, to which they acceded with tears of joy. She desired them to consider the plan well; for, without the prospect of their steady co-operation, she would not, she said, attempt it. She left them to select a governess from among themselves. On her next visit they had chosen as schoolmistress a young woman named Mary Connor, who proved eminently qualified for her task. She had been recently committed for stealing a watch; and became one of the firstfruits of Christian labour in that place: she was assiduous in her duties, and was never known to infringe one of her rules. A free pardon was granted her about fifteen months afterwards; but this proved an unavailing gift, for a cough, which had attacked her a short time previously, ended in consumption. She displayed during her illness much patience and quietness of spirit; "having, as she humbly believed, obtained everlasting pardon and peace through the merits of her Lord and Saviour." Mrs. Fry's proposals received cordial approval from the Sheriffs of London, and the chaplain and governor of Newgate, although they considered the experiment almost hopeless. An unoccupied cell was appropriated for the schoolroom, in which Mrs. Fry, with her friend Mary Sanderson and the poor prisoner Mary Connor, opened a school for the children and young persons under twenty-five years of age. They were obliged, from want of room, to exclude many of the women, who earnestly begged to be admitted. Mary Sanderson, who then visited a prison for the first time, thus described the scene before her to Sir T. F. Buxton:—

"The railing was crowded with half-clothed women, struggling together for the front places, and begging with the utmost vociferation." She felt as if she were going into a den of wild beasts, and shuddered when the door closed upon her, and she was locked in with such a herd of desperate companions. In the April of 1817 the wife of a Protestant

clergyman and eleven members of the Society of Friends formed themselves into an association for the improvement of the female prisoners in Newgate. The object they had in view is stated to have been "to provide for the clothing, instruction, and employment of the women, to introduce them to a knowledge of the Holy Scriptures, and to form in them as far as possible those habits of order, sobriety, and industry which may render them docile and peaceable while in prison, and respectable when they leave it." In order to ascertain how far the women would submit to the restraints which must necessarily be laid upon them, they were assembled one Sunday afternoon in presence of the Ordinary, the Governor, the Sheriffs, and the ladies, and were asked by Mrs. Fry whether they were willing to abide by the rules which it would be necessary to establish amongst them for the accomplishment of the object so much desired by them all. The women with one consent assured her of their determination strictly to obey them. The Sheriffs addressed them to express their approbation of the plan. One of them, as he left the room, said to Mrs. Fry and her companions, "Well, ladies, you see your materials."

The successful result, worked out of these unpromising materials, may in great measure be attributed to the instinctive tact and quick observation of character possessed by Mrs. Fry; but far more, we believe, to the large amount of hope and charity which she brought to bear upon the most apparently hopeless and reprobate. She never despaired of any; she believed the best of all, and consequently she treated all with a real respect and confidence which excited them to deserve her good opinion, and roused within them a long-lost sense of responsibility and a long-forgotten sentiment of self-respect. She began, as we have seen, by consulting them on the measures to be pursued for their benefit, and got them to side with her in the conflict with their evil habits and besetting temptations. Of the influence which she had obtained over the female prisoners in Newgate before the end of the first twelve months of her labours among them she spoke thus on her examination before the House of Commons:—

"Our rules have certainly been occasionally broken, but very seldom. Order has been generally observed. I think I may say we have full power amongst them. One of them said it was more terrible to be brought up before me than before the judge, though we use nothing but kindness. I have never punished a woman during the whole time, or even proposed a punishment to them, and yet I think it is impossible, in a well-regulated house, to have rules more strictly attended to." She was asked whether gaming had entirely ceased. "It had," she said, "of late; they have once

been found gaming since we had the care of the prison, but I called the women up, when I found that some of them had been playing at cards, and represented to them how much I objected to it, and how evil I thought its consequences, especially to them, adding that, if it were true that there were cards in the prison, I should consider it a proof of their regard if they would have the candour and the kindness to bring me their packs. I did not expect they would do it, as they would thereby betray themselves; but, as I was sitting at night with the matron, I heard a gentle tap at the door, and in came a trembling woman to tell me she had brought her pack of cards, that she was not aware how wrong it was, and hoped I would do what I liked with them. In a few minutes another came up, and in this way I had five packs of cards burnt."

In the course of this examination Mrs. Fry enumerated four things which, in her opinion, were essential to the entire reformation of the prison: 1st. Religious instruction; 2nd. Classification; 3rd. Employment; and, 4thly. The exclusive care of women by women; that no man should have access to them except a medical attendant or a minister of religion. Her long experience of thirty years afterwards confirmed her opinion on all these points, and strengthened also her extreme repugnance to the system of solitary confinement.

One great difficulty in the way of the work at Newgate was to provide employment. It struck one of the ladies that Botany Bay might be supplied with stockings, and, indeed, with all articles of clothing, of the prisoners' manufacture; she therefore called upon Messrs. Dixon, of Fenchurch Street, and, candidly telling them that she wished to deprive them of this branch of their trade, asked their advice. They at once promised to provide all the work required. A room was prepared for the workers, in which all the tried female prisoners were assembled. Mrs. Fry then addressed them. She told them that the ladies did not come with any pretensions to absolute authority; it was not intended that they should command and the prisoners obey, but that all were to act in concert. Monitors were to be chosen by themselves to superintend the work, and not a rule would be made or a monitor appointed without their full and unanimous concurrence. For this purpose each of the rules would be read and put to the vote, and she invited any who might feel a disinclination to anything proposed freely to state her opinion. As each rule was read and each monitor proposed, every hand was held up in token of approbation.

The system was to be tried for a month privately; at the end of that time an application was made to the corporation of London to give it permanency by making it a part of the prison system of the city. In answer to this appeal the Lord

Mayor, the Sheriffs, and several of the aldermen visited the prison; and, in astonishment and admiration at the alterations which had been effected, adopted the whole plan as a part of the system of Newgate. About six months after the establishment of the school for the children and the manufactory for the tried prisoners, the same arrangements, at their own earnest request, were made for the untried, but not with the same measure of success. These prisoners were not so much disposed to work, flattering themselves with the hope of a speedy release. Moreover, their time and thoughts were necessarily much engaged in preparation for their trial.

It will readily be believed that the frequent recurrence of capital punishments was the occasion of most severe suffering to a heart so loving and sensitive as that of Elizabeth Fry. The first case which came before her was that of a young girl condemned for the murder of her infant. Mrs. Fry, already the happy mother of ten fair children, wrestled with the despair and misery of this unhappy creature, but her health and spirits long felt the effect of the harrowing scenes which she had witnessed. A fearful entry in her journal refers to the poor woman before mentioned, as awaiting the birth of her eighth child to undergo her fearful doom. From a later entry it would appear that she afterwards obtained her pardon :—

23rd. I found poor Woodman lying ill in the common ward, where she had been taken suddenly ill; herself and little girl were both doing very well. She was awaiting her execution at the end of the month. What can be said of such sights as these?—24th. I read to Woodman, who is not in the state of mind we could wish for her; indeed so unnatural is her situation, that one can hardly tell how or in what manner to meet her case. She seems afraid to love her baby, and the very health which is being restored to her produces irritation of mind.

Another case which strongly excited public sympathy in the year 1818, was that of a young woman sentenced for passing forged notes under the influence of a man to whom she was attached. The fate of this poor girl is an illustration both of the severity of the law under which she suffered and of the charitable subterfuges often connived at by those in authority for the escape of its victims. There was a system (now but a tale of the past, and only worthy of notice as depicting the evils from which our country has been delivered) of arranging for such as were not to die, to plead "guilty to the minor count;" the bank solicitors, in conjunction with some of the Old Bailey authorities, thus selecting certain individuals for deliverance from death. For those who pleaded "not guilty," there was still the chance of some failure in evidence, or some

favourable circumstance coming to light upon the trial, besides the last hope of a reprieve. On calculating chances, therefore, the accused would sometimes decline the proffered boon and put in the plea of "not guilty," on the possibility of entirely escaping punishment. Harriet Skelton, the unhappy young woman now under condemnation, had taken this course, and having declined the deliverance offered her by the other, had thus sealed her own doom. Strenuous exertions were made by persons high in authority to save her, amongst others by Mrs. Fry's old acquaintance the Duke of Gloucester, who visited her in her cell, and vainly appealed to Lord Sidmouth and the Bank directors in her behalf. The law took its course, and she was hanged; but the notoriety of her case and the interest which it excited no doubt helped to bring about that revulsion in public feeling which seconded the benevolent exertions of Sir Samuel Romilly, and at length led to the abolition of the sanguinary laws which had so long made our statute-book a wonder and a reproach. "Newgate at that time," we read in the Memoir of Mrs. Fry, "had become almost a show; the statesman and the noble, the city functionary and the foreign traveller, the high-bred gentlewoman, the clergyman and the dissenting minister, flocked to witness the extraordinary change which had passed over the scene." From time to time the condemned cell on the female side was occupied. It was a narrow apartment with two windows, one commanding the inner quadrangle where were the tried prisoners, the other looking into a long passage with iron grating on either side, dividing the tried from the untried side of the prison, across which the convicts were permitted to communicate with their friends. Thither had Harriet Skelton been taken to pass her few and numbered days on earth, two women being in attendance upon her, according to the usual custom on those occasions. She might receive the visits of the ordinary or any friend admitted by the governor, but she was never again to quit the cell till she should leave it for the scaffold. A newspaper announcement that such a person or persons were this morning executed in front of Newgate may cause a passing sensation, but it is quickly gone. To look upon persons full of life and strength and mental capacity, and to know that they are going to die by the decree of their fellow-mortals excites another and a very different feeling. One woman the day before her execution said to Mrs. Fry, "I feel life so strong within me that I cannot believe that this time to-morrow I am to be dead!"

How little, when we murmur at pain and suffering, do we appreciate their merciful agency in gradually loosening the

hold of life and taking off the edge of the sharpness of death!

The strenuous exertions made by Mrs. Fry in behalf of the unfortunate Harriet Skelton gave serious offence to Lord Sidmouth, who had hitherto uniformly encouraged her labours, but his disapprobation does not seem in any way to have impeded her efforts, which were next directed to the amelioration of the state of the female convicts on their passage to the penal colonies. It had been a practice amongst them to make a riot on their departure from Newgate, breaking windows, furniture, or whatever came within their reach. They were generally conveyed from the prison to the water-side in open waggons, went off shouting amidst assembled crowds, and were noisy and disorderly on the road and in the boats. Mrs. Fry promised the women that if they would be quiet and orderly she and the other ladies would go with them to Deptford and see them on board. At her suggestion they were sent in hackney coaches instead of the open waggons, and formed an orderly procession, her carriage bringing up the rear. On reaching the ship on the first of these occasions she was distressed to see a hundred and twenty-eight convicts, besides their unhappy children, herded together below deck. She did her best to classify them, and to provide them with employment during the voyage. A quantity of pieces of coloured cotton were sent from the different Manchester houses in London, to supply them with patchwork, which together with knitting gave them ample employment. Bibles, prayer-books, and religious tracts were provided for them, and one of the convicts was appointed to be schoolmistress of the children. While the ship lay at Deptford, Mrs. Fry frequently visited the convicts. On the last occasion she stood at the door of the cabin attended by her friends and the captain, the women on the quarter-deck facing them. The sailors, anxious to see what was going on, clambered on the rigging, or mingled in the outskirts of the group. There was a dead silence, when Mrs. Fry opened her Bible, and in her singularly clear and thrilling voice read a portion from it aloud. The crews of the other neighbouring vessels, attracted by the novelty of the scene, leant over the ships on either side, and listened with great apparent attention. She closed the book, and after a short pause knelt down on the deck, and implored a blessing on the voyage. Many of the women wept bitterly, all seemed touched; when she left the ship they followed her with their eyes and their blessings, until her boat having passed within another tier of vessels they could see her no more. Farther acquaintance with the forlorn and neglected state of these

unhappy women on their arrival at their place of exile led to constant and persevering efforts to obtain redress, efforts which were eventually rewarded with no small measure of success.

The labours of this indefatigable woman were continued with unabated energy to the period of her death in 1845. Step by step, and year by year, did her influence widen and extend. Her correspondence embraced every part of Europe, and she visited in person the prisons of England, Scotland, Ireland, the Channel Islands, France, Germany, Holland, Belgium, and Denmark, conversing with crowned heads, ministers of state, Lutheran deaconesses, Protestant pastors, and Catholic nuns; and this when she was the grandmother of twenty-five grandchildren, and had passed through personal and domestic sorrows which never fail to thicken as the objects of affection are multiplied, and the vulnerable places of the heart are multiplied with them. Up to the last moment of her life, too, she was subject to the constitutional depression of spirits from which she had suffered in early childhood, but which, though it occasioned a nervous irritability, over which she continually mourned in secret, was never suffered to sharpen her voice, or to cast a shadow upon her brow. Not a sorrow of brother or sister, kinsman or friend, was unshared by her; never was the sick-bed or the dying struggle of child or grandchild unsoothed by her gentle touch, or uncheered by her calm smile and by the low tones of the same thrilling voice which had spoken peace and hope to so many despairing sinners. The most beautiful and instructive features of the charity of this large-hearted woman are its minuteness and its comprehensiveness. Her prisons were her chief care, not her engrossing hobby. To every evil, great or small, of human nature which came before her, she gave her sympathy, and, if possible, her aid. As, after a long illness, she sat one day at the window of her sick-room at Ramsgate to catch a breeze from the sea, her eye fell upon the lonely coastguard, pacing backwards and forwards upon his dreary watch; and a plan for supplying the long solitary hours of these poor men with books immediately suggested itself, which met with a ready support from their superiors.

Catholics cannot indeed but be painfully alive to the unfitness of the means by which she sought the attainment of her benevolent designs. To scatter the Bible broadcast amongst all the nations of the earth, leaving them to catch its meaning as they may, we see to be a wild and hopeless scheme for evangelising the world. To sit in silence within the four bare walls of a meeting-house seems to us, who have not been born, like her, to the barren heritage of *plain Quakerism*, shorn of

rite and liturgy, symbol and sacrament, a strange and stinted homage to offer to Him who made the eye and the ear, the intellect and the imagination, no less than the heart of man for Himself—so that they are all aimless and restless till they rest in Him; but woe betide us, however full the measure of our light, or however unerring the standard of our faith, if we despise the lesson of brotherly love taught, even to priest and Levite, by this good Samaritan.

The three works named at the head of this article by a *Prison Matron* attest the fulfilment of Elizabeth Fry's earnest desire that the care of female prisoners should be entrusted exclusively to women. They bear internal evidence of being what they profess to be, the "honest reminiscences" of one fitted by long experience, keen powers of observation, and deep interest in her work, combined with great candour and truthfulness, to bear testimony on the important subject of which she treats. We are glad to find that the class of women employed in this most laborious and difficult duty is both intellectually and morally such as this Prison Matron affirms, and, in her own person, proves it to be.

The author of *Female Life in Prison* has evidently the education and the feelings of a gentlewoman, and the principles of a Christian; and though she may possibly stand alone as to the high degree of intelligence displayed in her writing, we cannot doubt her testimony that "the matrons as a body are intelligent, well-educated, earnest young women chiefly from that large class which has seen better days and known better times." The fact that some seventy-eight of these are at work in the two convict prisons of Millbank and Brixton, and devoted for fourteen hours in the day to the unremitting labours of their charge, bespeaks a marvellous change from the days when "one man and his son" were the sole guardians of the terrible band whom Mrs. Fry visited in Newgate in 1816. And yet the effect produced by the improved system is disappointing. With the exception of the half-starved peasants driven into Millbank by stress of hunger, and carrying their quiet apathetic respectability with them, the greater number of the pictures sketched by the *Prison Matron*, apparently without a touch of exaggeration, exhibit a callousness and ferocity beyond the power of matron or chaplain, however kind, forbearing, and well-intentioned, to quell or to touch. When we compare the work at Millbank or Brixton with the wonderful results of the Marchesa di Barola's labours at Turin, we are not at a loss to account for the difference. We have the living Church of Christ on one hand, and a State machinery on the other. The *Prison*

Matron, as she tells us in all simplicity, is the servant of the State. Guilia Falletti was the servant of the Church. But the contrast is scarcely less striking between the influence of the *Prison Matron* and that of Elizabeth Fry. It may be accounted for partly by the wooden rules which restrict the intercourse between the matrons and their charge, still more by the different estimation in which free and paid service is held by the prisoners and by all persons of their class. They know full well that however faithfully and kindly the *prison officers*, as the matrons are called, discharge their duty, it has been undertaken from necessity, or for the love of some dear object at home for whose support they labour, not for the *love of their souls*, and they appreciate it accordingly.

Again, by the frigidity of the so-called religious teaching which the poor prisoners receive, nothing can well be drearier.

In the prison school room at Brixton the women are taught once a week in classes of fifty at a time, one mistress instructing twenty-five women. Reading the Bible in class, and a writing lesson, constitute the whole instruction given or attempted. The insubordination and utter want of decorum form a striking contrast with the mastery gained over minds of the very same class by Elizabeth Fry. Occasionally the superintendent, the deputy, or the chaplain will enter and ask a few questions as to the progress of the women. After the lull produced by their presence, the lessons and the disorder are resumed. "The time for dismissal having arrived, the schoolmistress raps the table and the women rise, when she utters the prayer of dismissal used in our churches: *The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ be with us evermore. Amen.*"

It appears that it was at one time the practice to close the school with the last verse of Bishop Ken's evening hymn; "but the women," continues the *Prison Matron*, "with little reverence in their natures, and glad of an opportunity of exercising their voices, indulged in such vociferous bawling and such wicked additions of their own to the verse, that it became necessary to discontinue the singing." During the writing lesson some of the more artful of the pupils contrive to fill their thimbles with ink, sinking them at dinner-time in a piece of their bread, which they put by till tea-time, saying that they had no appetite then, and in the interval contrive to write letters to some of their companions. "Very little is learnt," we are told, "in these prison schools: the machinery is at fault, the lessons are monotonous, and there is no sympathy between the teachers and the taught."

To believe that the Bible read in class, as a lesson book, should ever effect the conversion of a soul, is to expect the

Word of God to work as a charm, a superstition which has never yet, we believe, been blessed to the salvation of any child of Adam. Such was not the method adopted by Elizabeth Fry. The life and death and practical teaching of our Divine Lord, as set forth in the gospels, were brought by her with a few simple words of comment before the eyes of the poor ignorant women, some of whom scarcely knew His name, and their hearts melted within them at the sight. This *Ecce Homo* from lips which adore Him as their God and worship Him as their Redeemer, ignorant as they may be of the full revelation of His Truth, has brought many and many a soul to an act of faith, and (through faith) of loving contrition; and so far as the hearts of Protestant chaplains and prison matrons are penetrated with that devotion to the person of our Divine Lord, which enables them to set Him forth visibly before those among whom they labour, they will not fail to effect some spiritual good, spite of the dreariness of the so-called religious system which intercepts the light of the Catholic Church from the eyes both of the teachers and the taught. The matron's influence will be greater than the chaplain's, because, as a woman, she has an instinctive tact and sympathy which belongs not to a man, unless he has received it with his commission to feed the flock of Christ.

The instances of real conversion in the experience of the writer of these pages seem to be few and far between. A kind word or an expression of sympathy will call out the seemingly quenched feelings of the most apparently hardened, and excite a kind of passionate affection with its attendant frantic jealousy, but the instances seem to be few in which any real influence is attained, or lasting reformation effected.

The *Memoir of Jeannie Cameron* tells, under feigned names, the tale of one raised by the personal influence of a matron (not the author of the work) from a career of apparently hopeless degradation to live the life and die the death of a Christian. To read of such a childhood as that of this Glasgow girl, and to know that it is but one instance out of thousands drifting like her to perdition, makes the head dizzy and the heart sick. Yet the Good Shepherd has His eye even upon such outlaws of His kingdom and can bring them to Himself, as we see here, by means and instruments unknown and unthought of save by Himself alone.

After many a struggle and many a fall, the matron and the discharged prisoner parted, and the steamship brought Cameron away to the new world and the new life. She never again swerved from her good purpose, but as her new life began her old strength seemed to diminish.

At last tidings came from her kind mistress to her old matron that all further progress in this world had been arrested by Him Who had gathered the penitent to His rest. "To the last," wrote her mistress, "she was a good servant and a faithful friend; she died truly penitent for all past sins, and truly thankful for the mercies which had been vouchsafed to her."

This prison matron had had the happiness to turn this one sinner towards repentance from the darkness which had shrouded three-fourths of a life—"a happiness," adds she who tells the tale, "which made amends for all the wear and tear of constitution which the prison matron incurs by her fourteen hours' work a day."

The female inmates of our convict prisons were divided in the year 1860 into four classes, of which Millbank contained the two lowest, and Brixton the first and second. The best behaved of the women of the first class are passed on to the Refuge at Fulham, which is scarcely a gaol, but the neutral-ground between prison-life and the world. "When a matron," says our Millbank friend, "shall write her experience of Fulham Refuge it is possible that her story may take shades less deep and dark than mine. It will be a record of experience with the best class of prison women, who have been selected from Brixton for evincing some desire to walk in a different path from that which has led them to the brink of ruin. It is not to be wondered at that my chronicles have shown so little of the bright side, the best prisoners constantly and regularly passing away from our observation."

The *Prison Matron* speaks most gratefully of the assistance afforded to discharged prisoners by the Prisoners' Aid Society, which in 1860, the date of her first work, maintained a home for their reception on leaving Fulham, unhappily afterwards closed for want of funds. Its place has since been supplied by a refuge opened by Sir Walter Crofton in Queen's Square, to which Government undertakes to send, for the last six months of their term of imprisonment, those women whose conduct in prison has been most deserving.

The *Prison Matron* protests earnestly against the practice adopted by Government of making contracts with wholesale firms for work to be done by the prisoners, at prices with which no woman who has rent to pay and a house to keep can compete. In one year, for one firm alone, by one female prison, 43,728 shirts were made. "Prisoners," she says, "especially female prisoners, should do prison work, army work, the binding of the prison books; even the printing of the innumerable forms might possibly be taught them, but

any other work than that of Government should not, for the sake of those who desire to live honestly and resist temptation, be allowed to find its way into our male or female prisons."

Grievous it is to read that by the side of the felon and the murderess, whose evil career in the early days of Mrs. Fry would have been cut short by a capital sentence, are to be found those who have sinned simply and deliberately in order to secure a comfortable home for their old age. Alas! alas! that in a Christian land the poor should come to look upon a prison as their happiest refuge. Of this number was *Granny Collis*, a little, spare, pretty old woman of seventy years and upwards, making the best of everything, too well behaved and religious in her way to be a favourite with her companions, but keeping the peace with the most quarrelsome, and a great favourite with the matrons. Her little room, as she called her cell, was a pattern of cleanliness and order.

It was a curious sight in the long winter evenings to see this motherly old woman sitting with her open Bible, her thin bony hands pushing back her grey hair, as she leant her elbows on the table, and studied the promises of that book on which she built her hopes. I have often wondered what peculiar train of thought Granny Collis was accustomed to indulge in over her Bible, and how she reconciled her future intentions with the counsel and warning of God's Word; for, really penitent as she was for past misconduct, she clung to the idea of coming back again.

"I'll try the workhouse," she said, on parting with her friends, "but I'm thinking it won't suit me like this; it is not half so comfortable and quiet." She worked her sentence out and went her way, but in a few months reappeared, convicted of a petty theft, and sentenced to a second term of imprisonment. "I have come back to settle down for good," she said; "I know I have done very wrong, and I'm old enough to know what's right by this time, but I couldn't keep away. I've tried the workhouse, but they are so terrible noisy there, and there's not half the order there should be, and everybody wants to quarrel so; besides they don't understand my ways at the workhouse, and you are all so used to me by this time." She fell into the same old habits, read her Bible as industriously as ever, and died before the term of her imprisonment was ended.

She broke up slowly, and was removed at last to the Infirmary, where she was always patient, cheerful, and resigned. "She had wished," says the good matron, "to die in gaol, and had sinned to die there. A strange, hard, friend-

less life her's must have been, to have looked forward to such a haven of rest at the close of her pilgrimage."

One of the prisoners, a young pale-faced girl, is visited by her mother, a poor, old, tottering, decently clothed woman, who cries very bitterly at the first sight of her daughter. The prisoner bites her lips, which *will* quiver in spite of her, and burst out at last with—"Don'tee cry, mother, I be very comfortable; there is such a little to cry about," and asks rapid questions about home and village matters to distract the old woman's thoughts from herself. At last came,—"How did you get through the winter now?"—"Poorly, poorly, my eyes went bad again, and there was no work about, and so I had parish relief, my dear!"—"Ah! that's bad."—"I shall have to go into the house altogether soon."—"No, don't do that."—"There's no help for it, Martha; it isn't as if I had my daughter to help me in my old age."—"Don't go into the house."—"What can I do, my dear?"—"COME HERE." The old woman lifts up her hands in horror. "You will be well treated here," continues the daughter, in an earnest whisper; "you will have enough to eat and drink. You won't have any hard words here. They give you such sheets and blankets; you can have the doctor whenever you like. Oh, mother, if you would only try to come here!" The mother's countenance changes; the girl becomes more eager, and begins to suggest the best means of qualifying herself for admission, when the matron interrupts her with a remonstrance on her wickedness. "It is not wickedness," is the reply, "*God knows that it is the best thing that can happen to us poor.*"

There are (says the *Prison Matron*) amidst the mass of our fallen sisters at Millbank and Brixton, many of these strange, practical philosophers, women who have weighed all the chances between the workhouse and the prison, and who, being compelled to choose between them, strike the balance in favour of the gaol. A little less liberty, but more kindness and attention, better food, and more friendly faces, only the key turned upon them and their sleeping chamber called a cell. Step by step from Millbank to Brixton, perhaps from Brixton to Fulham, if they are young enough, books to read, good, warm clothing, and the chaplain to talk to them every day.

Throughout the long experience of the *Prison Matron*, she met with but one instance in which she saw reason to doubt the justice of the sentence which placed a prisoner under her care; the tale is a sad one, as showing the degraded and miserable state of some of our country poor. Susannah Garnet and her eldest daughter, having narrowly escaped a charge of murder, were condemned on a sentence for man-

slaughter to four years' penal servitude at Millbank, for the alleged starvation of Susannah's youngest daughter, who, it was said, having been unable from illness to complete her daily task of pillow lace, was kept without food for two days and nights by her penurious task-mistresses. This was the evidence of two other daughters at the trial. "O Lord Jesus! help me to do my work next week," were, they said, the dying words of the victim. There was a counter-statement that the daughters were actuated by malice and had sworn falsely, but it was not believed.

They came to the prison, two pitiable, emaciated creatures, in whom life seemed struggling hard, and whose chance of working out their sentence was doubtful in the extreme, passed each to a separate cell in a different ward, and parted without the slightest show of feeling.

On the prison diet they began slowly to gain strength, and their famine-struck look disappeared. They were civil to the matrons and grateful in their quiet way for a kind word, but made no inquiry about each other. Each sat in her cell, striving to work her best, and "arranging everything round her in that extra-methodical manner common to country people in general." The mother, being asked one day whether she did not wish to know how her daughter was getting on, answered,—"She is getting on very well; she be a quiet girl and no trouble to you, I am sure, lady." On a similar question being put to the daughter, she looked up quietly from her coir-picking, and hoped "mother had not been a-fidgetting." "It seems," says the matron, "that all the love, interest, and sympathy which should have existed between these simple, almost half-witted countrywomen had been frozen long ago. Their years had been spent in struggling so hard for a living as to leave no thought for home ties or home affections." When in the ordinary course the two prisoners arrived at the class in which the dreary solitude of the cell is relieved by the presence of a companion, they were allowed to occupy one cell instead of being placed with a stranger. Their first meeting was after the old apathetic fashion: "Well, Elizabeth," "Well, mother;" and two minutes afterwards they were seated opposite to each other, working together as quietly and silently as if they had parted the day before. At the end of a week the matron asked the daughter whether she was not glad to have her mother with her? "Ye—s, it's a kind of change, but" (with a little impulsive dash) "she do make a great mess and litter, to be sure." The matron was of opinion that it was the stolid insensibility of the two prisoners rather than any attempt to starve the poor child which had been the cause of the younger daughter's death. "Looking at them,"

she says, "in their quietness and simple-mindedness, I have never for a moment thought these women murderesses." Once only was a reference made by either to the past. A matron, who thought Susannah looked one day more desponding than usual, asked if anything was troubling her? "Oh, no, lady." "I thought you were dull." "I am very comfortable, thank you." "You are fretting about the length of your sentence." "I have nothing to fret about, lady. I am better off here than I was at home. We were all starving together. My husband, who was a shepherd, was very ill, and my daughters were weak, too, and we had nothing to give them; we had nothing for them nor for ourselves either, and so my daughter died. But, lady, it was not in our power to help it." She appeared a little relieved in mind by this statement," but never," says the matron, "repeated it again. To us, who are fair judges of what is real or what is false, it seemed very like the truth." In prison they were quiet, hard-working, apparently religious women, asking no favours from the authorities, but always seeming content with their position. They served out their sentence, and, with a few short, dry thanks to those who had been kind to them in prison, went back to their old desolate home.

In the prison at Millbank, in 1860, there were 151 Catholic women, 374 of the Church of England, 23 of various dissenting denominations, and one Jewess—a fearfully large proportion of Catholic inmates. At that period a Catholic priest was permitted to see any prisoner *who might ask for his ministrations*. On this point the usual candour and common sense of our *Prison Matron* gives way under the burden of the Protestant tradition, and she wonders whether *it can be right to admit these priests*. Before the publication of her last work, in 1866, that tradition had been still farther violated by the appointment of a resident Catholic chaplain to the prison. Again, we have the prayer *to depart out of our coasts*, which marks the consciousness of a presence likely to disturb the supremacy of the mere natural order. After speaking with a considerable show of reason of the fierce controversies likely to arise among religionists, such as compose the inmates of our convict prisons, she adds:—

> The remedy is simple. I can see but few objections to the institution of a Roman Catholic prison, if it be considered necessary by government that priests should be placed on an equality with Protestant ministers. As a question of prison discipline it is absolutely necessary, for prisoners—female prisoners—may be already storing up their wrongs, their indignations, and waiting the opportunities to wreak their vengeance on those who have insulted them and their creed. In the airing-ground and in the association-wards, the

bitter taunt and the blasphemous scoffing at everything that betrays an honest desire to amend, and at the means adopted for that end, must pass freely between the Roman Catholic and the Protestant, and the mine will explode in its time if these component atoms of disorder be not speedily set apart.

Let the Roman Catholic system of worship have its fair trial on the minds of Roman Catholic prisoners, but in the name of common sense, O! directors of convict prisons, and O! members of parliament, directing them by your wise laws, do not, I urge you, add more toil and trouble to your servants by placing the Church of Rome side by side with the Church of England in your prison wards, and directing them to be at peace with one another, and teach peaceful doctrines to the savage natures by which they are surrounded.

We accept these words of one who may be taken as a sample of the better sort of English Protestants as an indication of the conclusion to which we are inevitably tending, and indulge a confident hope that before long the Catholic inmates of our prisons, as well as of our workhouses, will be placed in our own hands, and given to the patient care of hearts and minds consecrated to the service of Christ. The establishment of a refuge for female Catholic prisoners, at Eagle House, is a great and hopeful step in this direction. No sooner was the Queen's Square refuge opened for Protestant prisoners, than the Catholics at the same stage of their sentence eagerly desired, and tumultuously called for, a like benefit for themselves; and under the direction of His Grace the Archbishop of Westminster, and by the persevering efforts of the Marchioness Dowager of Lothian, and a few more devout Catholics, a refuge was opened for them at Eagle House, Hammersmith, under the care of the religious of the Good Shepherd, to which the privileges granted by Government were extended. The prisoners are intended to have as nearly as possible six months of compulsory residence, and are permitted to remain in the refuge, if they choose, six months longer at the Government expense. Six shillings a week are allowed for the maintenance of each prisoner, and a gratuity of one and sixpence a week to each woman, an additional sixpence a week being paid towards an outfit on leaving. With the help of the laundry, the refuge will thus support itself, and the religious have only now to ask help to pay off the debt of £600, incurred by the erecting of the laundry and other necessary expenses. The results of the year which has elapsed from the opening of the refuge are most encouraging, though the religious anxiously desire that the term of imprisonment to be spent in the refuge may be lengthened from the last six to the last eighteen months of their sentence. "Fewer women," says the report,

"would thus pass through the refuge, but the average good that would be done would be far deeper and more lasting." The effect which has been already produced on some of the most hardened is remarkable, the respect of the prisoners for the religious habit is most touching; they are ready, after a little while, to open their whole heart to the nuns, and a word from them will produce a practical effect which the fear of the dark cell had utterly failed to do. One instance out of many is given in the report:—

One day the mistress of the class, on counting her children, found that one was missing. Looking round, she saw that it was one whose prison character was not good, and who had been in penal servitude previous to her present sentence. Calling to her one of the *liberty children*, that is, one who was voluntarily continuing in the Refuge after she was free, the Sister sent her in search of the missing prisoner. After a long absence, she returned and said, "Mother, she is in the Dormitory, and I think you had better go to her soon, as she has torn her cap to pieces." All who know anything of female convicts would look on this as the prelude of one of those frightful outbursts of temper known in prison as a *breaking out*. The Sister had to hide every symptom of anxiety from all the quick eyes about her, and say quietly to her *liberty child*, "Go and see if you can find one of your mothers on this side, and ask her to come to me." A lay Sister was fortunately not far off, and with her the class was left, whilst its anxious mistress went to the Dormitory, at the end of which hung a large crucifix, and beneath it the poor child under temptation was crouching down on the ground. "Oh, mother," she said, "it was only close to the crucifix that I could prevent myself from smashing everything." The nun sat down by her, and drew from her what had gone wrong. Such a one had told the others that she was a spy and a tell-tale, and she could not go down to them again—she must go away; it would be better to go back to prison. "I did what you told me, mother, that was all." She had come to the mistress of the class some days before, and said that she could not rest till she told her that this woman had been inducing her to promise to join her after their liberation, and to work together at pocket-picking. The nun told her not to sit by her tempter again, but to say, when asked the reason, that she had been warned that she was too much with this companion, and that *friendships* were not allowed in the Refuge.

The chief anxiety of the religious is, of course, to find safe and suitable situations for the poor women when they leave them. Emigration is the most complete means of escape from past evil associations. The convents of the Good Shepherd at Montreal and Philadelphia, have already received four, and the sisters also gratefully acknowledge the assistance received from the *Prisoners' Aid Society*. The greater difficulty is to find places at home for such as are more or less adapted for domestic service. Several Catholics have charitably expressed

their willingness to engage the women on their liberation. They are in general best fitted for servants of all work; being thus less exposed to danger from the curiosity of fellow-servants, or their own outbursts of temper; but there are some who might be safely recommended to any laundry or household. The women are discharged from the refuge on a ticket of leave, which, formidable as it sounds, is a real protection to the mistress; for, as it is forfeited by gravely suspicious circumstances, no actual breach of the law is needed to justify the return of the woman to prison. As to the efficiency of discharged prisoners in household work, we recur to the testimony of the Prison Matron.

A woman from the Discharged Prison Aid Society or Fulham Refuge, who has been trained for several years to hard work, will do more justice to her mistress than ninety-nine out of a hundred domestic servants who, as a class (there are exceptions, of course), do not take a very special interest in their mistress's house, will not labour incessantly to keep it in order, or work overtime rather than there shall be a speck on the windows, or a spot on the boards. They do not clean, scrub, or wash as if their souls were in the work, and are not always stirring between five and six in the morning. A discharged prisoner does all these things with a will; she is grateful to the mistress who has taken her away from temptation. I may add that many of these women are restless in mind, and must work hard to keep the dark thoughts away.

An incident mentioned in the Eagle House report reminds us of one in *Jeannie Cameron*, and is an encouragement to keep up heart and hope in dealing with these poor women.

A situation had been found for one of the women; but it appears that she was not very considerately treated, and growing impatient, had left before another place had been found for her. She returned to London by a Thames steamer, and, unhappily yielding to the temptation of drink, she soon found herself in a den of thieves. Every effort was here made to entrap her; but, upon the following day, whilst standing at the window, she felt the woman of the house trying to pick her pocket; at the same time her eye fell upon some Sisters of Mercy entering a cholera hospital close by. At once she started off, and found her way down to the Refuge, where she arrived far from sober; but from her partly coherent story the locality of the house was made out. As her box and all her worldly goods were there, it was thought advisable to send her back, accompanied by an out-door Sister, to recover it. This was successfully done; and, as no one that had left the Refuge had as yet been re-admitted into its class, she was induced to go to the Convent of the Good Shepherd, at Hammersmith. She remained there but a few days, and the Sisters of the Refuge having at the time no other provision for her, consented to receive her into strictly solitary confinement on their own side of the house; there she cheerfully remained for about six weeks, hearing Mass outside the chapel door, but never even speaking to the prisoners in the house,

At the end of this time, a charitable lady in the neighbourhood took compassion on her, and engaged her as a servant, and she is now conducting herself most satisfactorily, and giving every hope of a permanent reformation.

The use made of the Government allowance for outfit is sometimes very touching. One prisoner said that she only wanted a cheap dress and some other trifle for her outfit, but had one wish which she hoped might be granted. It was to be allowed to give ten shillings to the sisters of Nazareth, five shillings for oil to burn before the Blessed Sacrament, and five shillings to an Orphanage; she also begged the Superioress of the refuge to spend another ten shillings for some charitable object. Another prisoner on her discharge left two and sixpence in the hands of her mistress for an orphanage, to bring a blessing, she said, upon her four children, to whom she was returning.

The following summary is given of the work in the Refuge in the past year:—

The first party of seven prisoners was received March 10, 1866. Prior to the same day in the present year, 84 prisoners in all have been received: of these, 46 have been discharged. Of the 38 women in the house at the present moment, 24 have not yet undergone their sentences, and 14 are free women; 2 of those who have left are dead; 5 are in America (1 having gone after returning to her family); 2 are in prison; 1 is waiting for trial; 8 are in respectable situations; and the remaining 28 (who are living with their friends) are known to be doing well.

The religious, the result of whose labours are here recorded, conclude their simple statement with the expression of—

A hope that all into whose hands it may fall may have the charity to help them in their most anxious work by their good prayers, that the promise of success, with which Almighty God appears thus far to have blessed the pious intentions of the founders of the Refuge, may be rendered effective and permanent for the salvation of souls.

While Elizabeth Fry was labouring at Newgate, Giulia Falletti di Barola was engaged in the same charitable work in the prisons of Turin. The scenes presented there when Piedmont first emerged from the French imperial sway were scarcely less horrible than those which then disgraced our English prisons. The neglect and destitution were nearly the same in both; the profanity and irreligion even more appalling in Turin, as is ever the case in Catholic lands, when the evil spirit enters in and profanes what have once been sanctuaries of the Holy Ghost, and, it may be, living tabernacles of the Word made Flesh. It was, in fact, the sound of a terrible blasphemy which first led Giulia to set her hand to what was

henceforth to be the work of her life. One day in Easter week she fell in with a procession carrying the Blessed Sacrament to a sick person. She knelt down, when the singing was interrupted by a voice screaming from a window behind her, "I don't want the Viaticum. I want soup." Greatly shocked, Giulia turned her head, and perceived that the sounds proceeded from one of the grated windows of the senatorial prison. She went thither at once, in the idea that hunger had prompted that impious exclamation, and that an alms would remove the temptation to blaspheme. She found that the prisoner was not hungry, but only profane. Several others were shut up with him in the same dark and noisome room, laughing, singing, screaming, and behaving more like wild beasts than human beings. They seemed, however, abashed at her presence, and received her alms in silence.

She was then led to a higher story, where the women were confined. Their only light came through narrow slits in the wall far above their heads. There were as many cells on this floor as the space would permit, divided by a narrow passage, the only place for exercise, which was intersected by heavy iron bars, which supported the building and greatly impeded walking. In the course of one year two prisoners had broken their arms, and another a leg by falling over these bars. Several of these women had not sufficient rags to cover them, yet seemed to feel no shame. They crowded round their unwonted visitor, who was almost overcome with pity and horror. They threw themselves on the ground, screaming and fighting for the alms which escaped her trembling hands, and which was doubtless intended to be spent in the purchase of fresh liquor wherewith the more effectually to madden their brains.

Giulia went home with an aching heart, to ponder over the wretchedness she had seen, and to devise means for its remedy. No easy task for a young and beautiful woman in her early married life, the idol of her husband and his parents. But, as she once said of herself, she was a Christian and a Vendéenne, and she was not to be discouraged. She had grown up amid scenes consecrated by the memories of the most glorious struggle of modern days, and her girlhood had been nourished upon heroic thoughts. The castle of Giulia's father, the Marquis de Maulévrier, a descendant of the great Colbert, stands in the heart of La Vendée. (Stofflet, one of the leaders of the insurgent peasantry, was game-keeper in the family.) There she was born in 1785. Her grandmother, aunts, and many of her kindred died upon the scaffold; and her father with his three children, herself and a brother and sister, spent

many years in exile. The Marquis de Maulévrier was a man of high character and remarkable ability, and bestowed more than usual care on the education of his daughters. Giulia left him to become the wife of the Marquis Tancredi Falletti di Barola, whose piety and devotion to works of charity bespoke a kindred spirit with her own. Their union was clouded but by one sorrow; they were never blest with children, a privation most keenly felt by Madame di Barola.

> It cost her [we are told] many bitter tears, but she offered up her grief to the Mother of her Sorrows, attached herself like a mother to the children of her friends, and when she had founded her religious establishments, the homes for childhood, youth, and penitence, to which her labours and her life were devoted, a number of poor creatures, whom she fostered by her tender care and gladdened by her presence, called her by the sweet name of Mother,

which she was never to hear from the lips of a child of her own.

With a prudence equal to her energy and zeal, the young Marchesa began her prison labours by joining a confraternity of mercy originally intended for the relief of prisoners, but which had gradually declined from its original usefulness. One of the duties of its members was to distribute soup at the doors of the prisons. She then asked (at first without success) to be left alone with the prisoners. The request was at last granted, on condition that she should be locked in with them during her stay. They seemed touched at her accepting this condition, and crowded round her, protesting loudly that each and all were the victims of false accusations. The lady waived this question altogether, assuring them that her only desire was to afford them any consolation in her power. They asked for money, and she promised clothes to such as would be docile and behave well, adding a few words about resignation to the Divine Will. "Oh, she is come to preach," cried some, beginning to sing as loudly as they could to drown her voice. She withdrew with those who seemed inclined to listen into another room, and closed the door. When the singers were at last tired of screaming, they opened the door to see what was going on. She told them that she did not wish to stop their singing; she well knew that they must want recreation, but she hoped in time they would find out that there were better ways of promoting cheerfulness than noise and clamour. By speaking always in a low voice, and in a very quiet manner, she gradually brought the prisoners to moderate their tones.

The Marchesa was often kept longer in the prison than she

intended; the keepers, hoping to tire her out, would pretend to forget the time, but though the heat was overpowering, the prisoners could never detect any feeling of weariness or annoyance. She took care so to time her visits as not to neglect any domestic duties, and her friends, finding that neither their own comfort nor her health and spirits suffered from her labours, allowed her to continue them undisturbed. She was working alone, and very hard work it was.

The same difficulties which hampered Elizabeth Fry's early labours in Newgate, from the want of the classification of prisoners, stood in her way. The accused and the condemned were all confined together, and the restless hopes and fears of the one class interfered with the quiet attention which she might have obtained from the other. Again, as hardly any could read, she had to teach the catechism verbally, and sometimes to repeat the same sentence fifty or sixty times over to each of her numerous and noisy pupils. She afterwards succeeded in teaching some of the more diligent and intelligent to read, and then employed them to assist her in teaching their companions. "My children," she would say to them, "I try to do you good that you may also try to do good to others. You cannot give your companions everything they want; give them at least what you can. Let us help one another, and ask God to help us all. I am grateful to you for the trouble you take in order to lighten mine."

For many years past the women in the Senatorial Prison had never been allowed to attend Mass, the chapel being situated at the other side of the court, which they were not allowed to enter. At Easter a priest came to preach in their ward and hear their confessions; at all other times they were kept wholly without religious instruction or consolation. The Marchesa begged leave to put up an altar outside the grating, by which means the prisoners were enabled to hear Mass. She was present at the first Mass which was said there; many of the prisoners cried for joy, and told her they felt no longer the same. She spoke to them of the infinite importance of hearing Mass devoutly: "My poor children, God has always been with you, but there is no doubt that it is an immense blessing to assist at the Holy Sacrifice which He has instituted in His love for the propitiation of our sins."

Guilia's care was directed to the supply of the physical as well as the spiritual wants of the prisoners, and by her representations to the Queen and different members of the royal family, they were provided with a sufficient supply of clothing. After labouring for three years in spite of continual impediments, and at a terrible disadvantage from the

want of discipline which prevailed, the house of the *Sforzdate*, a spacious building admitting plenty of light and air, was made over to her, with permission to remove thither whomsoever she pleased. The inmates of the three prisons were removed thither accordingly. The position was healthy, and the rooms lofty and spacious, and there were means for separating the accused from the condemned. All could walk at stated times in a court, which the sun could reach at all times of the year, and to which a chapel and laundry were attached. The Marchesa now drew up a set of rules for the prisoners, each of which was framed with their own assent. Like Elizabeth Fry, she told them that she could not insist upon doing them good against their will, but that they must work together by mutual consent, she as a mother and a friend, they as obedient and loving daughters. Her labours had become so extensive as to require assistance, which she received from some pious ladies who aided her in the instruction of the prisoners. At a later period she placed the house under the care of the Sisters of Joseph, whom she had herself introduced into Piedmont.

We have already given our readers so many prison portraits that we must refer them to the memoir of the Marchesa di Barola, by her devoted friend Silvio Pellico, for the many interesting details which it contains of souls snatched by her loving hand from perdition. He has left us but a sketch, which, had he survived his friend, might have been wrought into a picture of active charity no less beautiful than that of patient suffering, which he has given us in the narrative of his own imprisonment. But she lived to write his epitaph in the beautiful words traced by her hand on his tomb in the Campo Santo at Turin :—

"Sotto il peso della Croce
Imparò la via del cielo,
Christiani pregate per lui
E seguitelo."

It was a singular bond of friendship, cemented by Christian faith and love, which bound together the ardent Italian patriot and the long descended daughter of La Vendée, whose early royalist and aristocratic sentiments could not fail to gather strength from witnessing the evils attending the triumph of the party with which he had been originally associated.

Her prison labours formed but one portion of Madame di Barola's works of mercy. Amongst them was a refuge for penitent women, out of whose inmates a religious community

of *Magdalens*, like those attached to the convents of the Good Shepherd, was formed, and a congregation of *Oblates of S. Mary Magdalen* who, under a certain rule, waited upon the sick and performed other offices of charity within the refuge. Under the care of the Magdalens was a class of children under the age of twelve, called the *little Magdalens*, because they had, alas! even at that early age been led astray. The Marchesa was also the first to introduce infant schools into Piedmont, and it was by her instrumentality that a convent of the *Sacré Cœur* was founded at Turin for the education of the higher orders, while she founded the *Institute of S. Anne* for the training of children of the middle class and the care of orphans. One of her most useful institutions was the organization of *Homes* for girls of various trades, where they lived under the care of a *Mother* going out to work in respectable shops or factories, taking their meals at home and practising their religious duties together, while they received instruction in ordinary household work from the Mother. Would that some Guilia di Barola might be raised up among us for the salvation of the souls now daily perishing in our factories and laundries!

She lived, alas! to see the noble and Christian works with which she had endowed her adopted country swept away under the name of patriotism and progress. She was shut out of the prisons which she had reformed, and her noble and unsullied name was reviled by the vilest slanders, but no amount of insult or injury could drive her from Piedmont. She wrote in 1847 :—

> No annoyances, no persecutions, no sufferings shall drive me from Turin. I am a Christian and a Vendéenne, and nothing shall move me an inch from what I consider to be my post. The family God has given me is here, and I must look after it. I cannot carry away with me my five hundred children, and I shall stay here even if they propose to cut my head off. It is as good a way of going to heaven as any other. God gave my grandmother the courage to die on the scaffold, and he would give it to me also.

This was the secret of her strength. She possessed indeed a singular power of fascination arising from the overflowing tenderness of her heart, which endeared her to a large circle of attached friends, and which was combined with a vigour and cultivation of mind and a playfulness of wit, which never flagged even in old age, and which caused her society to be eagerly sought by some of the most intellectual men in Europe. But the true secret of her strength lay in the knowledge of her weakness. "I often," she writes, "said to our Lord, O my God, I am a poor weak creature, but I do believe

in Thee and love Thee with all my heart and all my strength, and I wish nothing so much as to make others know and love Thee, and I can attempt everything in Him who strengthens me." "These words," she continues, "which I kept constantly repeating, used to tranquillize me, and I went on with my work." And so it was to the last.

The Marchesa (we read in the short notice of her later years which concludes the vol.) "was banished from the prisons which she had reformed, and subjected to numerous annoyances and petty persecutions in the pursuit of her charitable labours; but she never desisted, never flagged in her efforts. If one door was shut to her zeal, she made her way through another; if one means of saving souls was denied to her, she invented a more effectual one. She used to say, "As they will not let me go into the prisons, I must work to try and prevent people getting into them." The *Vendean spirit* was strong in her breast; she was not to be conquered in her struggles to good. And if sometimes the indignant emotion which swelled her bosom at the sight of iniquities committed, as Madame Roland said, *in the name of liberty*, drew from her a harsh word or an irritable outburst against some of her former friends, who still frequented her house and enjoyed her society, despite the opposition between their opinions and her own, she would immediately repent of it, and had no peace, would not eat or sleep till she had expressed her sorrow. "I must be reconciled with my adversaries," she used to say, with a touching earnestness, "before I approach the Altar of my God." Her death was like Pellico's—in harmony with her life. Three days before she died she clearly foresaw that her end was at hand, and refused to see even her most intimate friends, in order to occupy herself exclusively with God, Who was about to call her to Himself. She bade them all farewell in her heart; she had shown them the utmost tenderness and affection; but now the moment was come when she wished to be alone. She did not speak again to any one but her confessor. Friends and poor people and children were weeping, priests and nuns praying at the entrance of her room. Her own soul was steeped in unutterable peace; she lay quietly gazing on the crucifix, whilst in her hand she held a little image of the Blessed Virgin, which had been sent her by the saintly Curé of Ars. The last words she uttered were these, "*May the will of God be done in me and by me in time and for eternity.*"

The memory of Giulia di Barola will long be blessed in Piedmont as the mother of the poor, though the mysterious Providence of God has ordered that little trace should be left on earth of the works of this holy woman but the example of her zeal and charity. We have to thank Lady Georgiana Fullerton for bringing that example to the knowledge and, we trust, the imitation of English women. If our poor are to be raised from the degraded moral and spiritual condition which is a scandal and a stumbling-block to their Protestant neighbours, it must be by efforts, patient, prolonged, and perse-

vering, as those which regenerated France under the inspiration of S. Vincent of Paul. A large measure of his success was due, under God, to the labours of women, high-born and delicately nurtured,—women rescued by him from the bondage of fashionable life, to be his fellow-workers in the liberation of their poorer sisters from the slavery of ignorance and sin.

If a few more of our Catholic women could be roused to work as some few work *now* for the poor,—as Louise de Marillac and Madame Acarie worked *then*, we should not see one labour of love relinquished because of the more immediate need of another.

We see with regret in the report of Eagle House that, in order to undertake the direction of the prisoners, the religious of the Good Shepherd have been compelled to relinquish (we hope only for a time) the opening of a school for the reception of young girls who have been led astray. Scarcely any work is more urgently needed than this, as every parish priest or religious community at work among the poor can attest by sorrowful experience. So long as the homes of the greater number of our poor children continue to be what they are,—so long as the teaching of priest and nun is neutralized by the example of parents,—so long as girls are taken early from school to go to a *shilling place*, or are tempted by the prospect of independence and good pay to enter those abodes of corruption, the great laundries in and about London, the cases will be mournfully many which need such a shelter as this. *Not* a penitentiary, for the poor child is not yet fit for such companionship as she must meet with there. She wants but a hand to stay her on her downward path; and while the shock and the anguish of her fall is full upon her, once more to set her feet in the way, from which it may be, by God's grace, they will never wander again. For want of such a shelter hundreds of our Catholic girls, from twelve to eighteen, pass on to swell the ranks of Millbank and Brixton. There is in this diocese, and we believe in England, no refuge for any fallen Catholic girl below the age for admittance into the Asylum of the Good Shepherd. Surely this is an evil which calls aloud for a remedy; and we feel a good hope that it will not be left long without redress. The faithful and loving efforts now made on behalf of our workhouse children are a pledge of success not only in that special work, but in all others which may be needed; for fidelity in one duty is the way to obtain help and grace for another.

The fulfilment of the spiritual and corporal works of mercy seems to be the special form in which our age is called upon to

do penance and exercise charity. It is to the nineteenth century what martyrdom was to the first Christians, the desert to the age of S. Anthony, and the Holy Sepulchre to the days of S. Bernard. We see this in the practice of the Church, who while she never yields one hair's breadth to the spirit of the age, adapts her ministrations, with a mother's instinctive tact and a mother's watchful tenderness, to the wants and the capabilities of every age and race of men, as they look to her in turn for healing and for help. Thus of all the manifold forms of religious life which the present century has developed in France, every one (as far as our knowledge extends) has been directed to the relief of some of the pressing spiritual or temporal necessities of the age. Even that most beautiful institute for the *Help of the Holy Souls*, the first which has given itself to the exclusive service of the faithful departed, offers as its special oblation for their relief a life of toilsome and unremitting attendance upon the sick poor, thus ministering by one and the same act of loving devotion to the suffering members of Christ on earth and in purgatory.

We see it again in our Lord's distribution of His graces to His most highly-favoured servants. The brightest halo of sanctity which has been visible in one age, illuminated the wasted, attenuated form, and the crowded and cumbered confessional of a toil-worn parish priest. The spirit and power of S. Vincent of Paul visited France in the person of Jean Baptiste Vianney. May he raise up hearts and hands in England mighty and manifold enough for needs as many and as multiform as thronged his path on earth !

Art. VI.—RIO'S CHRISTIAN ART.

De l'Art Chrétien. Par A. F. Rio. Nouvelle édition, entièrement refondue et considérablement augmentée. 4 vols. in 8vo. Paris : Hachette & Cie. 1861-67.

WE have now, at last, the fourth and final volume of a work, which on its very first appearance immediately assumed the rank of a standard publication on *Christian Art*. It has cost its author twenty-five years' labour of his best days; but as it now lies before us, we are fain to assert that M. Rio cannot regret one single step, one single research, one single journey which he has devoted to the erection of a monument that

bears throughout every part the evidence of indefatigable industry, combined with the most scrupulous impartiality. At any rate, the author has bestowed upon the public a book which no enlightened tourist, no true lover of the Fine Arts, can overlook without exposing himself to the accusation of gross ignorance, or of stolid blindness to the very principles of Art itself. But in the eyes of our own readers M. Rio's writings will have a still more intrinsic merit, for they have placed beyond dispute the superiority of Christian or Catholic Art over any other whatsoever. At a first glance, nothing appears more natural; and yet in reality, when we consider the vast heap of prejudice and heathenism which has been accumulated on the subject, we are bound to admit, even on this score, that our author has rendered no inconsiderable service both to the literary and artistic reader. And, perhaps, after all, it may be of some use to the reader of this periodical to go over the ground so diligently tilled by the French writer; for even the *conoscenti* and the *dilettanti* may thus gather an amount of genuine information hardly to be expected in the numberless handbooks published of late for the use of itinerant amateurs. At the same time, as the three first volumes have now been several years before the public, we shall devote more particular attention to the fourth, which was issued during the course of the last year.

The standard or leading principles of our author, which pervade the whole of his work, may be reduced to the following:—Among the nations of antiquity it is easy to discern a prominent feature or doctrine rising superior to any other, but yet hardly distinguished by the most eminent geniuses, until the dawn of modern discoveries in the field of history. For the student who avails himself of the twofold wings of fancy and science, a new horizon opens, and is gilt by a light which emblazons certain historical traditions with the highest importance. Every great nation has received what we may call a peculiar vocation, embodied in the religious doctrines that have mostly contributed to its moral and intellectual development. Thus, the Hindoos received as their heirloom the dogma of a Divine incarnation, on which they built their giant epics. The Phœnicians clung to the mysterious belief in a primitive prevarication, requiring an unceasing expiation through human sacrifices. The Persians preserved the doctrine of a perpetual antagonism between good and evil;—the Egyptians, the dogma of an immortal soul, combined with a system of eternal retribution; whilst the Greeks seem to have adhered with no less steadfastness to a belief in a twofold degradation of the body and the soul, as if the words, "God

made man to His own image," were ever sounding through their ears.

Nay, more (continues M. Rio), the privilege of the Greeks does not simply consist in having heard the above words, nor even in having heard them more distinctly than others; it consists in the fact that they undertook, as a special mission, the task of remodelling the human being both as to its inward faculties and to its outward form; thus bringing into the world the notion of the ideal. Just as the Jews, still more highly gifted, were established for the maintenance of Truth,—so were the Greeks ordained for the maintenance of the Beautiful.

As a confirmation of the above views, we may add, that on no other nation in the world was lavished such a profusion of splendid gifts,—splendid in their variety, no less splendid in their harmony; so beautifully, so completely blending with each other, that they have withstood the shock of ages, and still blaze forth unequalled, unquenchable, a very beacon to the intellectual world. And as if to show at once and for ever the real source of all true perfection, the princes of Grecian art, such as Phidias and his school, disdained to seek for inspiration anywhere else but in the highest regions. The gods alone were their models, and among them the gods whose attributes were of the most exalted kind; thus fulfilling the wishes and aspirations of their own countrymen, which all converged at that pre-eminent period towards the sublime. The type which they particularly vied to bring to perfection was that of Minerva; whilst Venus, the favourite idol of more degenerate times, was considered as a subaltern deity, lovely in its kind, but totally deficient in such qualities as inspire high thoughts and higher deeds to a nation proud of its future destinies. Phidias wrought but one Venus for the Athenian Ceramicon, and it was Venus Urania; whilst a most striking feature of these times is the utter contempt in which both he and his disciples seem to have held that slavish worship of naked forms so characteristic of Modern Art.

Our author very justly remarks that between the Fine Arts and the Grecian Drama there existed in the age of Pericles a most intimate connection. Just as Phidias spurns the idea of representing sensual beauty, so does Sophocles disdain to deal with the passion of love. Whenever he meets with it on his road, as is the case in Antigone, one would imagine he turned away with a feeling of contempt or fear, as if afraid of degrading that sublime ideal of Art which rules supreme over his genius. Devotedness—devotedness sanctified by the idea of duty, such is usually the foundation of all his plots, which, indeed, contributes to clothe his heroes with more than human dignity.

We cannot tarry to dwell on this part of our subject, though so highly interesting, and we must journey on. But still these observations are far from being irrelevant to our purpose. The fifth century B.C. might be termed the hieratic period of Grecian Art. Of course, it could not last long, and polytheism must needs bring with it a long succession of degenerate, though still beautiful models, which have been handed down to posterity. Those who are desirous of becoming more intimate with the sundry transformations of ancient art, whether in Greece or Rome, may turn to M. Rio's Introduction, or to Ottfried Müller's celebrated work.*

We have already stated that every great nation bears within its own bosom some high ideal, which forms, as it were, the soul and vital principle of its very existence. What was that principle among the Romans? At first sight, we can scarcely discover any; in the fine arts, in the drama, in philosophy, in literature, in eloquence, they never were but imitators of the Greeks. In one respect, however, we find an all-pervading belief, feeling, or foreknowledge—how shall we call it?—which reigns supreme from the beginning to the close of Roman history. To that belief the Romans sacrifice joyfully their lives and fortunes; and no mishap, no revolution, no anarchy, no despotism, can eradicate it from the hearts of this extraordinary people. It is a strong, indomitable belief that the supremacy of Rome will be eternal,—so the gods have willed it; and what Fate has pre-ordained, no heavenly nor earthly power can gainsay. Still more singular, the typical representative of that belief is a character in which are blended the highest religious virtues and the most approved valour. Æneas, observes M. Rio, is a vanquished hero, bearing with him his vanquished gods, to settle, as an exile, in an unknown land. His portrait, traced by Virgil, might equally apply to Godfrey de Bouillon, or to St. Louis:—

> Rex fuit Æneas nobis quo justior alter,
> Nec pietate fuit, nec bello major et armis.

Our author ventures so far as to assert that, among the Roman writers it is even possible to discern a sort of Pisgah view of asceticism, which was partially realized in the adoption of the Stoic philosophy by so many noble-minded men and women, as a protest against the degrading rule of the Cæsars. The question, at any rate, is hardly worth while elucidating, as the Stoic was utterly powerless to prevent the crash of the

* Handbuch der Archæologie der Kunst.

falling empire. But at the same time we must not forget that at this awful period there existed a subterranean Rome, peopled with future martyrs, and guided by a light far superior to any earthly doctrine or principle. It is within those sombre passages and crypts that we must now look for the true Roman people, as well as for that new ideal which is to become henceforth the source of inspiration in the wide field of Art.

On descending into the Catacombs, the visitor is vividly impressed with the fact that the Christians could not divest themselves all at once of those traditions, forms, and technical processes which formed such a conspicuous portion of heathen art. The very artists they employed had to remould the leading principles of their own schools. This could only be effected gradually; and so by degrees alone it is that the olden types are superseded by new ones,—that a new symbolism arises, partly out of the Bible, partly out of a myth, which may be designated as one of the most significant embodied in the Hellenic religion.

The selection of subjects (observes M. Rio) must needs have coincided with the yearnings of Christian souls, and no less with the conditions of time and place,—a fact we ought by no means to forget when we contemplate the series of allegorical and biblical representations that refer to the fundamental dogmas of Christianity. Most of these, indeed, betray great ignorance of picturesque combination; but still are not these mural paintings, after all, however defective they may be, the most antique inheritance transmitted by our forefathers as to their belief in Christ? Again, does not their inmost thought stand revealed to us in the most simple way—a touching, naïve, or heroic thought; or of love, of sacrifice, of atonement, immortal, if ever there was an immortal idea, teeming with life at the very birth of Art, or with regeneration at its decline?

As a triumphal issue to the mournful drama which the Christian goes through in his pilgrimage here below, the Resurrection is constantly brought forward in images borrowed from the Old and New Testaments,—such as Jonas or Lazarus, the turtle returning to the ark with an olive-branch in its bill, the water transformed into wine, the judgment scene, the phœnix rising from its ashes, or Elijah in his chariot of fire. The good shepherd, who goes in quest of his lost sheep to bring it back to the fold, appears to have been a fond subject both with painters and sculptors. This parable became the most popular, because it was the most consolatory. In the days of trial and persecution, Art had another task to fulfil, by strengthening beforehand the soul against the threats of the torturer and the terrors of death. In such cases, the artist placed before the eyes of the spectator the sufferings and resignation of Job, the three young men in the furnace, Daniel in the den of lions;—or, again, as it were in a spirit of prophecy, foretelling the ultimate triumph of Christianity, we meet with the catastrophe of Pharaoh, swallowed up with his host of slaves within the bosom of the deep.

We have mentioned a Greek symbol or tradition, which assumes a prominent place in the first endeavours of Christian Art. We allude to the figure of Orpheus, with its significant attribute of the serpent, so truly symbolical of the new doctrine. But the figure of Orante, so frequent in the catacombs, is not only symbolical, but typical. It expresses and typifies the prodigious power of prayer. There is no figure, not even that of the Blessed Virgin, which those primitive painters were so fond of delineating with a character of grandeur, a sweetness of expression, that seem so many forerunners of Christian Art in the Middle Ages. Now this benign and irresistible force of prayer formed, we must remember, the mainstay and support of the Church in these troubled times;—hence the exclusive predilection her children manifested for pictures of the Orante. It responded, in fact, to the most ardent cravings of their own souls, and gave rise to a new form of art, as we shall have to observe further on.

The reader will naturally expect that the catacombs will reveal to us a traditional type of the Redeemer; and yet they do nothing of the kind. One might almost imagine that the Christians did not allow their fancy full scope in this respect. Perhaps their ideas of our Blessed Saviour were of too sublime a nature to admit of any typical representation of the God-man. Or, perhaps, the mystery which enveloped the rites of the Eucharist contributed to keep the figure of our Lord in a misty halo, equidistant between absolute symbolism and material description of any kind. It may have been a figure *sui generis*, dwelling far more within the recesses of the human soul than within the imagination of any Christian. Nay, to clothe that figure with any form might indeed seem, in the eyes of many, a sort of profanation. We must not, however, conclude from the above words, that no painting of Jesus Christ is to be met with in the catacombs. Quite the contrary;—but there is nothing typical nor consecrated in the figure.

In one place He is represented showing all the gravity of manhood in His features, with His hair parted over the forehead, so that His mild and melancholy countenance, forming an oval, may be symmetrically enclosed. Elsewhere He seems much younger, with flowing hair, and in a costume by no means imposing, though the attitude and gesture somewhat compensate for this deficiency. The latter type, by no means Oriental, has never emerged from the catacombs. The former, on the contrary, endured through later times, though with certain alterations, and it is to be met with both in the mosaics of the old basilicas, and in the manuscript miniatures. But still we must not consider this predilection for a peculiar type as any proof of

resemblance between the original and the image itself. We know, through the positive evidence of S. Augustine, that the Christians possessed no true likeness of Christ, and that this very absence of any authentic model had left free scope to the imagination of artists; thus giving rise to numberless variations. . . . .

So the type of Christ, at whatever period, or in whatever degree it may have been realized by the first Christians, was purely of an ideal character,—a fact which may take somewhat away from its historical, but not from its æsthetical interest. The same may be said of the Virgin,—a type subjected even to still fewer variations, at least in the catacombs, and originating most probably in the vague ideal of the Roman matron. Down to the present time, no endeavour has been made to establish a chronological order between the different images of the Virgin which have been discovered in those subterranean recesses. The only positive fact is, that the oldest representation of all may be met with in the cemetery of S. Callixtus, though there are others either undiscovered, or unpublished, some of which go back as far as the second century of the Christian era.*

The triumph of Constantine, and the establishment of a Christian empire must need have given a very strong impulse to every branch of Religious Art. Unfortunately the successive invasions of barbarians, coupled with the foundation of new kingdoms, swept away almost every relic of those monuments, which would form such an interesting link in this part of our subject. And yet, those centuries that we may justly call the dark ages, so far as the fine arts are concerned, are by no means a mere blank. It was then that were gradually formed two sorts of idealism, which have definitively stamped their imprint on the whole system of Christian Art. The one was Asceticism, owing its origin to the monastic orders; the other Chivalry, which may be traced up to the adventurous spirit of the Teutonic races. Both often blended together, like two twin rivers, to form a new source of inspiration, so well known by the name of Legends. Italy seems to have been a central point between the East and the West, and in her fruitful bosom were silently deposited those germs which sprang up in after-times, and brought forth such splendid fruits that the whole world was struck with sympathetic admiration.

One of the great merits of M. Rio's work consists in the conscientious feeling which has prompted him to seek for the sundry manifestations of Christian Art not only in those high roads and high places, might we say, where every true connoisseur is wont to look for them, but likewise in those sequestered spots and nooks where many a masterpiece lies

* Vol. i. Introd. pp. xxxix.—xli.

concealed from the hacknied admiration of the vulgar tourist. At the same time he has so sedulously studied the history and chronicles of the Italian commonwealths and feudal baronies, that he has been enabled to throw great light on many a fact hitherto remaining obscure. We are thus made to understand how it is that throughout all Italy the history of a picture, or of a statue, is singularly interwoven with the annals of a city; how it is that the whole population is often impassioned with the productions of some native artist, anxiously waiting for the day when his productions will be borne triumphantly on the shoulders of the people to the neighbouring cathedral, or to the municipal guildhall, there to transmit to future ages the memory of popular devotion, of national victories, or worthies. This happy combination of public events with the progress of art gives a peculiar character to the whole work,—a character which is to be met with in no other. It breathes life and interest into every part, until they both culminate in the two last volumes, where the names of Perugino, Leonardo da Vinci, Raphael, Michael Angelo, and a few others, shine like so many lovely constellations in the firmament of Christian Art.

One of the greatest, and at the same time one of the most hacknied errors of the present age, is to believe that the Medici exerted a most powerful, a most healthy influence over the revival of learning and the fine arts. If the contrary proposition had been maintained, it would indeed have come far nearer to truth. From the earliest period of their ascendancy in the Florentine republic, those wealthy bankers aimed much rather at using them as a source of corruption. Above all members of the Medici family, Lorenzo the Magnificent adhered to this system, both from political motives and from his own immoral nature. Whether it were in the field of ancient literature or art, he invariably fostered and protected those men who plunged headlong into the cesspools of the old heathen voluptuousness, whilst he no less invariably left in the shade, and even persecuted, those who remained faithful to the traditions of those Christian schools which, for nearly a whole century, had so highly contributed to the revival of true learning and of genuine art. Hence arose within the Tuscan territory, and too soon, alas! in other parts of Italy, a sect whose sole object was to dry up every pure source of inspiration. Its devotees lived for no other purpose but to absorb within their own souls, and then propagate among their fellow-citizens, every form of degradation, feeling confident at the same time that it was the only road to the ducal favour. A glimpse of this state of things may be caught in Roscoe's "Life of Lorenzo," but to obtain a correct idea of the subject

we must turn to M. Rio's pages, or to the still more instructive annals of the times. Had he done nothing else, he would have rendered a signal service to the cause of historical truth. For here, indeed, we discover, on the most authentic evidence, that the most sublime genius, such as Leonardo da Vinci, was forced to produce such works as cost him a pang of remorse and shame on his very death-bed. Here again we find, that whether in the sittings of the pseudo-academy held in the ducal gardens, or in the studio of the artist, there was not the slightest chance of protection, unless he copied such forms and resuscitated such images as flattered and pandered to the worst propensities of human nature. To this, to this alone, must be attributed the rapid and astonishing downfall of Italian art towards the close of the sixteenth century.

It must not, however, be supposed that these fatal tendencies met with no opposition among the most enlightened portion of the public. No less among a host of artists than of literati, of substantial burghers than of saintly men, there arose a steadfast, decided war to the knife against principles equally destructive of all moral feeling and of all true patriotism. One man in particular towers above others in that noble contest; the name of Savonarola, the Dominican monk, shines foremost in this battle of Virtue against Vice, and is so mixed up with the whole history of Christian Art at this period, that to separate either would be to violate every rule of scientific investigation.

The name of Savonarola has made itself popular among the friends of republican opinions and among the enemies of the Catholic priesthood, and wherever it is uttered in our days, it appears exclusively to recall the remembrance of a shameful death inflicted upon a stanch defender of civil freedom and of religious toleration. The perpetuity of this error may be attributed to the tenacity with which posterity has clung to two facts summing up, as it were, the public life of Savonarola: his refusal to absolve Lorenzo Medici on his death-bed, unless he previously restored the freedom of his native country, and the boldness with which he is supposed to have shaken off the Pope's authority. Without examining how far the above pretension is confirmed or refuted by the most authentic documents of those times, let us embrace the view most highly interesting to ourselves, and contemplate, simply as admirers of Christian art and poetry, the dramatic and imposing struggle which a single monk maintained against his own age under the very eye of all Italy. His object was to restore the rule of Christ over the heart, the intellect, and the imagination of his people,—to extend the blessings of the Atonement throughout every faculty and every product of the human soul. The enemy whom he combats with the whole might of his genius, with the whole power of his eloquence, is that paganism which he traces in

every direction, in the arts and in the manners of his nation, in their ideas and in their conduct,—in the cloister no less than in the public school.

Such are the words by which M. Rio ushers in the celebrated Dominican reformer. He was but two-and-twenty when he entered the order, and the study of the Divine Word became henceforward the ruling passion of his life. His first attempt in the pulpit had proved a downright failure; but by degrees his language, hitherto cold and vapid, became bold and impassioned. Pico de la Mirandola having heard him at a provincial chapter of the order, was so enraptured with his eloquence and with the exalted feelings of the monk, that he resolved never to lose sight of him; and he spoke of his worth in such enthusiastic terms to Lorenzo di Medici, that the latter appointed Savonarola reader in the monastery of S. Mark at Florence.

In this retreat, under the shade of a large rose-tree, forming the principal ornament of the conventual garden, the monk began to preach before an audience small in numbers, but which soon increased so as to require full space in the neighbouring church. The following year, the cathedral itself could scarcely hold his wondering admirers.

It was a critical moment for Florence: the country had been invaded, and was then occupied by the French, and Savonarola took advantage of the circumstance to hold them forth as the avengers of Divine wrath, as the forerunners of the most formidable trials for the Church. Himself believing in the truth of his predictions, which he grounded on the Word of God, he worked to an extraordinary degree upon the ardent fancy of his hearers. They soon beheld in him a deliverer, a prophet, a saint, a guardian-angel of their unfortunate country. Repentance for their sins, enthusiasm for the preacher, patriotism, all the noblest sentiments of the human breast, were so blended together in every soul, that many imagined themselves brought back to the scenes of the primitive Church.*

To have their share of this marvellous manna thus abundantly showered down from Heaven, the inhabitants of the neigbouring towns and villages deserted their dwellings, and the uncouth mountaineers were seen winding down the Apennine slopes towards Florence, wherein the tide of pilgrims rushed every morning at sunrise, and were greeted with the most brotherly affection. Not a townsman but vied in fulfilling the duties of hospitality; though their very names were unknown, they were embraced in the open street, and some of these pious citizens went so far as to harbour forty of them at one time in their own house.

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* *Talche pareva proprio una primitiva chiesa.*—Burlamachi, p. 39.

Such a scene will be almost incredible in the eyes of our cold, Protestant England, and yet it rests upon the most authentic evidence, and continued with the same fervour, with the same enthusiasm, for seven long years! We must not, however, suppose that Savonarola met with no opposition; the faction of the *lukewarm*, as they were called, breathed the most bitter hatred against the reformer. They denounced him at Rome in the strongest terms, threatened him with the halter, and left no stone unturned to injure his popularity and malign his character. Indeed to look down calm and dauntless on the dark tempest gathering below, required in the Florentine apostle boundless confidence in supernatural assistance.

We have said above that the influence of the Medici and of their courtiers had produced the most fatal effects upon public and private morals; it is now time to enter into some details, as the only means of gauging the amount of good wrought by Savonarola even on the ground of Art. In reality, there was not one single branch of human knowledge which had not been contaminated by the breath of heathenism. By daily worshipping the obscene idols of old, people had come at last to blush at the cross; and in those times Florence was full of men learned, clever, noble, ingenious, refined to the utmost degree, but who were utter strangers to the Christian faith, and even scoffed at those who still preserved its dictates within their bosoms. Artists of consummate genius candidly admitted that they had never been believers; whilst others, to avoid giving scandal, contented themselves with going through a few hacknied and outward observances. At the university, in the school-room, in the circle of the domestic homestead,—nay, even in the cloister itself, the books and precepts instilled into the ears of youth and children were often of such a character as to defy description. One could almost suppose them to have been selected for the sake of their very obscenity.

Such was the field in which Savonarola had to labour, and he went to his work with a prudence and energy worthy of our utmost admiration. By degrees he brought about a thorough reformation both in public and private education, though, at the same time, he ever acknowledged and extolled those classic beauties of ancient literature which had more than one kindred affinity with his own soaring genius. A keen reasoner, an accomplished speaker, a deep theologian, a competent judge of philosophical systems, a refined scholar, such was this great man; but great above all by his earnestness in preaching the Gospel, and in bringing forth therefrom so many fruits of grace.

O Florence! Florence! (exclaimed he, one day at the close of a sermon), do thy will against me, whatever that may be. I have ascended the pulpit to-day to tell thee that thou shalt not destroy my work, for it is the work of Christ. Whether I die or live, the seed I have sown within your hearts must bear its fruits;—if my enemies are powerful enough to banish me from thy walls, I shall not be cast down; for I shall ever find some lonely spot as an asylum for myself and my Bible,—a spot where I may enjoy a repose of which none of thy citizens can despoil me!

Such was the man.* For the wonderful exertions by which he brought about a thorough reform in every path and condition of life, we must refer the reader to M. Rio's pages, for we have still to answer the question,—what of his influence over Christian Art? Did this extraordinary personage, whom some have represented as a fanatic, as a rude, ignorant monk, uselessly striving and raving against the natural progress of of civilization; whom others consider as a true forerunner of Luther or Calvin,—did he really hold any sway over some of the brightest geniuses of his own, or indeed of any age? And, again, if the fact be incontrovertible, how are we to account for it? The question is well worth an answer; for, after all, it would doubtless be no wonder if Savonarola had not possessed that exquisite feeling of the sublime and beautiful in the realms of fancy, which is by no means bestowed on every gifted mind, and which supposes in its owner a certain fund of sensibility, a certain delicacy in the organs, that are hardly to be expected in an ascetic bound to the mortifications of the cloister. And yet all this was combined in a degree scarcely credible in the Dominican whose figure we have before our eyes.

While yet a tyro in the monastic life, he gave many proofs of his artistic inclinations. As he had made a rule of parting with every object which he deemed an obstacle to self-renouncement, so he found that to sacrifice a picture or a pious miniature was a source of greater pain than any other. At a later period, when delighting in laying down Utopian rules for a model convent in Florence, he bound the lay brethren to labour in sculpture and painting. According to his ideas, they dwelt close to the sanctuary, and by being thus at the very source of pure inspiration, they might be considered as so many vestals watching over the sacred fire. His own experience taught him how far a Christian artist might help the soul to emerge from her apathy and facilitate her aspirations towards her Maker. He was often seen absorbed for

* Savonarola's relations with the Holy See were considered in the first number of our new series (July, 1863,) pp. 236–7.

hours together in silent worship before a crucifix which adorned the church of Or-San-Michele. And then, throughout his different works, how splendidly shines forth his theory of the Beautiful, surpassing in depth and originality every other writer of his times! The following extract from one of his sermons, wherein he addresses more particularly the living artists of his age, is an excellent illustration of his ideas on the subject:—

> Your notions bear the stamp of the grossest materialism. . . . In complex subjects, beauty consists in a due proportion between the component parts, or in the harmony of colours; but, in simple objects, beauty is transfiguration, beauty is light. So it is beyond all visible objects that you must look for the very essence of supreme beauty. . . . The more creatures participate in, or come nearer to, the beauty of God, the more really beautiful they are, just the same as the beauty of our body is in due proportion to the beauty of our soul. For, supposing that out of this audience you were to select two women equally lovely, most undoubtedly the holiest of the two would excite the greatest admiration among the spectators, and the prize of beauty would be awarded to her, even by the most carnal of men.

Place the above words in the mouth of Aristotle, of Leonardo da Vinci, Raphael; or suppose them again to have been uttered by M. Ruskin in a lecture on the fine arts, and would they not be considered as one of the finest rules of inspiration? But our admiration increases when we remember that the old monk's sermons are full of similar passages, gushing, as it were, from the depths of his soul, and welling forth in every direction, so as to spread over the realms of art a fertility of the richest nature. Nature, did we say? Ay, for closely allied in Savonarola with this high standard of the Ideal, was his fond love of nature. "He fully understood," observes M. Rio, "the words of S. Paul,—*Tam multa genera linguarum sunt in hoc mundo et nihil sine voce est.*" Whenever, in the course of his ramblings, he met with some lovely landscape, he was wont to burst forth into an ecstatic fit of enthusiasm, and, opening the Psalms, he sought for a text extolling the wonders of the valley and the mountain. "One occasion in particular sank deep in the memory of his simple companions. After picking out the sap of a fig-tree, Savonarola moulded it into the shape of so many white turtles, which he distributed among his brethren, whilst he explained to them in the most poetical terms the twofold intervention of that mystical bird, both in the alliance of God with Noah, and in the covenant of aftertimes through the blood of his Son."

Such being the turn of mind of the great Dominican, we

shall by no means be astonished to learn that his influence was all but omnipotent over a host of poets, authors, and artists, of every grade and character. They followed him as the guide of their souls, and no less as the guide and inspiring spirit of their best productions, as the direct instruments of his grand social reform. Among his most enthusiastic admirers and disciples, we might name, besides John de la Mirandola, Marcile Ficino, the celebrated restorer of Plato's philosophy, the historian Guicciardini, and others hardly less famous. But in no class whatsoever did Savonarola find more ardent disciples and champions of his cause than among the painters and sculptors of his day. Our author reckons them among his apostles and martyrs; some would have gladly laid down their own lives to save that of their well-beloved master; others, in their grief for his untimely death, abandoned their art, as if their only source of inspiration was now dried up for ever. Not one of them belied their master; not one of them but hailed in him, even in the teeth of his persecutors, the true Christian pastor who had fought and fallen bravely in the cause of truth and justice. Indeed, his memory was so sanctified, so embalmed in the recollections of successive generations of artists, that more than a century after Savanarola's death his likeness was constantly chosen to figure in their productions as the type of some sacred mystery, or the model of some high virtue. That likeness is to be met with among the frescoes of Raphael, probably with the approbation of the Pope himself. Such was the respect generally felt for the great Dominican of the fifteenth century, that his beatification was boldly proposed, and S. Philip Neri is said to have kept a portrait of Savonarola in his cell, as of a man who had approved himself a true champion of the good cause. There are few instances in history, we believe, of such a faithful reverence on the part of artists and poets for an obscure monk, who never condescended to flatter their passions, and never swerved from what he considered as the straight path of duty. Such a steadfast allegiance to intrinsic worth is honourable to human nature itself.

From Florence we must now turn to the Venetian school, which opens the fourth volume. It is hardly possible to exaggerate the service which M. Rio has rendered to the history of Christian Art, by the new light he has thrown on this part of his subject, and which positively amounts to a sort of revelation. The general character of that school in its later period, represented as it was by Titian and others, who followed in his footsteps, has greatly contributed to blind, or at least to dazzle us, as to its fundamental features, during the

last half of the thirteenth century. And yet it was in those troubled times that arose in Venice whole generations of artists and patriots, of sainted warriors and of ascetic painters, so closely connected, so intimately interwoven, as it were together, that it is totally impossible to separate them either from each other or from the general history of their far-famed republic. Never, perhaps, since the days of Pericles, were the annals of any nation wound up to such a degree with the history of the fine arts; and it is to bring forth in glowing colours this new discovery that the French writer has plunged headlong into sources hitherto unsought for, and ransacked memorials long concealed under the accumulating dust of ages. But, at any rate, all his pains and trouble have been rewarded; henceforward no true amateur can overlook this part of his work; and, indeed, we shall soon give a most remarkable proof of the revolution which M. Rio has already effected in this respect among men who are most decidedly hostile to his general views and opinions.

Perhaps one of the most singular facts in the world, observes our author, is the total absence of a Venetian drama, of a Venetian epic poem, of Venetian oratory, in fine, of Venetian literature altogether. He attributes this remarkable circumstance to the character of the local dialect—the softest, the most melodious of the whole Italian peninsula—so soft, indeed, that it does not possess resources sufficient for any unusual display of energy and dignity. This deficiency in their own native tongue was so apparent to the inhabitants of the Lagoons that, on public occasions, they invariably made use of the Latin language to express their admiration for their deceased heroes. Their very heroic poems were composed in the same dead idiom,—a process which, besides giving rise to a conventional sort of literature, had the sad result of building up a learned system of poetry, from which the people was totally excluded,—the people, that ever-teeming germ of all true poetry and enthusiasm. Who would imagine, for instance, that the immortal production of Dante was translated into Latin for the use of the Venetian patricians? Such a fact requires no comment.

And yet the slightest reflection will lead us to believe that a nation so pre-eminently endowed as to poetry and the fine arts, could not be deprived of a popular system of poetry. And, indeed, so it was. The poetical vein sought for other issues, and, disdaining the classical channels as well as an obsolete language, it soon assumed forms more congenial to the people's taste and fancy. In Venice, no less than in other parts of Europe, the vernacular poetry was embodied

in numberless legends, and sprang up, as it were, from mother earth with a freshness and a variety of forms, tints, and hues, which almost baffles description.

Not a temple, not a monastery, not a religious or national monument, but had its cortége of legends, that went on increasing with every age; and, as if these local traditions proved to be insufficient, the people conqnered those of Egypt, Asia Minor, and Greece, but yet assimilating them to their own genius, just as they appropriated the relics of saints and martyrs, in order to protect them against the insults of the infidels, who now ruled over the countries where the first Christian churches had been founded.

And yet, whilst borrowing so profusely from foreign nations, the Venetians by no means cramped their own originality. All these sundry and exotic metals are so well smolten, so to speak, in one common furnace, that we soon discern a common fund of legendary poetry, far richer, far more various than any other, and rising superior to any other, from the fact that it embodied the deep meaning of the Italian and German legends with the more brilliant productions of Eastern imagination. Such was the real form of Venetian poetry down to the beginning of the fifteenth century, when it was instinctively superseded by Art itself, as if a mysterious, yet infallible foresight had marked the precise moment when such a substitution was required for the maintenance and effulgence of the national genius.

However, it is not in Venice itself that we must look for the birthplace of Venetian art. Down to the fifteenth century, she appealed either to the Greeks or to the Florentines when she wished to build her temples and to adorn her palaces. In fact, one may boldly affirm that the Byzantine architecture and painting prevailed almost exclusively at this early period, though with certain differences, foreshadowing the future character so peculiar to this highly-gifted country. Giotto himself, and his disciples, encountered indeed great difficulties in making their way through the lagoons, whilst, strange to say, their influence soon became paramount among the neighbouring continental cities. In fact, it is at Trevisa, Brescia, Verona, Padua, Cadore, and other Lombard towns, that we must look for the true fathers of Venetian art; as they gradually fell, either through conquest or treaties, under the rule of the great republic, their architects, painters, and sculptors were successively called upon to satisfy both the devotion of the people and the enlightened protection of the aristocracy. We recommend to every curious reader the perusal of about fifty pages devoted by M. Rio to this part of his subject: it will prove quite new to even the proficient in

these matters. But even here, if we had to make a choice, we should point out the part allotted to the Bellinis and their school, whom we are tempted to call a long dynasty of artists, exemplifying in their lives and productions the superior influence of a thoroughly Catholic spirit over the genius of man. Well indeed may our writer exclaim at the close of his chapter on Bellini:—

> We may go back as far as we please in the history of art, and trace its progress under the most favourable circumstances, nowhere shall we meet with such a splendid efflorescence brought forth by such a crystal sap, and expanding into so many various effects. To produce the above wonders, and those which we shall have still to commemorate, something more was requisite than a traditional initiation to certain technical processes: the treble vitality, which is the very groundwork of idealism in man—the vitality of the soul through faith; the vitality of character through patriotism and warlike virtues; the vitality of the fancy through religious and legendary poesy; such was the grand foundation. And again we say it—it is hardly possible to find throughout history any period when these conditions were so thoroughly fulfilled as by the Venetians during the half-century we are now speaking of. The commonwealth was at the apex of its strength and glory, and both were vividly reflected by the fine arts. The star was rising to its zenith, and shed forth such dazzling beams, that the keenest eye could have scarcely detected the slightest speck, or discovered any symptom of degeneracy.

The distinctive character of the Bellini school was ascetism in its most essential features; and it is certainly a most remarkable fact that such remained, long after those patriarchs of Venetian art, the fundamental inspiration of its champions, no less than the craving, one might almost say, of the republican aristocracy.

Piety and genius go hand in hand among the painters, piety and bravery, piety and ability, are usually united among the nobles. There are but few exceptions to the rule, or rather, those exceptions confirm the rule. On the one hand we have Giorgione, Pordenone, Palma, Titian, Bonifazio, Paris Bordone, Paul Veroneze, Tintoretto; on the other, Grimani, Cornaro, Mocenigo, Bembo, and sundry other heroes. In fact, it was only when the infamous Aretin obtained such undue influence through his lampoons and scurrilous productions, that we begin to feel the approaching downfall of true art—a downfall from which it has never since recovered. To a discerning view, Providence could not have awarded a greater penalty on those who contributed to the dereliction of the principles and feelings which made Italian art what it still is in the eyes of an intelligent posterity.

Giorgione, a disciple of the last Bellini, was not, however, a painter belonging to the purely Ascetic school. He opens the generation of artists whom we may proclaim as belonging to the heroic order. From his very youth, he had constantly before his eyes the effects of foreign invasion, and probably imbibed from thence a preference for military subjects. A national deliverer seems, according to his notions, to have every title to heavenly beatitude. Hence his devotion for S. George, who, by the bye, was the most popular of all Venetian saints. At the same time, as Giorgione is more particularly distinguished for his energy and grandeur, we are not disagreeably surprised by the display of such qualities in productions, in almost every one of which we meet with a soldier. Among his best portraits of great commanders we may mention the celebrated Gonzalvo de Cordova and Gaston de Foix.

But at the same time the natural tendencies of this great artist, combining with his very success, contributed to bring about a sort of revolution in the Venetian school. It is but proper that we should advert to such circumstances, because they form so many landmarks in the field of art history. Hitherto the cloister, the sanctuary, or religious sodalities, had enjoyed the privilege of commanding large cyclical and mural compositions. With Giorgione they emerged from the twilight of the chancel to bask in the gaudy rays of an Italian sky. He was the first, we believe, who set the example of painting the facings of palaces and public buildings. He often borrowed his subjects from the Lives of the Saints, but still more frequently from Ovid. This was a serious innovation, but a decided success for the painter. Immediately the Soranzos, the Grimanis, and other patrician families, bespoke frescoes of the same kind for their own dwellings; and the Doge Leonard Loredano admired so highly the author of those wonderful creations, that he intrusted to Giorgione and to Titian, his rival, the joint labour of decorating the whole front of one of the largest edifices in Venice—the *Fondaco dei Tedeschi*.

A serious innovation was this, did we say. Little by little every house, every palace, became a field upon which the artist was free to display the wildest caprices of his genius, and to bestow upon naked forms and heathenish scenes of voluptuousness that magic colouring which ought to have been reserved for higher objects. It was, indeed, impossible that the beautiful alliance of religion and art, of piety and chivalry, should long endure—and, indeed, it did *not* endure; for Titian was already rising, and too soon he carried all before him. There are, in fact, few chapters more instructive

than the one in which our author shows how much ideal perfection really lost by the mournful invasion of neo-paganism in the sacred field of art. And in so saying we must not be supposed in the slightest degree to put in a plea for the pre-Raphaelite system, that true offshoot of mediocrity and eccentricity.

The influence of Giorgione in the new field which he had opened to painters, was immediately felt in his successors, and more particularly in Pordenone, the great rival of Titian. The fashion of covering every edifice with pictorial ornaments became quite a frenzy among the Venetians, a frenzy by which Christian Art was far from gaining. Without entering into any detail as to his well-known productions, we may observe that they bore, no less than his own character, the imprint of a twofold influence—the influence of a classical education and of the military habits and customs by which he was surrounded. In his own native city, one of the most famous generals, l'Alviane, had established a sort of literary academy, wherein Pordenone imbibed his first principles and lessons. To this circumstance, as well as to his own strong intellect, we may partly attribute his superiority over all his contemporary rivals in regard to scholarship, and his predilection for Greek and Roman subjects. But this sort of theoretical *dilettantism* was most fortunately corrected, and kept within proper bounds by the situation of the Venetian republic itself at this critical period. At the beginning of the sixteenth century, the commonwealth was surrounded by enemies on every side, and more than once seemed to be tottering on her foundations. But still, the energy of her defenders rose superior to every peril, and every family exhibited the most noble examples of patriotism. That such an atmosphere of devotedness and self-sacrifice should have electrified an exalted soul like that of Pordenone, is by no means astonishing; we can hardly doubt, indeed, that more than once he exchanged the brush and easel for the sword. He belongs, says M. Rio, to the militant school, which arose at Padua, and continued through Mantegna down to himself. Like the latter, he selected in the Bible, as subjects for his compositions, such scenes as tended to increase and foster the love of fatherland.

To dwell upon this part of our subject, to show the close connection, which lasted almost to the very end, between Venetian art and the glorious annals of a free country, to trace, above all, that under-current of piety and patriotism, mixing their waters together in a Paul Veronese, would cer-

tainly be a delightful task; but we must hurry on to a conclusion and leave our readers to M. Rio's pages. We can but repeat what we said above, that never, to our knowledge at least, was brought forth in stronger colours the fact that art, in the highest acceptation of the term, has invariably culminated in the alliance of genuine, sound Christian piety with that æsthetical breathing of the human soul, if we may be allowed such an expression, which is the very life and essence, and substance of inspiration. And if this be true of those whose names have come forth in these pages, how much more so of a Michael Angelo, of a Raphael! For, even while speaking of these two paramount lords of modern art, M. Rio has succeeded in throwing new light upon a subject, which to many would have appeared exhausted. Thanks to his system of ransacking old records, neglected by the herd of usual commentators, he has elicited new evidence to the truth of his theory, an evidence founded on the most authentic facts. Among many others, we may point to the sound religious education which young Raphael received in his father's house, a man who was himself a pious Christian, an eminent artist, and a distinguished poet. Many a reader will be startled at this assertion, and yet how true, though it is not to be met with in any work of modern times on Italian art! Giovanni Santi or Sanzio had been himself formed in the Umbrian school, a school pre-eminent among all others for its ascetic and chaste character. Fra Angelico, Piero della Francesca, and Perugino are three names quite sufficient to mark its general tendencies. An historical poem, written by Raphael's father, is a most precious document, which shows us how truly open was his own soul to all the surrounding influences of that blessed region, equally famous for its saints and for the chivalrous intrepidity of its inhabitants. Between the years 1480 and 1490, Giovanni Santi had constantly before his eyes the productions of the most distinguished Umbrian masters, of whom he speaks with enthusiasm :—

Perhaps we may place at the same period his initiation to another kind of ideal in the works of Petrarch and Dante; for he lets us into his confidence as to his predilections in poetry, no less than in the fine arts, and it is impossible not to be struck with the harmony existing between his views in both directions. In a few lines, he marks the ascetical tendencies of Fra Angelico, has a word of kind remembrance for his dear old master Melozzo, does full justice to Mantegna and Piero della Francesca, and in order to express his admiration for Leonardo da Vinci, places him on the same line with Perugino, on whom he bestows the qualification of *divine;*

thus instinctively prophesying the future direction of young Raphael's lispings.*

But it is in the productions of Giovanni Santi that we are to look for the early influence which he must have obtained over the fond object of his fatherly affections. It would seem, indeed, as if that dear image were constantly before his eyes, so often does it reappear in his paintings. Indeed, we can scarcely conceive a more angelic form, and never, perhaps, had any artist a better right to identify his worship for the beautiful with his own domestic affections. In one picture, young Raphael is shown as he was at the age of three years; in another he verges on manhood; but everywhere he is the very type of beauty, yet preserving that stamp of sanctity which he is made to impersonate. And the same may be said of Giovanni's Madonnas. Some of them are not unworthy of his illustrious son in his best period; all bear a comparison with the most remarkable productions of the mystic school of Umbria. And yet this is the man who is simply known for having been Raphael's father! Had that father been spared longer to that son, the admirers of the latter would probably not have to regret the demoralizing influence which certain patrons exerted over the prince of artists, and which is but too discernible in some of his latest productions.

However pleasing might be the task of following M. Rio through the two last chapters of his work, devoted to Michael Angelo and to Raphael, where he has brought to light—we again repeat it—so many new facts and details of a most interesting nature, we must come to a conclusion. Thanks to his scrupulous and persevering spirit of investigation, he has dispelled many an error concerning those two great men; he has still gleaned abundantly in a field where so many others had reaped before him. Who did not believe, on the faith of the superficial and misguided Vasari, that Raphael had prematurely succumbed to his own excesses? The French writer has proved the fallacy of this statement, though it by no means implies that the famous Sanzio did not yield to those fatal passions, which, at any rate, impaired his genius, and partially deprived him of that consummate combination of religious inspiration with natural grace and beauty, so highly

* Giovan da Fiesole, frate al bene ardente,
Due giovin par d'etate e par d'amori,
Leonardo da Vinci e 'l Perusino,
Pier della Pieve, ch' è un divin pittore,
Non lasciando Melozzo a me si caro.

conspicuous in his early productions. To the lessons and traditions of the Umbrian school he owed that sublime gift, perhaps no less than to his own towering genius, and he preserved it immaculate as long as he remained faithful to the feelings and principles of his first education as a painter. Throughout the whole work of M. Rio, there is, indeed, no part where is better demonstrated the truth of the doctrine, that in the higher regions of art, above all of Christian Art, there does exist a mysterious and indissoluble link between the religious status of an artist and his æsthetic inspirations. To have established this truth on a sound basis, to have justified it on a long series of undeniable facts, through every school and through every age, is certainly a signal service rendered to the cause of art itself in our own times. Doubtless in many a page the intelligent reader may carp at this or that statement, he may deny this or that principle; but still, *nolens volens*, he is forced to assent to the gist of the work, as a whole. And, indeed, a moment's reflection will often convince us, when disposed to demur, that our misgivings proceed rather from our own ignorance, or superficial information, than from false assumptions on the part of a writer whose whole life has been devoted to the contemplation of those masterpieces which he has undertaken to analyze and to reduce, as it were, to a general system of exalted æsthetics. But, after all, the best proof we can produce how true is this last assertion is furnished by the fate of the book itself since its late publication. We have been fortunate enough to glean in Paris the following interesting details, which now come before the public for the first time.

Any one familiar with the productions of French art for the last twenty years must have been struck with the meretricious taste and degraded tendencies of its principal representatives. Setting aside landscape and a few inferior sorts of painting or sculpture, it may be fairly asserted, we believe, that the grossest materialism is the ruling principle of the national school amongst our neighbours. To point out names might, perhaps, appear somewhat invidious; let us, therefore, confine ourselves to the annual exhibitions of the *Palais de l'Industrie*. You may go through those long and tedious galleries, year after year, and you are sure to meet with scarcely anything else but the most obscene subjects, exposing every form and attitude that may tend to excite our lowest propensities. As to any idea higher than that of anatomical perfection, there is none, and the public itself turns away in disgust. Even sense palls upon such a profusion of naked limbs and fleshy bosoms. In what home, nay, in what palaces, could such productions find room?

We are far from asserting that the evil is universal; we are well acquainted with such bright exceptions as Orsel, Perrin, Flandrin, and a few others, who were precisely men deep in religious belief and practice; but we maintain that, of late more particularly, the French school has come to a state of degeneracy of which they are themselves the very first to complain. And yet how could it be otherwise? The principles of the foulest materialism are dogmatically officially laid down and taught at the very school of design supported by the Government itself. Every week M. Taine, its usual exponent, endeavours to prove to a youthful audience of future artists that form and matter and anatomy are the be-all and end-all of the fine arts. In his late publication on the Italian schools, there is scarcely a page in which he does not justify these fine principles, and apply them to the works of the great masters. One may imagine what is their effect upon raw lads, who can fall back upon no counteracting influence, either in their own minds or in their studios.

Such is the world into which M. Rio has launched his book on Christian Art—with what chance of success the reader may well fancy. And yet such is the force of truth, that it is making its way even among unbelievers of every description and hue. The most signal proof of its influence has been lately shown on M. Taine himself. He had delivered to his hearers a series of lectures on the Venetian school, and had displayed his usual tendencies, when he became acquainted with M. Rio's pages on the same subject. The effect seems to have been instantaneous on the professor's mind. He at once became aware of his own inconsistencies—of the glaring errors into which he was constantly falling, and, like an upright man, resolved to make amends. And, indeed, so he really did, publicly retracting his own errors, publicly pointing to the standard worth of the work to which he himself owed his new-born knowledge. Such an instance of candour does, certainly, high credit to the gifted professor. May it be an omen of future amendment in more serious concerns!

But here the matter did not stand; the French Academy directed their attention to the subject, and was inclined to award a prize to a publication which they considered as one of the most useful and most conclusive that had come forth of late years. How the proposal failed it is not for us to relate; but we are sorry to add that it originated in what we may consider as an exaggerated, though honourable sensitiveness on the part of M. Rio himself. In our humble opinion, the stamp of such an authority on his excellent history of Christian

Art would have favoured the wide circulation of his doctrines —a matter dearer to his heart than any other consideration. We can therefore but regret that he has, by an act of his own free will, foregone a golden opportunity of success. So many men are led by the opinions of others, that it is not always advisable to rely on intrinsic merit alone when we wish either to dispel an error or to establish a truth. At any rate, what a pity, we are fain to exclaim, that M. Rio himself should not have been called to a professorship at the Paris School of Design! His pre-eminent qualifications are written in every page of his excellent work on Christian Art.

Art. VII.—NATIONAL TENDENCIES AND THE DUTIES OF CATHOLICS.

1. *A Bill to Provide Elementary Education in England and Wales.* (Prepared and brought in by Mr. Henry Austin Bruce, Mr. William Edward Forster, and Mr. Algernon Egerton.) Ordered by the House of Commons to be printed, 17th March, 1868.
2. *A Bill intituled An Act to regulate the Distribution of Sums granted by Parliament for Elementary Education in England and Wales; and for other purposes.* (Presented by the Lord President.) Ordered to be printed, 24th March, 1868.
3. *Education Commission.* Report of the Assistant Commissioners appointed to inquire into the state of popular Education in Continental Europe, 1861, vol. iv. Presented to both Houses of Parliament by command of Her Majesty.
4. *Schools Inquiry Commissions.* Report on the Common School System of the United States, and of the Provinces of Upper and Lower Canada, by the Rev. J. Fraser, M.A., Assistant-Commissioner. Presented to both Houses of Parliament by command of Her Majesty.
5. *Twentieth Annual Report of the Catholic Poor School Committee.*
6. *Report of the National Society.* 1868.
7. *The Nonconformist.* May, 1868.

I.

We call the attention of our readers to the national tendencies in Education and Religion. They are inseparably knit together, yet they must be considered first one and then the other. The subject of popular education is so prominently before the public mind, that we need no apology for a brief recurrence to it in this number.

Since our January issue, the question has moved on. It has moved on in the direction which we then pointed out as the aim of the Radical and Liberal party, and as the least happy for the cause of religion. It has been now practically delivered over to the action of the new Parliament, and this will probably be of a more rational-

istic and secular tendency than any that has met under the shadow of St. Stephens.

Two bills have been brought in during the present session,—one in the Lords, by the Duke of Marlborough, for the Government; another in the Commons, by Mr. Bruce.

The Government Bill seeks to develop the existing system, founded on the religious basis, by supplementing the voluntary contributions with larger Government grants than are at present made. It limits the application of the "conscience clause" to districts having only one school. It objects to local rates and boards, and proposes the creation of a Minister of Education. It makes payments for results. At the same time we are bound to say that it is marked by feebleness and timidity, containing no comprehensive scheme for netting the ignorance of the country, and it has found little favour in Parliament and throughout the country.

Still, under the circumstances, we should be glad to see such a Bill as the Duke's carried, in preference to anything which is likely to be substituted for it by the opposite party, or by another Parliament.

Mr. Bruce has redeemed his promise to the Manchester Congress, and brought in a compulsory Bill, which there is no thought of passing into law this year.

The use of the Bill is that it keeps Mr. Bruce's hand in as a leader on popular education, and will give him a right to introduce a measure to the next Parliament. It also educates the House of Commons and the country on the subject of popular education, and so familiarizes the public with its revolutionary measures that they cease to be regarded with aversion, and will at length be considered as natural and inevitable steps.

The Bill of 1868 differs from its predecessor of 1867 chiefly in this, that it is more advanced and more acceptable to the Radicals. It contains machinery for compulsory enforcement, and a wider conscience clause.

The following summary of its measures may be sufficient for our purpose.

I.—It provides for the *voluntary* adoption of the Act,

First, by all municipal boroughs and places under the jurisdiction of a local board, or of commissioners, or trustees, entrusted by any local Act with powers of improvement.

Secondly, by all unions which are not co-extensive with, or included in, the places above mentioned.

Thirdly, by special districts formed under an Order in Council.

And fourthly, by the union of districts, or of parts of parishes and districts.

Moreover it provides for the *compulsory* adoption of the Act by an order from the Committee of Council, after due inquiry. This

inquiry may be demanded by one-tenth in number or rateable value of the persons who are or could be electors of the district; or it may be directed by the Committee of Council on its own authority.

II.—The School Committee in municipal boroughs may be elected by the Council, either wholly or in part, out of their own body. In all other districts the Committee will be elected by the ratepayers. The number of the Committee is to be six, nine, or twelve.

III.—The expenses of the School Committee are to be paid out of a fund called the "School Fund," raised in the following manner:—In the city of London out of the consolidated rate; in districts under the Metropolis Management Act, 1855; in boroughs, out of the borough fund or rate; in places under the jurisdiction of a local board, out of the general district rate; in places under the Improvement Commissioners, out of the rate leviable by them; in unions, out of the union rate.

IV.—The money provided for building a new school will be charged on the parish in which that school is situate. This expense may be spread over any number of years not exceeding thirty; and the School Committee may borrow money on the security of the school fund.

V.—The Government code, in its application of imperial aid, will be construed as if the contributions from the local fund arose from voluntary contributions.

VI.—The managers of every school in the district, whatever its denomination, fulfilling certain conditions, and not exacting a weekly payment of more than ninepence, may apply to be received into union. The conditions are:—

1. That they shall be open to inspection both by Her Majesty's and by local inspectors.

2. That the discipline and instructions shall be in all respects conformable to the minutes of the Committee of Council; provided always that no scholar shall be required, when attending the school, to learn any Catechism or religious formulary to which the parent objects in writing, nor to be present at any lesson, instruction, or observance to which such objection has been made.

3. That no scholar tendering the weekly fee shall be refused admission for any reason but mental or physical incapacity, conviction of crime, or expulsion from some other school. The managers will have power to expel for misconduct.

4. The qualifications of teachers shall, when schools are in receipt of the Parliamentary grant, be the same as those required by the Government Code. In other cases they shall be such as shall be prescribed by the School Committee.

5. That the schoolrooms be healthy, &c.

6. That they be open forty weeks in the year.

The managers may after three months' notice withdraw from union.

VII. Every opportunity is given for providing schools. It will be the duty of the Committee to inquire into the school accommodation of the district, and when found insufficient, to give notice to the district. Any person, within sixty days after the notice, may serve on the School Committee, an undertaking to provide sufficient schools within twelve months. If he fail to commence work within six months, or within eighteen months to have the school in operation, the School Committee may provide it themselves. The Committee may either manage these schools themselves, or delegate their management to others.

This is a simple and fair analysis of the Bill which, though withdrawn for the present session, will next year, in all probability, become in substance the law of the land. We are not going to trouble our readers by a disquisition on its various objectionable points. Two features alone we shall refer to,—the local rate, whether voluntary or compulsory, and the conscience clause.* And our object in now referring to them again is to discover how we are to prepare to meet them should they become law, rather than speculatively to refute them. We pass by the Government Bill as harmless, but practically condemned. Mr. Bruce's Bill occasions us more anxiety. It behoves Catholics to consider how they are to comport themselves in the face of the changes which threaten them, how they should improve and strengthen their educational resources, and in what manner they should present themselves and their religion to the people of England.

In the first place, we are threatened with local school-rates, and what is infinitely more objectionable, with local committees to manage them. We know the low level of the parochial mind. We are familiar with the jobbery and prejudice which too often characterize union and municipal Boards and Councils. We have had experience of the pressure that the provincial clergyman and dissenting ministers are able to bring to bear upon the tradesmen who generally form such Boards. The shopman looks to the sale of his tea and sugar; to draw away his custom is like tapping his life. His vote is therefore in the hands of others. Under such circumstances,—and they are the ordinary circumstances,—a Catholic minority cannot expect fair and impartial treatment.

The business of these Boards will be to inspect and report upon local school wants; to determine the spot where the school shall

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* Both of these subjects have been discussed at considerable length and in detail in a pamphlet on "Popular Education, the Conscience Clause, the Rating Clause, and the Secular Current." By Herbert Vaughan, D.D. Longmans, Green, & Co.

be placed; if need be, to build it, and then to lay down, without appeal, the views, or principles, or religion on which the school shall be conducted. Thousands of our poor children for whom we are not able at present to provide schooling will be thus picked up and driven into Protestant, Dissenting, or secular schools. These Committee Schools once established, and under the control of the Board, the difficulties in our way of erecting Catholic schools for the reception of our own children will be infinitely increased, and our chances of local and Government aid will probably be cut off upon the plea that the school want has been already supplied by the school set up by the Board, and that our alternative is the use of the conscience clause. How unsatisfactory and unsuccessful such a course will be may be told us by the priests who visit our workhouses, and by the managers themselves of these dens of proselytism. It is the custom in many of these national establishments formally to notify to children that they may declare themselves Catholics, if they are such, and receive the ministration of the priest when he calls. But the declaration is too often made at the price of their small share of peace and social happiness. The same, no doubt, will be the case in the district schools we are now contemplating. Many of our children will not dare to proclaim their religion in the face of a rough and strong majority. Nothing is more powerful and constraining than the social petty persecution of a boy by his school companions.

Then, again, no child is to be exempted from the religious instruction and practices of the school unless his parent demand the exemption in writing. How many parents are as ignorant and as careless as their children! How many are practically indifferent on the subject! How many children have lost their parents! Are they to be educated in whatever may chance to be the religion of the school, if it have a religion?

Then there is a proposition to cover the country with local Boards of Education. We have something more to do than to lament the prospect. Now, if ever, is the time to forecast the danger and to prepare against it.

First of all, before Mr. Bruce's Bill becomes law, there is one modification in the compulsory rating clause which Catholics in and out of Parliament ought strenuously to contend for. It is based upon the experience of Canada, and is referred to by Mr. Fraser in his Report on the Common School System, p. 254. In Canada power is given to Catholics, Protestants, and coloured people to establish separate schools.

A Roman Catholic separate school may be established whenever any number of persons, not less than five, being heads of families and freeholders or householders, resident within day-school section, incorporated village or town, or within any ward of any city or town, and being Roman Catholics,

choose to convene a public meeting of persons desiring to establish a separate school for Roman Catholics in such section or ward, for the election of trustees for the management of the same.

The trustees of the separate school have the same duties and responsibilities as the trustees of a common school. They can impose, levy, and collect school rates or subscriptions upon and from persons sending children to, or subscribing towards, the support of such separate school.

Every person who gives notice in writing to the clerk of the municipality that he is a Roman Catholic, and a supporter of a Catholic school, is exempted from the common school rates.

The separate school is entitled to a share in all grants for education, except that accruing from the local assessment for common school purposes.

By this means the Catholic trustees rate their fellow Catholics in the district, who thereby become exempted from the common school rate, and are supporters of their own school. After sixteen years of legislation in Canada upon the subject of local rates and religion, this is the satisfactory law which was enacted in 1863, and has been in force since.

Let us bear this precedent in mind, and act accordingly.

And now, secondly, and this is our chief practical point and suggestion which we insist upon in this article;—what special means of self-protection and development are in the hands of English Catholics? A Catholic Poor School Committee. It came into existence twenty years ago by a joint act of the Bishops of England. It meets each year in London, representing fifteen dioceses in England and Scotland. It enjoys, on the one hand, the complete confidence of the bishops and clergy, and on the other hand it commands the respect and consideration of the Government. By far its most important function consists in its relation to the State, whereby it represents and protects the general interests of our Catholic Poor School system. Since it began its work, it has been the means of training about 600 men and women as teachers in normal schools, and has rendered to the country a general service of the highest importance. An annual collection is made in our churches and put at the disposal of the Committee, and the secretary receives the alms of any persons wishing to subscribe. During the first six years of its existence the average receipts of the committee were £3,223; during the last three years they have been £4,213; showing an increase of only about £1,000 a year upon the income raised twenty years ago. The total amount which has passed through the hands of the Committee in these twenty years is £109,401; and the summary of the grants of the Committee of Council to Catholic schools during the same period has been £376,059. We have drawn these details from the clear and interesting report which Mr. Allies, the able secretary of the Com-

mittee, has just published. The report concludes with a wise and prudent recommendation in these words :—

> Our best, perhaps our only, security against the danger which it presents, the greatest and most fatal which could possibly arise,—the substitution, that is, of a system of secular instruction for an education on Christian principles as understood by the several religious communities among us,—is at once to ascertain the number of Catholic children requiring and not receiving education, and to make without delay a sustained and well-considered effort to provide them with schools under the actual system. Viewing the circumstances of the times, this would seem to be our wisdom, and surely it is not beyond our power (p. 25).

We need, as Mr. Allies most truly says, "a sustained and well-considered effort" to obtain a greater provision for our wants than we have at present. And we ask, has not the time come, or is it not at hand, when we shall require Diocesan or District Poor School Committees, acting in harmony with the central Poor School Committee in London?

We shall do well to be beforehand, and prepared to meet the action of the educational Boards of ratepayers, with which we are threatened.

The natural functions of such Diocesan Catholic Poor School Committees would be:

First, to watch the conduct of the national local Boards of Education, when called into existence, just as the General Poor School Committee deals and would continue to deal with the action of the Committee of Council.

Secondly, to consider more in detail than the General Committee could, the particular necessities of their respective districts.

Thirdly, to afford aid to, and co-operate with, the local clergy in obtaining justice from Municipal or other Boards of Education, and in all ways to protect the interests of Catholics, especially where they are in small minorities.

Fourthly, to acquire all the local information possible in connection with the education of our poor; and this being forwarded to the Central Committee, might be used most effectively in its dealings with Government.

Fifthly, the establishment of such local Committees would be the multiplication of centres, and therefore the multiplication of influences; it would train men to interest themselves in the public business of education, and would fit them in time to become members of the Central Committee. It would penetrate and possess the entire Catholic community with a becoming zeal for our primary education. The same benefit would result to our Poor School education, which has accrued to the Church in general from the multiplication of dioceses.

And lastly, our educational fund, which is now miserably small, might by this means be at least doubled in a few years. It is urged that the Catholic community is poor. We have all the greater need, therefore, to improve our organization. We must collect not only the pounds, but the shillings and the pence. If our collections are small, it is because we fail to organize as the French do. The Englishman is naturally prodigal and careless of smaller things. We have yet to learn the science of organization: there is a heedlessness of detail which runs through everything, in the State as well as the Church. The French are the most successful organizers of detail in the world. In this country, perhaps, nothing comes up to the minutiæ and method of the Wesleyan system, as shown at their central college in Westminster. These Diocesan or District Committees (for it might be inconvenient to form as many committees as there are dioceses) would naturally each have a secretary. His duty would be to organize collections, to travel from one congregation to another, and obtain the aid of sub-collectors, who would beg for shillings and pence. The secretary might be paid a percentage on the income collected, or a fixed stipend for his whole time. It would not require high attainments to fill such an office. Surely there are men among us who would gladly take up such a work. How many complain that they cannot find employment! Here, then, is an avocation next in importance to the priesthood—the providing Christian education for our people.

An objection presents itself—objections occur to everything—will not the establishment of Diocesan Committees destroy or weaken the influence of the Central Committee which meets in London, and drain off its resources?

We believe that the contrary will be the result. And we are warranted in the belief, not only by the thought that the multiplication of centres is the multiplication of interests, and the multiplication of interests is the multiplication of strength and efficiency, but by the experience of a body in the Established Church precisely analogous to our Poor School Committee. The National Society was for many years the only such Society in the Established Church. It was founded in the year 1811. In 1838 diocesan societies were formed all over England. The croakers declared that the National Society would be thereby doomed; that it would lose its influence; that the small local centres would absorb its funds, and that it might as well close its books at once. Facts disappointed this expectation, and that happened which always will happen in such cases, that there was generated a new activity and efficiency throughout the country; the National Society worked all the harder—its influence increased enormously through contact with the local organizations. From 1836-8 its funds never reached £3,000. They at once increased sixfold; and

their income for the current year is £17,672. We have it upon undoubted authority that the Diocesan Boards of Education, so far from draining the resources of the society, have, as affiliated institutions, indirectly contributed to its prosperity. They have made its wants and operations more widely known than would otherwise have been the case, and they have created and fostered an educational spirit which without them, would never have existed, or which would have always been inactive and languishing. It is the opinion of persons connected with the operation of the society, that were the Diocesan Boards of Education suppressed the income of the society, so far from increasing, would materially fall off.

The Diocesan Boards make their own collections, and apply them as they see needful on the spot. They report to the National Society the application they have made of their monies, and the National Society endeavours, whenever it is required, to double the grant made by the local Board. In a word, small energies and small funds which lie dormant are quickened into life by the more minute personal attention which they obtain from district or sub-committees. And the weight and influence of a general committee is increased tenfold by being backed and supported by the converging efforts of a number of local Boards.

The other main feature in Mr. Bruce's Bill to which we call a brief attention is the conscience clause.

The clause runs as follows :—

> No scholar attending the school, with whatsoever Church or religious denomination such school may be connected, shall be required, when attending the school, to learn any Catechism or Religious Formulary (to which the parent of such scholar in writing objects), or to be present at any Lesson, Instruction, or Observance to which such objection has been made on religious grounds . . . and no scholar attending the school shall be required, as an attendant of such school, to attend or abstain from attending any Sunday School, or any place of religious worship.

It would be impossible to devise a wider or more comprehensive conscience clause than this. Not only is authority given to a parent to inhibit a school manager from teaching catechism or any religious formulary to his child, but he may also object to prayers being said in the presence of his child ; he may withdraw him from lessons in history and reading, because, as is obvious, the most important and most objectionable religious instruction may be conveyed through such lessons.

This is a much wider conscience clause than anything which has been till now proposed. If there is to be a conscience clause, it is more favourable to Catholic interests that it should be the widest possible ; in other words, that it should give us a power,

theoretically, at all events, of preventing those of our children who fall into Protestant schools from being taught heresy under the specious plea of learning to read. So far, this is true. But the conscience clause must be estimated by the effect it is likely to produce upon the nation at large. The wider the conscience clause, the nearer it approaches to mere secular education, the dream of Mr. Lowe and the Manchester school.

There is another form of injustice perpetrated by the conscience clause, which we omitted to point out on a former occasion. It is this. The cost of a school to managers is reckoned at from 30s. to 35s. per scholar. Now, by virtue of the conscience clause, wherever the Government contributes 10s. or 12s. a head or even a smaller sum towards the school, it obtains the power of constraining the manager to take charge of and educate all children who may present themselves, though they refuse to receive any religious instruction whatever. In other words, in consequence of a small government payment, the manager, are mulcted in the difference between the state aid and the actual cost of the education of each child. It surely is to add injury to insult, to compel a manager to pay two-thirds or one-half of the cost of the education of one who he is persuaded will, through the absence of religious instruction, turn out to be in the end, what the Duke of Wellington in reference to education without religion, called a "clever devil" rather than a conscientious Christian. Surely if the Government forces the education of a child upon a schoolmaster, the least it could do would be to pay the whole of the cost of its education, *i. e.*, to contribute 30s. or 35s. for every such child. It would thus avoid a financial injustice. But the liberal advocates of the conscience clause do not think of this.

Theoretically, and on paper, it is very well to say that the conscience clause is "based upon two liberties,—the liberty of teaching and the liberty of withdrawal;" but in practice, one of two things will inevitably result, in the long run. If the denominations are numerous and earnest, the simultaneous exercise of these two liberties will eventuate in abundance of ill-feeling, bad blood, and petty persecution. If, on the other hand, they are compromising, there will be a surrender of religious and doctrinal teaching altogether; and this will be replaced by doctrinal and religious indifference. This has been the case in the schools in Canada. Mr. Fraser informs us with regret that none of the denominations avail themselves of the power granted to them, under certain restrictions, of giving religious instruction to those of their children who are in the common school. The amalgamation of the sects in the Canadian School has led to an attempt at neutrality in religion—or to the secular system. It has been the same in Ireland, where, according to the report made by

the Commissioners of National Education for 1867, 29,481 Catholic children are being taught exclusively by Protestant teachers, and above 13,000, in part, by Protestant teachers; that is to say that between 40,000 and 50,000 Catholic children are being educated wholly or in part by Protestant teachers in Ireland by the Government of the country.

Take the example of the United States. See how good intentions there have inevitably come to naught, under the fruitless attempt to reconcile incompatible principles. The common school in its present non-religious form was not adopted spontaneously and all at once in America. It grew out of circumstances similar to those which Mr. Bruce and his friends are seeking to bind together in England. It was forced upon them. They tried at first to reconcile a school-rate with religious education. They tried to do so and failed. Washington's dying injunction was, "*never allow education to be divorced from religion.*" But when rates were established, the ratepayers insisted upon controlling their disposal. The question of religion arose; then came endless jealousies and dissensions; then various schemes of compromise. Everything failed; so, finally, religion was banished altogether from the school.

We may here refer to a lecture given in London last December by the Protestant Bishop of Tennessee, on the secular system of education adopted by the United States. The bishop has been considered a high authority on the subject, and has been listened to with marked attention and respect. He said :—

He was anxious to lay the secular system open before the meeting, because he believed it was a matter of profound interest, not simply to the Church, but to the people of England, of every name, denomination, or sect, that it should be well understood—that the people of England should understand well what they were doing, and not take another leap in the dark. . . . . Mr. Fraser, in his report, said that the intellectual tone of the schools was high, and the moral tone not altogether unhealthy, but that the *religious tone* was altogether absent. There was just no religion at all in it. It was secular, and took no notice of God, or of Christ, or of the Church o the living God; or, except in the most incidental way, of God's Holy Word The intellect was stimulated to the highest degree, but the heart and affe tions were left uncultivated. It was a system which trained for the business of life, not for the duties of life. As there were differences of opinion about Christianity, it was not allowed to be spoken of, and a knowledge of it was not one of the qualifications for a teacher. A man might be a Mahomedan or a Hindoo, if he were only proficient in geography, arithmetic, or the exact sciences. The teachers in the normal schools might be infidels, provided they did not *openly* inculcate their scepticism; and in point of fact, in the schools which were designed to train teachers only, *a vast majority were not Christians.* . . It was quite true that in some schools—the number was comparatively

small—the Bible was read, and in some the Lord's Prayer was said ; but who could presume to call that Christian education ? Merely reading the Bible without explanation or comment was not instruction. What would be said of a military school where the professors only read a chapter or two on military tactics, but gave no lessons, made no comments, required no drill ? How could they expect mere reading the Bible to the young would make Christian men and women ? But in the great majority of the schools even that was not done. And so the youth of the country left the school ready in figures, skilful with the pen, well instructed in the anatomy of the body and the mechanism of the steam-engine, but utterly ignorant of the principles of duty, truth, religion, and honour—without knowing the Ten Commandments or the Apostles' Creed. The result was stated by the Rev. Dr. Cheever, that five-sixths of the people of the United States do not attend any place of public worship. It was this which made a distinguished Prussian remark, " I came to your country to study its geography, its laws, its institutions, and I find 2,000 religions and nobody believing in a God." He believed that this lamentable state of things grew out of the secular system. Fox, the founder of the first reformatory for children, very well asked, " Of what use is it to a commonwealth that its rogues should know how to read, write, and cipher ? Those acquirements are only so many master keys put into their hands to break into the sanctuary of human society."

Mr. Fraser says: " If education is to be limited to secular education, it would not be far from the truth to say that very little is contributed from that source to the service of real morality."

Statistics abundantly bear out these assertions. We have not space for many instances. A recent report of the Inspectors of Prisons in the State of New York says: " Of the convicts in the Auburn prison, 468 had received no religious or moral instruction, and 512 had never read the Bible or attended Divine service."

The chaplain of another prison makes the following frightful statement: " Of 631 prisoners, 2 only were familiar with the Scriptures and had been well instructed in Christian doctrine. 204 of them were ignorant of the Saviour's name, and could not repeat the Lord's Prayer."

Mr. Fraser, in his report, after speaking of the facilities afforded to the denominations in the common schools of Canada for religious instruction, concludes :—

> But the fact remains, that mixed schools with religious instruction occupying a definite place in the programme, are a phenomenon hardly to be met with on the American continent. No compromise and no comprehension have yet been discovered sufficiently skilful to appease, or sufficiently tolerant to embrace, the mutual jealousies of Christian communities. . . . . It looks almost like a law of human nature that it shall be so everywhere. (p. 313).

In America, where the jealousy for personal liberty of conscience is certainly not less than in England, we are told that it has come to this,—that "anything of the nature of a creed, or which requires children to utter the phrase, *I believe,* is implicitly forbidden in all the schools; in some States it is forbidden in terms."

Let us put a very conceivable case in one of our own towns or country manufacturing districts. A school is opened, and is composed of 50 Church of England children, of 30 Baptists, as many Catholics and Independents, of a dozen Methodists, a dozen Unitarians, and a dozen pure secularists; all the parents are jealous of anything like propagandism: it is manifest that the master could not conveniently send two-thirds of his school to play while he taught the remaining third their religious catechism; neither could he introduce doctrinal instruction into the history, geography, or reading-books. Now Mr. Bruce, in the course of the speech in which he introduced his Bill, said most truly that "religious truths were best taught by mingling them with secular instruction"; but it would be manifestly impossible to mingle religious doctrines with the secular instruction of a school composed of the denominations we have just enumerated. And Mr. Bruce, we are sure, would be the last person to advise that they should be introduced insidiously into the lessons, unperceived by children or parents. Hitherto the Government of this country has maintained that *some religion* is right and necessary as the basis of education. It has not professed to determine what that religion shall be, but it has accepted the broad principle that religion is the foundation of education. It therefore recognized the denominations, and aided them to educate the people. In the course of a few years the efforts of the denominations nearly doubled the number of children under education; then came Mr. Lowe, who detested the denominational system, and cut down the school grants with the Revised Code. After that, he and his followers declared that the denominations were not efficient, and ought not as such to be intrusted with the education of the people; that education ought to be purely secular, and must be made so as soon as possible. Then come in Mr. Bruce and his friends, who think that Mr. Lowe's principles are very shocking; but by way of throwing a sop to the Radicals, they introduce a conscience clause. Mr. Bruce hereby declares that every denominational school shall be open to every other denomination; and that the children of the country are no longer to be educated upon a common *religious* ground, or trained in a common *religious* faith and atmosphere, as heretofore; but that in future they shall be encouraged to consort together like animals of the lower order, upon the basis of their common *earthly* and *secular* interests.

If Mr. Bruce's Bill shall become law, the State will pledge itself

to substitute the secular for the religious basis, and to refuse assistance to any school which shall maintain the religious as the only admissible common ground of education.

As to the working of the conscience clause in Catholic schools, we have no fear that it would affect them injuriously at present. It would hang upon our walls and become obliterated with dust before its provisions were invoked by any number of dissident children. Protestants, as a rule, are a great deal too much afraid of the assimilating influence of the Catholic school-room to expose their children to its influence. What may become its action upon us in the course of years, it is not easy to determine. But Mr. Bruce's Bill leaves us a door of retreat by providing that after three months' notice any school may sever its connection with the local Board and Government, and pursue its own prudence.

II.

Hitherto we have been viewing the national tendency chiefly in respect to popular education, and we have suggested the formation of Local Catholic Committees in order to protect ourselves against it. Let us now examine the more directly religious tendencies of the nation, and ask ourselves how the Church may draw advantage out of these times of disruption in which we live.

The conscience clause, and the whole tendency of legislation on education, ought to be considered, not as an isolated feature, nor as an episode in the history of our day, but as part of the great moral movement which is affecting England from one end to the other. This movement is made up of various elements, which, however antithetical to one another, combine in producing at least one common result. Rationalism and infidelity no doubt has its hand in the great educational measures, as well as in the literature of the day; its influence is to be felt in every direction. But it would be a misapprehension of the state of England, as mischievous as fallacious, to suppose that rationalism and infidelity are the only or even the principal elements at work in the religious disorganization which is going on around us. There is another power, greater than that of rationalism, which is working out what we may call the *religious disintegration* of the country. That power is no other than the grace of God outside the Church. The multitudes who are restless in the pursuit of truth and of inward peace are stirred by the grace of God. They are restless because they have not found the truth, and must continue restless till they rest in Him, who is the Truth. Such restlessness is an effect of grace.

We do not apprehend that the nation is going over to rationalism. Rationalism is a strong current through the country rather than an

ocean submerging it. In spite of the fearful advances of infidelity, which eats into the vitals of the established Church, and preys upon the masses of the people, we must not shut our eyes to the increased religious tendency which is discernible in the population. We may illustrate it by three facts: first, the multiplication of churches and chapels by all denominations, and the increased attendance at them; secondly, the general result of the May meetings, which have shown a very large increase of income for religious purposes; thirdly, the very discords and dissensions in the Protestant communion, which are as strong a proof of religious earnestness of a certain sort as of infidelity and rationalism, or the denial of revelation. There are good men also who even advocate the conscience clause in schools, in the fond hope that some hidden avenue to religious peace and security may open out through its adoption. This religious restlessness among Protestants gives hope. To be at peace in error would be to die in it. Thousands are approaching nearer and nearer to the harbour of truth and rest, though still amid the sands and reefs. Many have entered into the calm. We lift up our hands to Heaven for those who are still struggling outside. In their perplexity may they sight the unerring lighthouse. It is as though God had called up the storm, in order to bring home the independent and unwise adventurers who, without skill or compass, had gone out too far.

The Catholic Church has a clear and undoubted mission to this country. Her manner of accomplishing it varies with times and circumstances. Let us take a rapid survey of the religious state of England at this moment. We shall thus more accurately discern our opportunities, and the particular course of action towards which we ought to bend our energies.

An impenetrable barrier of religious bigotry has been set up against the Church. Since the days of Edward the Sixth one continuous effort has been made by the ministers of religion to keep the people of England in ignorance of the Catholic faith. This has been the strength of Protestantism. The dissolution of Protestantism will be the illumination of the people. When knaves fall out, good men come by their own.

What, then, is the moral position of the Anglican denomination at this moment? It is torn and distracted by internal divisions, and lies split into three great factions—the Rationalistic, the Evangelical, and the Ritualistic, or, as they call it, the Catholic party. Nothing but the golden cords which bind the Anglican denomination to the State and its consequent prestige and political power, hold these three factions in even nominal communion. The Evangelical Congress which met in London in May declared "that the policy of Mr. Gladstone was to be resisted, because, if carried out, the Church of England would at once fall into two or three

distinct and separate communions." At the same time, a solemn protest was entered against spiritual men, whose lives are modelled upon evangelical tenets, taking part in politico-religious contentions. Nevertheless, £40,000 were raised by these spiritual men to carry on Parliamentary action.

An appeal has already been made by certain members of the Catholicising school to their confrères to shake off the trammels with which the State connection has bound their communion. The Rationalists, whether on the bench of bishops, in the professorial chair, or in the pulpit, are defiant of legal consequences, and their ranks are added to day by day. The Establishment has heard the distant knell of its own existence. For 300 years it persecuted Catholic and Dissenter, and only relented when the people had forsaken it in millions for Catholicity, Dissent, or Rationalism. It became tolerant, when it ceased to have the power to persecute. The day of fitting retribution—its legal disestablishment and disendowment in this country—is not far distant.

The English Protestant bishops, by coming publicly into court to protest against the divorce of the Establishment in Ireland, have invoked public attention to their own position, and by an act of their own have connected their own cause with the judgment which must inevitably fall upon their brother bishops across the Channel.

In addition to the despair of disorganization within, a most powerful organization without has been growing up and compactly forming itself among the English people, to which we have hitherto paid but little attention. It is the "Liberation Society," and has for its sole object the disestablishment and disendowment of the State Church. It has been twenty-four years in existence, and has been steadily strengthening and pursuing its aim. It is spread throughout the kingdom; and if it does not yet reckon many peers and men of the highest social rank it can claim without boast to represent the bone and sinew of the country. Last May the Society held its triennial conference in London. Eight hundred delegates, representing 300 towns in England, Scotland, and Wales, sat for three days in a kind of parliament. Their deliberations were as orderly, as earnest, and as honest as those which take place in more honoured assemblies. They were characterized by no infidel and rationalistic animus, but by a religious spirit, and a rare absence of anti-Catholic bigotry. The organization is extended over too large a basis and is too solid and too popular to be foiled of success, when the hour of trial comes. At this moment the Establishment is in a minority. In 1851, it was found by Mr. Horace Mann that while there were 34,467 places of worship in England, more than half that number, or 18,077, belonged to the Dissenters. In the manufacturing

districts the Establishment was everywhere in a minority; and, of the worshipping population, only 52 per cent. were at that time estimated to belong to the Established Church. Since that date it is supposed that this proportion has considerably decreased.

But a far more significant fact than all this is, that the National Education of the country, in all its endowed departments, is being rudely torn out of the hands of the Anglican denomination. Of all measures this is the most radical. It is putting the spade under the roots.

First, as to the education of the lower classes. We are aware, and we gladly record it, that the National Society, which was created for "the education of the poor in the principles of the Established Church," distinctly declined at a special meeting to accept even the Duke of Marlborough's form of conscience clause. But the National Society is not the Church of England. The Archbishop of Canterbury, the Bishop of London, and most of the Anglican Prelates have committed themselves either to the limited conscience clause of the President of the Council, or to the universal application of such a conscience clause as is advocated by the Liberals. And so it turns out that they who from their position ought to be the champions of religious education, either through puerile timidity or through compromising with incompatible principles, or through downright Rationalistic convictions, are abandoning the exclusively religious basis of education in order, as Mr. Fraser has put it, "that the managers of Church schools may be compelled to provide secular education for the children of Atheists." The National Society has for twelve years been denouncing the "conscience clause" as a "breach of contract, a denial of equity, a grievance of conscience, and a great danger to Religion." But if the Bishops are found wavering and unfaithful, what else can we expect than that the 20,000 poor schools of the Society will be soon thrown open to the use and influence of the ten millions of Dissenters who may choose to avail themselves of this newly-acquired right.

Then, as to the schools for the gentry and the middle classes, the Select Committee which has been sitting upon the public schools, such as Eton, Harrow, Rugby, Winchester, &c., and the commissioners who have reported upon the endowed grammar-schools for the middle classes, such as the Blue Coat Schools, Charterhouse and Westminster, recommend that these institutions should be withdrawn from the exclusive use and control of the Anglican denomination, and thrown open, upon certain conditions, to the whole population.

In like manner the Universities—once the exclusive arsenals of Anglicanism — are becoming the common property of her foes. Houses of education are to offer homes to all denominations. The

denominations have begun to build their Babel. At the same time intellectual license reigns as never before in England, and a rationalistic tone is a fashion in every grade of society, not only among men, but among women of high and low degree. The press caters to the appetite: twenty years ago we had one *Examiner* and one *Weekly Dispatch;* we now have twenty such.

Let us hear Lord Shaftesbury. We respect his earnestness. He describes our time as "days of disruption and distrust, where all seems to be breaking up in one common wreck; days of blasphemy and of fearful advances in infidelity and superstition." And again, in a speech in May as President of the Ragged Schools, he said: "Depend upon it, the time is coming when we shall be exposed to such storms and difficulties, to such new opinions and theories, to such menaces on the one side, and such timidity on the other, that he must be almost more than man who will be able to govern this great empire." Nor is Lord Shaftesbury a solitary mourner. The organs of many of the denominations are equally alive to the religious revolution at work, and the infidel press sniffs victory in the breeze, and hails the coming time.

As to the permanent and steady advance of the Catholic Church, we have not a single fear. Lowering and black and tempestuous as the storm may be, a streak of light is discernible in the eye of the wind. The wonderful providence of God, qui facit ex tenebris lucem splendescere, out of the "disruption and distrust" which fills the empire, will save innumerable souls by revealing to them the one divinely ordained gate of salvation—the Catholic Church. The Church gains in strength and numbers, though deprived of all secular support, wherever she becomes known, as she is, in her doctrines and sacraments. Respice Stellam. As a justification of this assertion, even at the expense of being prolix, we must refer to the example of the United States. The general character of the Anglo-Saxon race, whether in America or in England, is the same. Besides identity of blood, there has been identity of Protestant feeling. Both nations are material, proud, and masterful, inordinate lovers of independence, and distracted by religious discord. But the American temperament reaches its conclusions more rapidly than the English. The exciting nature of the atmosphere, the youth and the experimental character of their institutions all conduce to this. Ours is a more phlegmatic climate, and we are heavily weighted by old and venerable traditions.

Now, one result in America of the legal equality of all sects before the law, and of the infidel liberalism which demanded secular schools as a boon, and of the religious disorganization which accepted them as a necessity, has been the breaking down of anti-Catholic prejudices, and the manifestation of the Church to the people. Catholics in America have leavened the popula-

tion far more than they have yet done in England. In America, Catholic Colleges and Convents, and Catholic poor schools, are daily becoming more and more the resort of a population which has not yet embraced the Faith. We have the instructive testimony of no less prejudiced an authority than the Bishop of Oxford. In a speech at Tunbridge Wells a few months ago, in support of the National Society, he said :—

> I am convinced that wherever one set of religionists *teaches its system thoroughly*, and others are cramped in their teaching, *the former will in the long run get hold of the population.* There is a very remarkable instance of this going on in that nation which is most cognate to ourselves—the American. One of the most thoughtful of those visitors who came over on your Grace's invitation said that at this moment the Roman Catholics were getting hold of the working people of America ; for this reason, that they are founding everywhere the very best schools for the poor, and are teaching them without let the whole of their belief. We, on the other hand, as far as we are helped by the State, are not allowed to teach the whole of our faith, and in consequence we are losing, and they are gaining, the education of the people. Let England [he sagaciously concludes] take warning in time.

In the midst of the religious anarchy of the United States, and as a revolt from the excesses of a system of education without religion, the sounder part of the population is deliberately turning to the Catholic Church. Only a few days ago, we were informed upon reliable authority, that a town of 800 or 900 inhabitants sent a deputation to the Catholic bishop to ask for a priest and a church. "How many Catholics live there?" said the bishop. "None at present," was the reply ; "but we must have some religion ; and what we have witnessed in the civil war has convinced us that your religion is the truth." A similar example, we are assured, occurred in a second and a third town. During the civil war, it is said that over half a million were received into the Catholic Church. Statistics as to the Catholic population of the United States vary considerably. Dr. Henry B. Smith, a Protestant divine of the Theological Seminary, U.S., has published a paper of statistics, from which it appears that the Catholics form nearly one-half of those professing to belong to any religion whatever in the United States. He puts down the number of Catholic communicants at four millions. F. Hecker puts the Catholics down at five millions. But we hear from another American publication that the Catholics at the present day are to be reckoned at from seven to nine millions ; perhaps this includes Canada. This is given as certain, that since 1850, the number of churches has nearly tripled, and within the last seven years the clergy and laity have increased 50 per cent. We have also noted how the non-Catholic newspapers of Philadelphia, Boston, and New York

are bewailing the steady advance of Popery, and are speculating on what will happen when it shall become the dominant religion in the States!

From the encouraging example of America, we return to England. Hitherto, our converts have come in a larger proportion from the higher than from the middle and lower classes. The former are more in contact with Catholics at home and abroad, and are more instructed and enlightened. To these should be added that large and respectable Catholicising school whose studies and devotions are from Catholic sources.

But of the middle and lower classes, as such, we have hardly more than touched the skirts. They live in the shade of a religious ignorance of Popery, and the ministers of all denominations combine to darken that shade. It is unnecessary to enter into proof of this: the May meetings of the present year have borne their testimony. Their common feature, their family likeness, has been misrepresentation of the Catholic Church. These meetings are led chiefly by clergymen, a few ardent lay followers, and paid officials; and the opportunity to poison the English mind against Rome is never lost. "No Popery" has become the episcopal recipe to quiet "sibilant geese," and to stir the energy and to obtain the money of unenlightened zealots.

We have a lesson to learn—even from the enemy. If we cannot bring the public to our churches to become informed and disabused of their prejudices, we must go to their homes and speak to them in the silent manner in which they have been accustomed to learn amiss concerning us. The weapons of error must be turned back upon themselves.

The "Book Society for Promotion of Religious Knowledge among the Poor" held its 118th anniversary in May. It reported that within eight months it had distributed 250,000 copies among the ignorant poor of that exploded and mendacious fabrication, "Foxe's Book of Martyrs." The society has brought out an edition this week for twopence, and it is advertised as "the most effectual counteractive to Popery." The "Religious Tract Society," with an income exceeding £113,000, is equally famous for its anti-Catholic lore. It reports a circulation for the past year of 40,991,763 publications, being two million and a half beyond that of the previous year. This Society, with the British and Foreign Bible Society, whose income this year has reached £186,596, are designated by one of its members as the "two great arms of the Christian Church—the two grand missionary institutions against Romanism."

Now it may be all very well for Catholics to look with contempt on the action of these engines of evil, and to console themselves with the thought that "magna est veritas, et prævalebit." But for

our part we believe we are yet behindhand in those industries of propaganda which are used so largely and deliberately "against Romanism."

The Holy See, on three different occasions within the last few years, has encouraged the formation of societies for the diffusion of Catholic truth through the press. The Congress of Malines gave a special prominence to this subject in its public deliberations, and Book and Tract Societies have already been formed in Germany, France, and Belgium. We have not space for many words at present, but we cannot understand why in England we should not now begin to avail ourselves systematically of the press to circulate Catholic truth among the middle and lower classes. We cannot reach them otherwise. In New York there is a Catholic Tract Society, which is distributing its fly-sheets at every ferry, through every street over the States, and is awakening inquiry with considerable success. Cannot we do the same? We have ascertained that suitable Catholic tracts can be printed at the following rates: 5,000 for £2, or 10,000 for £3; or 50,000 for £10. The chief expense would be in the distribution, and this can be arranged by special facilities which are at command. An organization is being set on foot in London, called "The Catholic Truth Society for the Better Information of the English People." It is at present in its infancy, but we hope that before long it will develop and spread throughout all the large centres of population in England and Ireland.

We are persuaded that, were prejudices and misrepresentations removed, the English people would return in joy and gladness to the old religion, which gave them civilization, and made them a nation. Already the doctrines of Seven Sacraments, of a Perpetual Sacrifice, of the Real Presence, of the Power of the Keys, the Honour of Mary, the Invocation of Saints, Prayers for the Dead, and a supremacy at least, of honour, in the Holy See, are spreading all over England. Legislation and contempt, and rampant bigotry cannot arrest their acceptance by the people. These have been poured out, and they have served to spread the knowledge of doctrine. Moreover, Catholic ceremonial and Catholic ritual have been accepted, not as vain and empty forms, but as the appropriate clothing of their doctrines. Wherever a *Catholicising* clergyman settles, the children fall under his influence; a congregation is formed, and quickly becomes the most devout and best attended in the neighbourhood. The people learn, with some mistakes, nearly the whole circle of Catholic doctrine, though the key-stone of the arch is left out—the supremacy of Peter, the centre and bond of unity. They accept faith in every sacerdotal power, though, unlike the Greek, the Anglican orders are invalid; and even were they valid, as the Greek are, yet they lack jurisdiction,

as the Greek also do. Facts, then, seem to justify the belief that, prejudice once removed, the English would return to the faith at last as the prodigal son returned home after his long absence.

III.

The free distribution of Catholic literature will do much: but much more is needed to remove those monstrous anti-Catholic ideas which are set round the popular mind as a hedge of thorns.

We venture, therefore, to throw out another suggestion; or rather, we may say, Catholic France inspires a suggestion. We have much to learn from her wise and minute system of organization. After the French revolution, the Church in France had to deal with a people that hated religion in a way of which we in England have no conception. How has she accomplished her mission of regeneration? The first Napoleon saw it when he declared that "France is saved by her women."

If there is one feature more than another which characterises the action of the Church in France, it is the mission of her women. It is a mission exercised with such tact, such energy, and such success, that it can be denied neither by friend nor foe. It is the horror of M. Duruy, the infidel Minister of Instruction, whose immoral tactics to corrupt the education of women the Bishop of Orleans has been obliged so ruthlessly to expose and defeat; and it is the joy of the French people. In no country of the world has the external work and influence of women been so perfectly organized and utilized as in France. It is said that there are 80,000 women in France whose lives are devoted to the service of religion. The Sisters of Charity alone number something like 18,000. We are informed that, taking one diocese with another, there is an average of about 1,000 Sisters at work upon the population in each diocese.

A large number of these are employed in the education of the young. They are not always the best instructors, but everywhere they are the best educators. We have great pleasure in quoting the testimony of Mr. Matthew Arnold, the Assistant Commissioner who was sent by the English Government to inspect and report upon the Schools of Primary Education on the Continent. To his hereditary interest in education Mr. Arnold adds a long and varied experience; and perhaps there is no one who has written upon education with greater candour. We quote a sentence or two from his report, which appears in the "Blue Book" of the Assistant Commissioners:—

> In Paris (he says) the instruction in the schools of the Sisters is commonly inferior, the inspectors told me, to that of the lay girls' schools. In the provinces it is not so; not, perhaps that the Sisters' schools are there better, but that the

lay schools are worse. Apart from the mere instruction, however, there is even in Paris, something in the Sisters' schools which pleases both the eye and the mind, and which is more rarely found elsewhere. There is the fresh, neat school-room, almost always cheerfuller, cleaner, more decorated than a lay school-room ; there is the orderliness and attachment of the children ; finally, there is the aspect of the Sisters themselves, in general of a refinement beyond that of their rank in life—of a gentleness which even beauty in France mostly lacks—of a tranquillity which is evidence that their blameless lives are not less happy than useful. If ever I have beheld serious yet cheerful benevolence, and the serenity of the mind pictured on the face, it is here. Is it then impossible—I perpetually asked myself in regarding them—is it then impossible for people no longer under the world's charm, or who have never felt it, to associate themselves together, and to work hopefully, combinedly, and effectually, unless they have first adhered to the doctrines of the Council of Trent ? (p. 71).

Again,—

I am profoundly convinced that the population generally prefers the schools of religious associations to lay schools. With respect to girls' schools, there cannot be a moment's doubt ; the Sister's advantage is utterly beyond the reach of competition.

But the Sisters are not engaged only, or even principally, in school-teaching. In the school they become familiar with the children ; but the children leave school, and form the population. Their work must continue beyond the school—it must be from the cradle to the grave, like that of the guardian angels. It is not only the child that requires guidance, but also the man and the woman. It is not only the youthful and plastic mind, specially open to religious impression, that requires them, but the mind of the sorrowful, of the unfortunate, of the poor, of the sick and the dying. The Sister's mission, then, is beyond the school. If four Sisters form a little community, at least two will be engaged in works outside the school. If the community is of ten or twelve, two or three will be in the school, and the rest may be seen ministering among the poor of the parish, or at the bedside of the sick, or looking up children and their parents. Each diocese has its regiments of devoted Sisters, picketed, as it were, in every city and town ; nor is any country parish or village admitted to be *au grand complet* without its Sisters in the school and among the population. The effect produced throughout France by the life and action of the Sisters is that of a devout and tender mother amid the children in her own home, rather than that of charitable ladies who condescend to visit the poor. The people feel that they have a kindly right and property in the Sisters, and that they, on the other hand, belong to the Sisters. When the Mexican expedition was planned, the Emperor got regiments to volunteer by promising

to send with them Sisters of Charity to nurse and care for them. The colliers in the south of France, some years ago, struck work, and then imposed, as a condition of their resuming labour, that their families in the villages should be provided with Sisters to watch over them. Men and women, old and young, all alike prefer the services of *ma bonne sœur* to any other. They penetrate where the priest dare not show himself; their gentleness and charity, like oil poured out, softens and reduces the roughest and coarsest natures. It is the influence of the mother and the sister preserved by religion over the whole population.

Two circumstances connected with the fulfilment of their mission in France are noteworthy. First, it is not looked upon as of primary necessity to erect large and magnificent convents, imposing Gothic buildings, as the dwellings of Sisters. The people are often apt to pass to and fro by the high convent wall, the carefully locked doorway, and feel no common cause with those who live within, except so far as those within come out and mix as leaven with the population. The French system is the multiplication of small centres; poor and humble little convents satisfy their ambition. These are dotted up and down among the dwellings of the people, and, externally, are scarcely distinguishable from them. The poor are not abashed by having to approach houses which appear to be raised above them by pretensions to style and large proportions. They often consist of an ordinary domestic house, of which one room is turned into a little oratory, and the rest is simple and poor as the dwellings of the people. The whole community within, perhaps, is two or three Sisters. Their lives are spent among the people; now and then, perhaps once a year, they return to their mother or centre house for a retreat, and then, perhaps, are sent to another parish or diocese.

Secondly, no one can help being struck with the immense number and variety of Congregations which have sprung up in France. As needs arise in the Church, so the Holy Ghost bestows His gifts. And thus He has multiplied Congregations in France suited to every taste or attraction, with a generosity and largeness which is little understood by those who would narrow His action, and confine His inspiration to the venerable Orders which have come down to us from the middle ages and still earlier times. Many of these congregations have simple vows, which they renew from year to year; some have no vow at all, but only a promise or intention to persevere. Many send their members to reside in parishes as missioners, two and two together; some send them even as units. They are nearly all under the jurisdiction of the bishop, and are directed by the parochial clergy, with whom they co-operate. They all have their distinctive religious dress, which is the protection of the individual, the badge of charity and tenderness towards all,

and the sign of a consecration to God, which all reverence and protect. Of such value is the religious dress felt to be, that the Sisters of Charity were not permitted to come to England until it was safe for them to wear their habit as publicly here as in the rest of the world.

We have dwelt at some length upon the example set us by the Church in France, because we believe that God may be pleased in England, as in France, to spread faith and charity, to bring about the conversion of the people by the gentle and devoted influence of women as much as by the Apostolate of men. There is an immense Apostolate for women in England. There is a work before them which men cannot do, and if they could, few have the devotedness and longsuffering needed for it, and fewer still have the time. To put it commercially and from a mere business point of view, a man costs twice as much as a woman, and he is twice as much in demand by the business and trade of the world; and were it otherwise, he is not precisely the article in demand by the requirements which are upon us. We have referred to the important and most difficult work of removing the mass of prejudice against the Catholic Church which exists among the middle and lower classes in England. We believe that there is no more effectual means of removing this than by the instrumentality and zeal of women who consecrate themselves to God for this purpose. The most successful missions to the Indians on the Three Rivers, and to the Esquimaux, to the heathens in China, Tonquin, and India, to the negroes of Africa, and to the islands of the Pacific, are precisely those in which the feebler sex has poured forth its sympathy and generosity, and bent all its energies to the work of conversion. The missioner who embarks upon his apostolic career in some distant land feels that his power is more than doubled by the Sisters who consecrate themselves to the salvation of souls on the same mission. It is so in France, it is so in Belgium, it is so in the United States; it will be so in England.

We have not been here speaking of the influence which Religious women exercise upon the Catholic children, whom they educate. We have been referring to the power which may be brought to bear upon those who are grown up, and upon the masses who are external to the Church. The Apostles used the services of women from the earliest time, and made mention of them in their Epistles for our instruction. How touching is St. Paul's commendation of the women who laboured with him in the early Church! "I commend to you Phœbe, our sister, who is in the ministry of the Church, that is in Cenchre: that you receive her in the Lord as becometh Saints; and that you assist her in whatsoever business she shall have need of you. For she also hath assisted many, and myself also. . . .

Salute Mary, who hath laboured much among you; . . . salute Tryphena and Tryphosa, who labour in the Lord," &c.

And did not our Divine Lord draw into His service a number of holy women "who, when he was in Galilee followed Him and ministered to Him, and many other women that came up with Him to Jerusalem." These gathered the crowds around their Master, and "stood without" while He spake to the multitude. Women, then, were "in the ministry of the Church" from the beginning. And now, perhaps more than ever before, the angel of our people calls many a sister to work "secretly, saying: the Master is come, and calleth for thee." Happy they who will quickly arise and follow Him, for they shall be joined to the Apostolate of their Lord, and associated with Himself in achieving His highest work upon earth.

The English people entertain a reverence and respect for Sisters which is very remarkable, considering how Protestantism for 300 years has rejected and defamed the idea of a woman consecrating herself to the service of God in religion. The poor Anglican Sisters, who began a few years ago under a storm of obloquy and persecution, without a Catholic training, and without the graces of the Faith, have already reached the affections of the poor. As far as they have been able, they have studied the system of the Catholic Church, and have endeavoured to follow out what appeared to them best under the circumstances. May our Divine Lord look down upon the generosity of their lives, and draw them into the truth to serve Him in company with Mary, His Blessed Mother, and the holy women who know Him indeed. These sisterhoods are multiplying in all directions, and are endeavouring, like the French, to spread themselves out among the population. They prove one thing,—the willingness of the English people to accept their services and to be moulded by them, even though they bring to them a number of Catholic practices, which lead them on even to the threshold of the Catholic Church.

Let us not be supposed to insinuate that our Catholic nuns and sisters have not yet initiated a career of charity among the masses of the people. The Litttle Sisters of the Poor, and the Sisters of Charity, and others, are becoming known and appreciated. But at present the work of our Sisters lies much more *in the schools* than *among the people.* One of our great losses is among our children, boys and girls, after they leave school. They drop into the ocean of life around them, and are often lost to us for years. No power would be more effectual to keep them faithful and steady than that of Sisters, who should be as busy amongst the people as they are habitually amongst the children in their schools.

But numbers are wanting; our Sisters are as hard worked as they can be: it is not every devout person that has a vocation

to the religious life. Now this brings us to the suggestion. There are in every large mission a certain number of devout ladies whose time is their own. They occupy themselves in many works of charity, but for want of being collected together under a rule and organization, the fruit they produce is comparatively small. Now, it is by collecting together such persons as these in France that many of the new congregations come into existence. But without thinking of new Congregations, there are the old Organizations of secular Tertiaries, instituted by Saints, which might be brought into much greater activity in the midst of us. They have a rule, a spirit, and a distinctive habit of their own; they consecrate themselves to the service of God and of their neighbour, without binding themselves by the vows of religion; they have in some respects a freer organization than Religious, which allows them to pursue with greater freedom a variety of useful works of charity, and admits the services of persons who have no vocation to the religious life. They have a distinctive habit which, as a robe of charity, protects them from evil, and as a spiritual uniform, reminds them of the conduct due to the sanctity of their state. In Belgium and parts of Germany, many Tertiaries, wearing their habit, live even in their own families. Elsewhere they live together under the same roof, and combine in the same duties of charity. We are not speaking without examples before our mind of what we mean at home, as well as abroad; nor are we, in these pages, attempting to enter into details, which would be out of place. But the thought of the disintegration in English society, which is likely to be effected by the educational measures now before the country, by the breaking up of the Establishment, the spread of liberalism, and the religious confusion and restlessness of the population, naturally suggests the reflection we have thus briefly dwelt upon.

What advance can the Catholic Church make to dispel the prejudices of the people, and to enter more intimately into the life of the masses? We may sum up in three words what we have been endeavouring to suggest to our readers in answer to this question. To us it seems that the time has come for the formation of local poor school committees. We have briefly pointed out the want and the possibility of establishing what may be called, "a Catholic Truth Society for the better information of the English people;" and we believe that in addition to this, we cannot better provide for the exigencies of our country than by considering the example of Catholic France, and weighing well the truth contained in the words of that astute general and legislator, the first Napoleon: "France is saved by her women."

ART. VIII.—MR. RENOUF ON POPE HONORIUS.

The Condemnation of Pope Honorius. By P. LE PAGE RENOUF. London: Longmans.

WHEN we say that the views advocated by Mr. Renouf are most untrue and mischievous, he will accept this as the greatest compliment we can pay him; but we must further give our opinion that his pamphlet is passionate, shallow, and pretentious. Every reader will have been struck with its passionateness. The arguments "used by the first apologists of Pope Honorius *cannot have been sincerely believed in by their authors*" (p. 7). "*It is a simple untruth* to say that he was condemned for neglect" (p. 11). "*It is sheer dishonesty*" to argue in one particular way (p. 12). "*Nothing can be more grossly untrue* than the assertion that Honorius was misled by Sergius" (p. 14). "This very man," the Abbot John, secretary to two Popes, to whose great virtue S. Maximus gave testimony, gave "a *lying account* of the controversy," being "*an interested and mendacious* witness" (pp. 15-16). "*Stupid bigotry alone*" can urge a certain plea for Honorius (p. 18). "*It is a mockery*" to say, what all Ultramontanes say, that Honorius's Letter to Sergius was not ex cathedrâ (p. 21). Under F. Perrone's "*contemptible quibbling*" "we have the assertion of an *untruth*" (p. 24, note). "It is impossible to speak *without contempt*" of a certain "assertion" which has repeatedly been made by great writers (p. 32). M. Veuillot is "a fiery, ignorant, and unscrupulous convert" (p. 39). "Of all the early testimonies" concerning S. Liberius's alleged fall, which many recent Ultramontanes have rejected, there is "only one about which an *honest* doubt can be entertained" (p. 44). The Bollandist dissertation on S. Liberius is "*one of the most mischievous productions ever written*" (ib., note); as mischievous, we suppose, as Rénan's life of Christ; or as a French licentious novel.

Twenty-five years ago Mr. Renouf, then a very recent convert, wrote a pamphlet called "The Character of the Rev. W. Palmer as a Controversialist."* Now we are not so unreasonable as to

* Mr. Renouf's name indeed is not put to this pamphlet: but there was never any concealment about its authorship; any more than about the authorship of certain articles in this REVIEW, which F. Ryder and others have unhesitatingly ascribed to their known writer, Dr. Ward.

count it any argument against Mr. Renouf's present views, that they differ toto cœlo from those which he then advocated; but we *are* surprised that his impression of *facts* is now so different. "The principal Gallican divines," he then thought (p. 70, note), "were worldly men"; and "it is *a matter of constant experience*" that "sanctity of life produces Ultramontanes." But now his view of these facts has been revolutionized. "The charge of worldliness, which the opponents of Gallicanism are so fond of bringing against it,"—which Mr. Renouf himself brought so confidently against it on the ground of "constant experience,"—"*is one of the most absurd that could have been invented*" (p. 39). In his earlier days he deprecated (p. 19, note) all "revival of the *loathsome carcase* of Gallicanism"; little anticipating his own future labours for the resuscitation of that "loathsome carcase." Well, these words manifestly imply, that Gallicanism at that time was almost extinct; yet now (p. 39) he "well remembers the time when, among secular priests," *Ultramontanism* "could hardly be said to exist." Mr. Renouf is not so very old a man. If twenty-five years ago Gallicanism was almost extinct, we do not understand how he can remember a time when Ultramontanism was hardly known. As to facts then, there is certainly considerable discrepancy between our author's earlier and later performance; but as to tone and spirit, there is much similarity. In 1843 he regarded Gallican tenets with no less bitter contempt, than that which he entertains in 1868 towards Ultramontane. Gallicanism, we have seen, is "a loathsome carcase." "Du-Pin, Fleury, Launoy, *and other Gallicans*," are controversially "worthless" (p. 7, note). Du-Pin, in particular, is an "unprincipled writer," and his "assertions bold and shameful" (p. 26). "Gallican and *Jansenistic* writers" are placed in the same category (p. 19). Nay, he speaks as though Gallicans belonged to a different communion from himself. When Mr. Palmer quotes Gallican authorities, Mr. Renouf replies (p. 7, note), "If he means to quote ad hominem, he might as well quote Luther or Calvin." It really seems as though Mr. Renouf could never firmly hold any one opinion, without treating all dissentients as fools or knaves, and as more probably the latter.

The higher and more Catholic-minded Gallicans—Bossuet and Tourneley are conspicuous instances—ever speak with profound reverence of the Holy See, even when opposing what they consider exaggerated claims in its behalf. Passing to what is now before our eyes, no one can read F. Ryder's pamphlets, without seeing everywhere traces of the same loyal and Catholic spirit; and *he* emphatically claims the "pietas fidei" as due to those pronouncements, which he will not account strictly infallible. Mr. Renouf is quite proof against all such weakness, and seems a

stranger to the very notion of "pietas fidei." He dwells energetically on what he considers the actual and possible heresy of Popes, without having one word of homage and gratitude for the noble constancy exhibited by the Roman See, in preserving the Catholic Faith through successive ages under every circumstance of trial and suffering. We regret this for his own sake, while we rejoice in it for the sake of truth. No one will be bribed by Mr. Renouf's *tone* to place too high a value on his *principles.*

Then, his self-confidence throughout is quite wonderful. This indeed is sufficiently manifested by his contemptuous expressions, already quoted, towards the greatest theologians. It is manifested also throughout an amazing letter addressed by him to the "Westminster Gazette" (June 20). "I should really like to be judged," he says, not by such inferior persons as the "Westminster Gazette" reviewer; but "*by my peers;* that is, by men who have studied . . . . as long, as carefully, and as conscientiously *as I have.*" There are large materials for such a jury. Then again. "The Popes have for a long time claimed the privilege of infallibility" (p. 27); yet our author sees clearly through the baselessness of such a claim, which is indeed "demonstrably untenable" (p. 40). He considers himself to have "demonstrated" the "untenableness" of a dogma, which, for many centuries at all events, has been consistently laid down as the one basis of the Church's orthodoxy, by that personage whom an Ecumenical Council has declared to be "the Teacher of all Christians." Take another instance. Mr. Renouf might suitably enough have said that he had met with no theologian, earlier than the sixteenth century, who draws the now common distinction between a Pope speaking as a private person and pronouncing as Universal Teacher. But this would be too cautious a statement for his taste. "The distinction," he says peremptorily, "was *never heard of*" (p. 31), before the Reformation. Now Billuart is not so obscure a writer, but that Mr. Renouf should have read his treatise de Summo Pontifice before writing as he has written; and Billuart quotes an address against Boniface VIII., presented by the French nobles to Clement V. in the year 1305, which is somewhat to the purpose. "The inquiry," they say, "is not concerning the late Pope *as Pope*, but as *a private person;* for *as Pope* he *could* not be heretical." ("De Regulis Fidei," Diss. 4 a 5, s. 5.) The remark is not very accurately expressed; though of this, as we shall see in the course of our article, M. Renouf is not the person to complain. But the passage undeniably shows that at that time a distinction was most fully recognized, between the Pope *holding* heresy on the one hand, and *teaching* it as Pope on the other hand.

It is not however only, or chiefly, Mr. Renouf's *tone*, but the

whole arrangement of his argument, which implies a most unfair disparagement of his opponents. You would never suppose, to read his pamphlet, that Ultramontane champions have accumulated in their support a vast mass of evidence, from Scripture, from Tradition, from Pontifical and Ecclesiastical decisions. This evidence, in our humble opinion, amounts to nothing less than an irrefragable demonstration; but Mr. Renouf himself will admit, that at all events it possesses considerable force and persuasiveness. Yet he makes no attempt to estimate its value; to indicate the particular points on which he may think that its cogency has been over-rated; to adduce opposite considerations, tending (as he may think) to lessen its conclusiveness: he writes throughout as though no such evidence had been adduced at all. It will often be the case that, where some conclusion has been demonstratively established, its advocates are greatly wanting in patience or in candour, when they come to deal with some teasing objection; they are very confident that it admits of being triumphantly answered, and hardly trouble themselves what particular answer they shall give. This is of course indefensible, and good service might have been done in drawing attention to such controversial feebleness. But Mr. Reuouf's monstrous injustice is, that he speaks throughout as though Baronius or Bellarmine had exhibited such weakness, not in behalf of some conclusion which had already (as they thought, and as we think) been demonstratively established, but merely in favour of some unfounded prejudice of their own.

We insist on this consideration. Take any verity you please, however certain and however fundamental: its advocates may easily be represented in a contemptible light, if you ignore all their positive arguments, and deal only with the answer they may give to some plausible objection. How telling a pamphlet might be written on Mr. Renouf's plan by an Atheist! "You allege that the Creator is infinitely powerful and infinitely merciful; explain then that undeniable fact, the existence of evil. If the Creator be infinitely *merciful* He has the *will*, and if infinitely powerful He has the *power*, to prevent all evil. In face of this plain fact, 'it is impossible to speak without contempt' (Renouf, p. 32) of the allegation that there is a God. 'Most painful have been the attempts' made by Theists 'to get rid of so disagreeable a fact' (Renouf, p. 7) as the existence of evil in the creation of an Infinitely Merciful and Powerful God. 'Bad arguments are common on both sides in all controversies; but those used by' many Theists to escape this difficulty 'cannot have been sincerely believed in by their authors.' Theism is 'demonstrably untenable' (p. 40), &c. &c. &c." The gross unfairness of such a method, as every one sees, consists in the writer ignoring that vast mass of *positive* evidence, which his opponents had adduced for their thesis. In this world of partial

knowledge, very few are the conclusions, however irrefragably established, against which plausible—nay, accidentally unanswerable—objections may not be adduced. "There are unanswerable objections," says Dr. Whately, "against the theory of a plenum, and unanswerable objections against the theory of a vacuum; but one or other of these theories *must* be true."

And so as to Ultramontane doctrine. Whether in arguing against Dr. Pusey or otherwise, we have never denied that objections against it may possibly be brought, to which the present imperfect state of knowledge and criticism permits no perfectly satisfactory answer. But we must go on to say in the case of Mr. Renouf, as we said in that of Dr. Pusey, that if there *are* such objections, he has totally failed in discovering them. Indeed as to far the larger portion of his matter, we do not understand how he can himself think that it possesses any relevance against Ultramontane doctrine; unless indeed he is either unusually puzzle-headed, or else entirely unaware what Ultramontane doctrine *is*.

We must further add, that he has protected himself against retaliation, by carefully suppressing all explanation of *his own* theory. We heartily wish we could consider him a Gallican of the Bossuet and Tourneley stamp. As things are in England, such Gallicanism as this is very far less noxious, than that doctrinal poison with which certain Catholics are labouring to imbue the faithful. But Mr. Renouf gives various indications of holding a theory fundamentally different from the Gallican. He considers it (p. 32, note) "the *old* view, that both Popes and Councils may err, and that *the Church alone* is infallible;" meaning apparently, by "the Church," the whole body of the faithful. In harmony with this, he mentions, without any expression whatever of dissent, Waldensis's opinion, that "even an Ecumenical Council confirmed by the Pope requires *the consent of the Universal Church*, before its decrees can be considered irreformable" (p. 37). The Acts of the Sixth Council, he elsewhere says (p. 10), "throw Pighius into a world utterly inconsistent with *the Ultramontane theory*. The Emperor presides, and *has his way in all things* when present; when he is absent, his representatives take his place, and *bishops are very small persons indeed.*" Mr. Renouf thinks that, in pronouncing a solemn dogmatical definition, emperors ought to play the principal part, and bishops to be "very small persons indeed;" nay, and that any other view of things appertains to that "Ultramontane theory" which he so energetically denounces.

It is characteristic of the consistent unfairness which pervades this whole pamphlet, that the author will not give any definite expression of his own view, but confines himself to these vague hints. If he really holds that Pope and bishops, pronouncing in harmony, can possibly claim the absolute and unreserved assent of Catholics

to erroneous doctrine, he is in a most serious position. We believe that no theologian could be found, who would not denounce such a tenet as simply *heretical.*

The pamphlet however is occupied, not with *defending* any tenet whatever; but with *assailing* the Ultramontane doctrine, that a Pope is infallible whenever he speaks as Universal Teacher. Mr. Renouf's objections to this doctrine are exclusively historical and exclusively negative. "Honorius, S. Liberius, S. Agatho, S. Leo II., Pope Adrian II., certain mediæval theologians, did or said certain things, which cannot be harmonized with the Ultramontane theory." In reply of course we have to show, not that these various facts and sayings *prove* the Ultramontane theory, but that they are *consistent* with it. None of them, we are to maintain, either disprove, or even render less probable, the Ultramontane allegation, that Christ taught the doctrine of Pontifical infallibility. In other words, we are to *assume* through our whole reasoning the Ultramontane theory; and we are to argue that, granting that theory, Mr. Renouf's facts admit a thoroughly satisfactory explanation. We will begin with the case of Honorius, which gives its name to the pamphlet, and on which the author lays his principal—almost his exclusive—stress. We will maintain successively these three propositions.

I. It is most certain that Honorius was never condemned for teaching heresy ex cathedrâ.

II. It is most certain that his Letters to Sergius were not written ex cathedrâ.

III. It is most certain that Honorius was never infallibly condemned for heresy. "To Honorius the heretic anathema" has never been pronounced by any infallible voice, either directly or equivalently.

It must be carefully observed however, that it is only the two first of these propositions, and not the third, with which Ultramontanes as such are concerned. Ultramontanes allege that the Pope is infallible whenever he speaks ex cathedrâ; or, in other words, whenever he imposes on all Catholics an obligation of accepting, with absolute and unreserved assent, the doctrine which he proposes. Mr. Renouf therefore will have proved his point, if he shows (1) that Honorius taught heresy or error ex cathedrâ; or else (2) if he shows that S. Agatho, or S. Leo II., or any other Pope declared ex cathedrâ that Honorius *had* so taught. But if Mr. Renouf does not prove either of these propositions, then he does not prove his point; and if he does not even establish any kind of *probability* for either of these propositions, then (as regards his purpose) his treatment of Honorius's case is absolutely worthless. Let it be even supposed for argument's sake—which we are as far as possible from admitting—that Honorius really fell

into heresy, but without teaching it to the Universal Church; and that some Pope declared this fact ex cathedrâ. Such a circumstance would prove conclusively that a Pope may fall into heresy; but it would not even *tend* to show that he can *teach* heresy ex cathedrâ. Nay, let us make a still more extreme supposition. Let us suppose the Eastern bishops really intended to decide synodically, that Honorius had taught heresy or error ex cathedrâ. Even such a circumstance as this would give an Ultramontane no difficulty whatever, unless it were further proved that some Pontiff *confirmed* this synodical decree in this particular sense. So far therefore as regards the Sixth Council, there are two questions only which it is necessary for an Ultramontane to consider: viz. (1) did S. Agatho, or (2) did S. Leo II. sanction some synodical decree, to the effect that Honorius had taught ex cathedrâ some heresy or error?

Now firstly there cannot be a more gratuitous supposition than this: you might as well say that S. Celestine or S. Leo I., or any other Pontiff you like to name, had been condemned as teaching error ex cathedrâ. There is not the faintest allusion in the Acts of the Council to any such idea, as that Honorius's error (if error there were) had been taught by him ex cathedrâ. Mr. Renouf himself only alleges one single proof to the contrary, viz. (p. 23) the Council's use of the word "κυρώσαντα"; and we shall see in due time how utterly worthless is the argument which he founds on this word. Otherwise the very strongest view which could possibly be taken, as to the Council's unfavourable judgment of Honorius, would only be, that it declared him a heretic in the very same sense in which it so declared Sergius, Cyrus, and the rest. But in regard to these, the Council most assuredly did not intend to pronounce that they had enforced heresy in the capacity of *Universal Teachers;* because no one supposed them to *possess* any such capacity. Neither therefore did the Council intend to pronounce, that *Honorius* had enforced heresy in his capacity of Universal Teacher.

Nay, as theologians are in the habit of pointing out, there is one particular in the Acts, which points to a marked distinction from the rest in Honorius's favour. In the 13th Session the bishops thus speak: "Having read the *dogmatic* letters written by Sergius .... likewise the *Letter* written back by Honorius, &c. &c."* Plainly it cannot be accidental, that in the same sentence the epithet "dogmatic" is given to Sergius's letter and withholden from Honorius's. Moreover, Orsi points out (l. i. c. 22, n. 2) how carefully

* Mr. Renouf (p. 3) in his translation altogether obscures this very significant contrast; and in p. 19 he says most gratuitously that if Sergius's letter be a "dogmatic" letter, the reply of Honorius is equally such.

the bishops always avoid the phrase "dogmatic letter," as applied individually to Honorius's. What then did the bishops intend to express by this pointed distinction? The more obvious interpretation of course is, that they understood the real facts of the case; that they regarded Honorius's letter as disciplinary or hortatory, and not dogmatic. But if Mr. Renouf will not accept this account of the matter, there is but one other which we can imagine. A Pope's *dogmatic* Letter might be understood to mean an *ex cathedrâ* Letter; and the bishops' reason for avoiding the term may possibly have been, to obviate all chance of such misconception. On either hypothesis it equally follows, that they never thought of condemning Honorius as having taught heresy ex cathedrâ.

As we just now said, however, the only question which Ultramontanes have to consider, is not what the *bishops* intended, but what the *Popes* intended. We will next therefore consult S. Agatho. Mr. Renouf considers (p. 17) that S. Agatho's legates had been instructed by the Pontiff, before they left Rome, to sanction Honorius's condemnation for having taught heresy ex cathedrâ. And this supposition indeed is absolutely required by his theory, unless he surrenders S. Agatho altogether; since that Pontiff did not live to receive the Acts of the Council. Now, as Catholic controversialists have repeatedly pointed out, S. Agatho's Letter to the Council contains the following words: "The Lord and Saviour of all, Whose gift is faith, Who *promised that the faith of Peter should not fail*, admonished him to confirm his brethren [in the Faith]; and *it is known to all* that the Apostolic Pontiffs my predecessors *have always done this energetically.*" According to Mr. Renouf, S. Agatho wrote this at a time when he had authorized his legates to declare, that one of those predecessors had taught heresy ex cathedrâ; or, in other words, had commanded all Catholics to contradict the Faith. Those who believe this will believe anything.

Now for S. Leo II. In what terms did he confirm the Acts of the Council, so far as regards his predecessor's condemnation? "We anathematize also Honorius, who did not labour to preserve in its purity (ἀγνίσαι) this Catholic Church by the teaching of Apostolic tradition, but permitted the immaculate to be polluted* through his profane betrayal." This is the Pontiff's authentic declaration of the reason for which he anathematized Honorius; and it is directly inconsistent with the supposition, that he anathematized him for having taught heresy ex cathedrâ. Had Honorius taught heresy ex cathedrâ, it would have been simply monstrous to say that he *permitted* the Church to be polluted by his *betrayal*; or (as S. Leo expressed his thought to the Spanish bishops) that Honorius

* We take that reading of this last clause which Mr. Renouf gives himself in p. 5, and which we understand him to admit as genuine in p. 13, note.

fostered the heresy by his *neglect.* On such a supposition, Honorius would not have *suffered* the Church to be polluted; rather he would have himself *involved* her in pollution, by his own most deadly *agency.* On such a supposition, he would not have fostered the heresy by his *neglect,* but by his detestable *activity.* Mr. Renouf accounts Honorius no less simply heretical than Arius. Put the impossible case that Arius had been Pope, and had taught his heresy ex cathedrâ. What orthodox person on earth would dream of saying, that Arius *permitted* the Church to be polluted by his *profane betrayal?* that he fostered the denial of our Lord's Divinity by his *neglect?* Any one who could thus speak must already be half an Arian himself. What *was* S. Leo's precise ground for anathematizing Honorius, we will consider in the course of our argument for the *third* proposition above stated.

Mr. Renouf proceeds (pp. 6, 7) to the decrees of the Seventh and Eighth Councils; but neither of these decrees has the most superficial appearance of declaring that Honorius taught heresy ex cathedrâ. We may add—if it is worth while to add *anything* on so plain a matter—that the Fathers of the Eighth Council subscribed a profession of faith sent them by Pope Adrian II.; and that this profession contained the following words:—"In the Apostolic See the Catholic religion *has ever been preserved immaculate,* and holy doctrine preached."*

We have now therefore made one step good. It is absolutely certain—no fact is more certain in all history—that no Pope ever condemned Honorius as having taught heresy or error ex cathedrâ. But Mr. Renouf argues (pp. 19-24) that—putting aside altogether subsequent Pontifical declarations—Honorius's Letters to Sergius are shown to have been ex cathedrâ by intrinsic evidence and by contemporary circumstances. In this part of his argument, Mr. Renouf shows himself entirely ignorant of what Ultramontanes *mean,* when they speak of some teaching as ex cathedrâ. A Pontiff teaches ex cathedrâ always, and only, when he exhibits his intention of imposing on all Catholics an obligation of absolute assent. What did Honorius then intend by his Letters to Sergius? If he intended to impose on all Catholics an obligation of believing, that in Christ there is but one operation and one will;—then he taught heresy ex cathedrâ. If he intended to impose on all Catholics an obligation of holding, that the phrase "two operations" is unsuitable for the expression of Catholic dogma;—then he taught *error* ex cathedrâ. But Mr. Renouf himself admits that he did neither of these things. He quotes

* This is pointed out by Muzzarelli, "de Auctoritate Romani Pontificis." 11, s. 2.

(p. 19, note) with perfect agreement Luzerne's opinion, that the decree was purely "permissive," and commanded nothing at all. Then it could not possibly have been ex cathedrâ. And we are very confident, in truth, that this will be the verdict of any ordinarily candid person—Catholic or non-Catholic—who will take the trouble of carefully reading the two Letters. Of course we do not dream of alleging that Honorius wrote them in a non-official capacity, which Mr. Renouf most strangely assumes to be the only alternative. We maintain that he wrote them in the discharge of his Pontifical office "regendi et gubernandi Ecclesiam."

However this particular inquiry—on the alleged ex cathedrâ character of Honorius's Letters—is so entirely fundamental, that we must argue it in greater detail. Mr. Renouf has exhibited himself throughout as a strangely inaccurate reasoner; but in no part of his pamphlet is his inaccuracy more conspicuous than in this.

He begins by the oddest imaginable exposition of the point at issue. "The next question is," he says (p. 19), "whether Honorius fell into heresy as private doctor, or as Pope." You might as well ask whether he ate, drank, and slept as private eater, drinker, and sleeper, or as Pope. Such language recalls to our mind the Count-Bishop, mentioned in a former number of this REVIEW; who told his flock that he had contracted marriage, but that he had done so exclusively in his capacity of Count.* For ourselves, of course, we totally deny that Honorius fell into heresy at all; but this is by the way. The question raised by Ultramontanes, is not that very singular psychological puzzle propounded by Mr. Renouf, but something altogether different. They maintain most confidently, that even if Honorius fell into heresy, he did not *teach* that heresy *ex cathedrâ*; he did not impose on all Catholics a *command* of accepting it. What he thought, or even what he publicly expressed, is one thing; what he *commanded* others to *believe* is a totally different thing.

Mr. Renouf's second sentence is as strange as his first. "If he imposed silence upon contending patriarchs, how could he have done so otherwise than in the full exercise of his Pontifical authority?" One is ashamed of having to point out the obvious truth, that to command *silence* is not to command *interior assent*. Mr. Renouf himself implies that Honorius merely intended to "impose silence on contending patriarchs." Mr. Renouf then himself implies that the Pontiff did not intend to teach ex cathedrâ.

Our author proceeds to point out that the Pope's "private

* Of course the question is most intelligible whether some Pontiff *taught* some doctrine as private doctor or as Pope. If Mr. Renouf meant this, h should have said it.

opinion was not asked for." Who in the world ever thought it was? Who ever said that his Letter was a "private missive"? (p. 20). Doubtless it was "an official document of the gravest character," as our author truly observes. We must really ask our readers to forgive us if, for Mr. Renouf's benefit, we are obliged to express certain very elementary doctrines de Summo Pontifice.

To every Pope appertains the office, on the one hand, of "teaching" the Church (pascendi), on the other hand of "ruling and piloting her" (regendi et gubernandi). It is admitted by all Catholics without exception, that a Pope may make serious mistakes in exercising this latter office; though they well know that, on the whole, he obtains most special assistance of the Holy Ghost in its execution. But Ultramontanes attribute infallibility to him in the *former* office; they say that every doctrine is infallibly true, which he proposes to the Universal Church under an obligation of absolute interior assent. Here, therefore, are the two alternatives which we are to consider. It is easily imaginable that Honorius might have spoken ex cathedrâ; that he might have taken occasion, when he received Sergius's letter, to impose on all Catholics an obligation of believing either (1) that in Christ there is but one operation, or else (2) that the phrase "two operations" is an inappropriate expression of orthodox dogma. If either of these allegations could be substantiated, Ultramontanism would be refuted; but we must maintain that no supposition can be more extravagant. Our direct and absolutely irrefragable proof of this, are the contents themselves of Honorius's Letters. But before speaking of this proof, we will mention one or two other arguments: arguments on which theologians have justly laid great stress, as showing very conclusively that Honorius's Letters did not contain any teaching ex cathedrâ.

We will not quite say, with Mr. Renouf, that to rest on the fact of Honorius's Letters *containing no anathemas*, is a "miserable evasion of the difficulty"; because we do not like such overbearing language: but we quite agree with him, that such a fact is no disproof whatever of their ex cathedrâ character. Why, no Act in the Church's history was ever more indubitably ex cathedrâ than S. Leo's Letter to S. Flavian, and in that Letter there were no anathemas whatever. We may further add—as our whole controversy with F. Ryder will have shown—that we are the very last who would "limit the exercise of" Pontifical "infallibility by purely arbitrary conditions" (p. 24). The Pope is infallible, whenever he may think it well to teach any doctrine whatever as obligatory on the acceptance of Catholics; and God has left him perfectly free to make that obligation *known*, in any shape he accounts desirable. But the expressing some doctrine in some letter to an individual bishop, is in itself quite a different thing—as is most evident—from de-

claring that doctrine *obligatory on all Catholics.* In order therefore that the Pope may be understood as teaching ex cathedrâ, something more required than his merely *expressing* it in some letter to an individual; something is required, which shall indicate an intention of obliging the whole Catholic world to interior assent.

1. One test on which theologians lay great stress, is that of *publication.* By the fact of circulating a Dogmatic Letter throughout the Church, a Pontiff expresses that it is intended, not for those only to whom it is addressed, but for all Catholics. (See DUBLIN REVIEW for January last, pp. 103-5.) What can be more reasonable than this? Why should Mr. Renouf call it (p. 24) an "absurd condition"? In Honorius's day, it was the universal habit of Popes so to act, when they issued Dogmatic Letters ex cathedrâ. Orsi insists on this, quoting an earlier writer in his support. Such letters "were transmitted to the primates or patriarchs of provinces; unless indeed there was some special reason for sending them to others. Then the primates, or these others, communicated copies of them to the bishops, either separately or synodically; and often both subscribed the Letters themselves, and required their suffagans so to do" (l. i. c. 22, s. 5). Mr. Renouf objects, that *S. Leo's Letter to S. Flavian* contains no orders about its publication, and yet that it was certainly ex cathedrâ. But the question is not whether the Letter *contains* such an order, but whether the Pontiff *gave* that order. The marks of an ex cathedrâ Act—as we have energetically maintained against F. Ryder—may be extrinsic as well as intrinsic. Now Baronius expressly declares—we quoted the passage last January, p. 117—that S. Leo's Letter was made by him encyclical, in order that it might be known throughout the Church. And S. Leo indeed told his legates, before the Council of Chalcedon, that "the universal Church embraces" his Letter. (See Dr. Ward's "Brief Summary," p. 20.)

Now it is most certain that Honorius never thus circulated his Letter to Sergius; and stress is laid on this fact by Roncaglia and by Muzzarelli. (See Dr. Ward's "Second Letter," p. 54, note; and "Brief Summary," p. 23.) It will be useful to append Muzzarelli's passage at length.

Tantum abest, quin solemnis Epistola vocari possit, ut in Occidente, ubi confecta fuerat, per plures annos incognita extiterit. Omnia igitur indicia privatæ epistolæ in eâ apparent. Scripta est nomine et jussu Honorii per ejus familiarem amanuensem, sive notarium, adeò secretè, ut unicè ab hoc amanuensi Joannes, Honorii successor, rescire potuerit ejus intentionem, et Epistolæ interpretationem. In Occidente, ut diximus, latuit per magnum intervallum, et tunc solùm innotuit, quum Pyrrhus, qui Sergio successerat, ad proprium sensum attrahere festinavit, quæ Honorius scripserat: sicuti Summus Pontifex, Joannes quartus, testatur in apologiâ ad Constantinum

pro Honorio Papâ. Concil. tom. 5, pag. 1759. Neque ideò dici potest, quòd tunc originalis epistola Honorii fuerit in Occidente evulgata; sed unicè testimonium factum fuit manifestum, quod de ipsâ reddiderat Pyrrhus in suis litteris, huc illuc transmissis. Et quidem de eâ nulla invenitur commemoratio aut accusatio in synodis Romanis subsequentibus, in quibus damnati sunt Monothelitæ, et Sergius, et Pyrrhus, et Paulus Constantinopolitani. In Oriente verò documentum non extat, quòd Honorii epistola ne quidem à Sergio ad ecclesias missa fuerit. In ipsâ Sextæ Synodi actione 12. Epistola Honorii non aliundè, quàm ex scrinio Patriarchali ecclesiæ Constantinopolitanæ deprompta fuit, autographa ipsa Latina cum Græcâ interpretatione. Ad unum ergo Sergium missa, ab eoque recondita fuerat in archivio ecclesiæ; et ex eâ probabiliter aliqua solùm verba excerpserat Pyrrhus, quibus dolosè auctoritatem Honorii in suæ hæresis præsidium advocaret. Certè in synodo Lateranensi sub Martino primo, in quâ Stephanus, Dorensis Episcopus, ex parte etiam Hierosolimitanæ Sedis, libellum obtulit adversùs errores Sergii; et ejus successorum Pyrrhi et Pauli, nullam de Honorii notitiam manifestavit; quam tamen recensere necessarium fuisset pro hâc causâ. Idem silentium observatur in libello monachorum Græcorum, qui pro eodem negotio lectus fuit, et qui orthodoxorum Orientalium querelam de Honorii Epistolâ deferre ad synodum in hâc circumstantiâ debuissent. Quin etiam in Typo Constantis, cujus Paulus Monothelita auctor fuerat et in quo prohibebatur omnis contentio de unâ voluntate et unâ operatione aut duabus voluntatibus et operationibus, nullum testimonium profertur ex Epistolâ Honorii; quod tamen Paulus Constanti suggerere debuisset, ut Typum apud Occidentales defenderet, et contra Martini condemnationem sibi ipsi consuleret.

Orsi again,—having pointed out (as we just now mentioned) that in those days, according to universal habit, a Pope's ex cathedrâ Letter was circulated every where, was formally accepted and was often subscribed by the Episcopate,—proceeds to dwell on the fact, that nothing of the kind took place with Honorius's Letter to Sergius. Sergius and his successors, he says, instead of proposing *Honorius's Letter* for subscription, proposed Heraclius's Ecthesis or Constans's Type.

2. There is a second argument, much used by Ultramontanes, which we cannot better express than in Muzzarelli's words, slightly abridged. It was the constant habit of Pontiffs, he says, never to speak ex cathedrâ, without first assembling a synod either of bishops or of Roman presbyters; more commonly the former. So Innocent and Zosimus acted in the case of Pelagius and Celestius; Celestine against Nestorius; Leo against Eutyches; &c. &c. In like manner as to this very Monothelite controversy: John IV., Theodore, Martin, and Agatho, all assembled synods before putting forth their ex cathedrâ definitions. But Honorius's Letter to Sergius was not preceded by any such consultation; and this fact alone sufficiently shows that he never intended it to be ex cathedrâ.

Orsi illustrates this same argument from the "Liber Diurnus,"

to which Mr. Renouf makes such frequent reference. In the professions of faith which that book contains, the Pontiffs promise that they will accept and preach whatever their predecessors have *synodically* accepted and preached; and that they anathematize whatever their predecessors have *synodically* anathematized. They use the word "synodically" as synonymous with "ex cathedrâ." Moreover in one of those professions, part of which is quoted by Mr. Renouf in p. 6, they condemn "Sergius, Pyrrhus. . . . . Honorius, &c. &c., and all those who pertinaciously defended heretical doctrine against the *synodically declared* truth of Faith."

Orsi and Muzzarelli do not, of course, mean that a Pope has no power to pronounce ex cathedrâ without consulting a synod. Their argument is this. At that time it was the universal habit of Popes to consult some synod, before they spoke as Universal Teachers; and a Pope's omission therefore of such consultation in some given case, is a strong argument that in that case he did not intend to speak as Universal Teacher. Now, it is certain from history that Honorius did *not* consult a synod before writing to Sergius; therefore, &c. And we may here suggest a confirmation of that fact on which this second argument is based. Honorius's Letter* contains manifest signs of haste and of most imperfect apprehension; it does not seem the *kind* of letter which would have been written after mature deliberation and consultation with others. Thus, as has been remarked again and again, he lays emphatic stress on the verity, that our Blessed Lord had but one *human* will, and was entirely free from that rebellion of the flesh to which fallen man is subject: a verity, most vital indeed, but absolutely irrelevant to Sergius's inquiry. To enlarge however on this consideration, would carry us into a totally different line of thought from that on which we are now engaged.

3. But at last by far the most overwhelming evidence is derivable from Honorius's own language; whether in his first Letter, or in those fragments of his second which were synodically read at Constantinople. Mr. Renouf compares his language with that of S. Leo to S. Flavian; but no contrast can well be greater. It was S. Leo's direct drift to lay down, that a certain exposition, which he elaborately draws out, is a true analysis of revealed dogma, and is absolutely obligatory on the interior acceptance of all Catholics. Honorius says nothing which approaches this ever so distantly. We may indeed with most perfect confidence leave the matter to all ordinarily candid readers—Catholics or otherwise—who will but bear in mind the true question. They are to ask themselves this, and this only. Did Honorius state or imply either of the two following propositions?—Prop. I. "All Catholics are under an obligation of

* Only one of his two Letters is extant in its integrity.

believing, that in Christ there is but one operation and one will." Prop. II. "All Catholics are under an obligation of believing that the phrase 'two operations' is an inappropriate expression of orthodox dogma." If his words imply either of these two propositions, then he taught heresy or error ex cathedrâ. If his words imply nothing of the kind, then he was not teaching ex cathedrâ at all.

Mr. Renouf lays his greatest stress on the fragments of Honorius's second Letter; from which (p. 22) he gives a long extract. We can desire nothing better, than to stake the whole issue on the very extract which Mr. Renouf gives; if he will only permit us to insert the two remaining lines, which he has unaccountably omitted. The last sentence then in its integrity runs thus: "As for those whom our aforesaid brother and fellow-bishop [Sophronius] sent, we instructed them that in future he should not continue to preach the formula of "two operations"; and they entirely promised that he would so act, if only our brother and fellow-bishop Cyrus would abandon the formula of '*one* operation.'" Did Honorius then require from S. Sophronius absolute interior assent to the proposition, that "the phrase 'two operations' is inappropriate"? On the contrary he did not even *ask* him to express any such *opinion*. All whichHonorius desired to obtain was external conformity. He was perfectly satisfied with Sophronius's promise, that *he* would not talk about *two* operations, if Cyrus would not talk about *one*. The Pontifical intention was exclusively disciplinary and hortatory, not doctrinal in the slightest degree. He commanded the various Patriarchs to abstain from a phrase, not to believe a doctrine.

Remarks entirely similar may be made on the first Letter, which remains entire, and on which Mr. Renouf lays less prominent stress. The last sentence of this Letter, as all its readers will have observed, is a most faithful representative of its general drift. Does it lay down that all Catholics are *obliged* to embrace the *tenet*, that "two operations" is an inappropiate phrase? It says nothing which the most uncandid reader can torture into any such signification. "We *exhort* you," says Honorius, "that you would avoid the newly introduced expression of 'one or two operations'; and preach, in unison with us, One Lord Jesus Christ, Son of the Living God, True God, Who worketh in two natures the [respective] works of Divinity and Humanity." He does not dream of requiring them to *believe* that the phrase is *inappropriate*: he does but exhort them to avoid its use. To say "we *require* Catholics to *believe* that the phrase is a bad phrase," would be to

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* Mr. Renouf ends his quotation in the middle of a sentence. Was he unconsciously conscious that the two last lines would have overthrown his theory?

teach ex cathedrâ; to say "we *exhort* you not to *use* it" is not to teach at all. To exhort is one thing, to teach is another. Nay, even had the exhortation been a command, the ineffaceable distinction would still have remained. "We command you not to *use* the phrase"—is an act of discipline; "we command you and all Catholics to *believe* that the phrase is a bad one"—this and this only would be an instruction ex cathedrâ. Take successively every individual sentence of Honorius throughout the two Letters: you will not find one, which either directly or by implication approaches ever so distantly to the utterance of such a command.

Nay, as we have already pointed out, this fact is so very obvious, that Mr. Renouf cannot shut his eyes to it. Honorius "imposed silence on contending patriarchs" (p. 19). "The decree was permissive," and "had no command to give" (ib., note). To impose silence—to permit without commanding—cannot possibly be to teach ex cathedrâ.

We have now fully established every proposition in the case of Honorius, for which Ultramontanes, as such, are bound to contend. We have shown (1) that he was not condemned for teaching heresy or error *ex cathedrâ;* and (2) that, as a matter of fact, he did not teach ex cathedrâ *at all* on the Monothelite controversy. For ourselves however, we are very confident that his Letters neither express nor imply any heretical tenet whatever; and of course therefore, that they have never been infallibly *condemned* as containing any such tenet. And as it is far from an unimportant truth that no Pope has hitherto fallen into heresy, we will pursue Mr. Renouf's argument further. That gentleman, for instance, lays great stress (pp. 2–4) on the 13th and 16th sessions of the Sixth Council, and on its final acclamations: we shall show that no part of these received Pontifical confirmation. "The Council pronounced" a certain "judgment" on Honorius (p. 3): the *bishops* did so; but so did *not* the Pope. "To Honorius the heretic anathema" acclaimed the bishops; and Mr. Renouf lays so much stress on the acclamation, that he has printed it on his title-page and on his cover. But no *Pope* ever sanctioned any application of the term "heretic" to Honorius in any sense whatever.

It will be convenient however, before we consider what is the precise condemnation which *Popes* have passed on Honorius, to examine very briefly a far more doubtful and far less important question. Did the bishops assembled at Constantinople intend to condemn Honorius, in the same sense in which they condemned Sergius, Cyrus, and the rest? Did they intend to condemn him as having expressed heretical tenets? Or on the other hand, did they mean to decree no severer censure against him, than that which (as we shall presently see) subsequent Pontiffs have them-

selves sanctioned? There is something to be said on both sides of this question; to us it seems more probable, that they did intend to condemn him precisely as a heretic.

Mr. Renouf lays emphatic stress (p. 23) on the word "κυρώσαντα." To take Mr. Renouf's reasonable paraphrase, the Council condemned Honorius as having "officially confirmed, ratified, and stamped with authority" "the impious dogmata of Sergius." Mr. Renouf indeed would interpret this as signifying that the bishops condemned Honorius, not merely as a *heretic*, but as having taught heresy *ex cathedrâ*. For such a conclusion as this however, the phrase really supplies no ground at all; not even the very slightest. Let us suppose that they considered him to have been personally heretical; and to have imposed silence on Sophronius concerning "the two operations," for the very purpose of promoting his own Monothelite tenets. This certainly would be a most fully sufficient explanation of their saying, that he had given official confirmation to the impious dogmata of Sergius.

We think however that the use of so strong a word as "κυρώσαντα" does give a certain probability to the supposition, that they accounted Honorius as personally a Monothelite.

A still stronger probability accrues to the same conclusion, from the testimony of Pope Adrian II. Here again we must complain of Mr. Renouf (p. 6), for having omitted words of some importance. "Although," says Adrian II., "anathema was said to Honorius after his death *by the Easterns*, it should be understood nevertheless that he was accused on the ground of heresy (super hæresi)." There is nothing whatever in Adrian's words to imply that Honorius had been anathematized by any *Pope* on the ground of heresy, but only by *the Easterns*.* For this last conclusion however, his testimony has much weight.

Then the Eastern language at the Council was undoubtedly very severe. Honorius's Letter is classed with the letters of Sergius and Cyrus (Renouf, p. 3) as "altogether alien from Apostolic teachings," "following the false teachings of the heretics," "to be loathed as soul-destroying." Honorius, they say, "followed the mind of Sergius *in all things*, and stamped with authority his impious dogmata." "To Honorius the *heretic* anathema!" On the other hand, Catholics have again and again pointed out that the word "heretic" is often used vaguely to include the *promoters* of heresy; and there are one or two circumstances which give some ground for conjecturing that the word may have been so used in

* These are his words: "Romanum Pontificem de omnium ecclesiarum præsulibus judicâsse legimus; de eo verò quenquam judicâsse non legimus. Licet enim Honorio ab Orientalibus post mortem anathema sit dictum, sciendum tamen est quòd fuerat super hæresi accusatus; propter quam solùm licitum est minoribus majorum suorum" &c. &c.

Honorius's case. Such is the tendency of a fact to which we have already referred (p. 206); viz., that the bishops pointedly avoid the epithet "dogmatic" when speaking of Honorius's "Letter." Moreover the Emperor, than whom no fairer representative can be taken of the Eastern Episcopal mind, speaks a good deal more guardedly than the bishops; and in fact draws that very distinction between Honorius and the rest, on which S. Leo (as we shall see) insisted in confirming the Council. "We anathematize," says the Emperor, "the *authors* and *favourers*" of heresy; thus drawing a distinction between the two classes. Then having named Theodore and Sergius, he mentions "Honorius also, who was in all things the favourer, companion, and confirmer *of these men* in heresy." Perhaps at last the true account may be, that some bishops held one opinion and some the other; and that no attempt was made to pronounce accurately on the precise kind or degree of Honorius's complicity with the heresy.

"It is sheer dishonesty," says Mr. Renouf (p. 12) with his usual deference and charitableness, "to shut one's eyes to the strongest words of the Council, as if their force were destroyed by weaker expressions in . . . the Letters of Pope Leo." Why, in the judgment of Ultramontanes—and for that matter of Gallicans also—no words of the Council possess infallibility at all, except so far as the Pope confirms them. We have literally nothing to do with the sense in which the Council expressed them, but only with the sense in which the Pope confirmed them. "It is sheer dishonesty," forsooth, that an avowed Ultramontane shall act consistently on his own principles. We cannot repeat it too often. In considering the Sixth Council, an Ultramontane is concerned with two questions, and with two questions alone; viz., (1) what declarations of the Council received Pontifical sanction, and (2) in what sense they received it. Now there were but two Pontiffs in relation with this Council; viz., S. Agatho and S. Leo: and we are to consider therefore these two questions, in reference to these two Pontiffs.

We affirm, firstly, that S. Agatho never sanctioned or approved any declaration whatever of the Sixth Council; for he did not live to receive his legates on their return. Mr. Renouf indeed alleges (p. 17), that they had received secret instructions from him to join in the condemnation of Honorius as a heretic; but he cannot adduce one particle of evidence for such an assertion. He states, indeed (p. 17)—but without venturing himself to endorse the validity of such an argument—that this conclusion has been accounted deducible from the bishops' address to S. Agatho. "We have slain," they say, the heretics with anathema, "according to the sentence previously issued against them by your sacred Letter"; and they proceed to name Honorius among those whom they have thus anathematized. Now if S. Agatho's Letter were not extant,

a certain probability—though certainly not a strong one—might accrue from these words to Mr. Renouf's conclusion. Certainly not a strong one; for nothing is more probable, than that S. Agatho might *generally* have enjoined the anathematization of Monothelite heretics, without enumerating any particular names. At all events his Letters *are* extant; both that addressed to the Emperor, and that addressed to the Council: and in neither is Honorius's name to be found. Mr. Renouf of course well knows this fact; and we must say that no Ultramontane argument, among those which he so severely denounces, presents on its surface such an appearance of conscious insincerity, as does this Gallican special pleading which he has adduced without any expression of dissent.

But this is by no means all. Not only S. Agatho did *not* refer to Honorius as to a *heretic;* he *did* expressly refer to that Letter of his which the Council afterwards condemned, as to the Letter of a perfectly orthodox man. We allude to the following often-quoted passage from his Letter to the Emperor. "My predecessors," says S. Agatho, "*thoroughly instructed* (κατηρτισμένοι) *as they were in the Lord's doctrine,* from the time when the *Constantinopolitan patriarchs* endeavoured to introduce this heretical novelty into Christ's spotless Church, have never neglected to exhort and entreatingly press them, that they would desist from this heretical pravity, *were it only by keeping silence.*" Now no other Pope, except Honorius, was contented with exhorting the heretical patriarchs to *silence;* nor has any one therefore ever doubted, that the concluding words above quoted refer to that Pontiff. We do not of course suppose that such a passage is ex cathedrâ. But it expresses S. Agatho's own personal opinion, that Honorius was a predecessor "thoroughly instructed in the Lord's doctrine," and not insensible to the deadly evil of Monothelism. Surely when Mr. Renouf bears in mind this passage,—which for the moment must have escaped his memory,—he will no longer have the courage to maintain, that the very legates who bore the Letter had received secret instructions to condemn, as guilty of heresy, the Pontiff thus honourably mentioned.

At the same time it does appear probable, that S. Agatho instructed his legates to permit the Council to examine for itself into the doctrine of Honorius's Letter.* It certainly seems improbable that they would have acquiesced in this, had they not been previously directed to that effect; and Adrian II. long afterwards pointed out, "that no bishop would have had the right of expressing concerning" Honorius "any judgment whatever, unless the authority of the Primatial See had gone before." Mr. Renouf quotes

* We use the singular, as we are not aware of any evidence that the second Letter had been heard of at Rome.

part of this sentence as a proof that S. Agatho had sanctioned Honorius's *condemnation;* and our readers have already seen how truly monstrous is such a supposition. But Adrian's words do seem to show, that S. Agatho had permitted the Council to express its judgment on Honorius's Letter. However convinced he indubitably was of his predecessor's perfect orthodoxy, there was nothing at all inconsistent with Catholic principle in his permitting this examination; while there were various reasons of expediency, which almost necessitated his doing so. He well knew that at last no declaration, which the Council might issue, would possess irreformable authority, until it had been confirmed by himself, or by some one of his successors.

However it may be urged, as an argument against Honorius's orthodoxy, that when the examination took place its result was most unfavourable to his memory. It may be urged that the whole body of Eastern bishops—and the three Papal legates also—condemned his Letters in the severest terms. Well, at all events this is a total change of ground: it is to abandon the allegation of an *infallible* condemnation. For ourselves however, we cannot attach any importance to the judgment on such a question of the Eastern contemporary bishops; though it would carry us too far if we gave reasons for our opinion. In regard to the Papal legates, it must be remembered that S. Agatho himself, in his Letter to the Emperor, spoke disparagingly of their theological acquirements;* and that they would naturally be carried away by the influences which surrounded them. It is simply impossible that, in condemning Honorius as a heretic (if they did so), they can have been exponents of contemporary Roman opinion; for we have seen how directly contradictory is the language of S. Agatho himself.

We have shown then, that the 13th and 16th sessions, and also the acclamations, on which Mr. Renouf so greatly rests his case, at all events have not that claim to infallibility, which would have resulted from S. Agatho's approval. We now proceed to point out, that neither were they included in S. Leo's confirmation of the Council. We shall immediately be quoting his words of confirmation; and it will be seen that he entirely restricts it to the Council's *definition.* In writing to the bishops of Spain, he tells them that he sends a Latin translation of the *definition*—of the *acclamations*—of the *Emperor's edict;* and that he intends shortly to send the *Acts.* Meanwhile he enjoins that they shall at once subscribe their names—not to the acclamations or the Emperor's edict, though these had been sent—but to the *definition.*

* "We send them," he says, "for the sake of that compliance which we owe you, not from any confidence in them on the ground of their abundant knowledge."

We exhort you..... that by all the reverend bishops submission should be annexed to the *definition* of the venerable Council; and that each prelate of Christ's Churches may hasten to enrol his name in a book of life, and thus *through the confession of his subscription*, unite, as though present in spirit, with ourselves and the whole Council in union of the One Evangelical and Apostolical Faith.

The same declaration is to be found in his Letter to the King of Spain, and again to Simplicius: except indeed (which is not unimportant) that in the two latter Letters he says nothing about any intention of forwarding the *Acts* of the Council.

That declaration then of the Council, which S. Leo confirmed, was precisely its *definition*. It is demonstratively shown by the preceding extracts, that this "definition" is entirely exclusive of the Acts, of the acclamations, and of the Emperor's edict; and, on turning to the history of the Council, there can be no possible doubt as to what is intendedly the phrase. It may be found in the history of the eighteenth session, and is called in so many words, "the definition." "Constantine, most pious Emperor said, 'Let the before-mentioned definition (ὅρος, definitio) be read; and the reader . . . read the definition as follows." It is subscribed by all the Eastern bishops, with the phrase, "ὁρίσας ὑπέγραψα," "definiens subscripsi." This, and this only, is that doctrinal declaration of the Sixth Council, which received S. Leo's confirmation; and if we would know the Council's infallible decree concerning Honorius, it is to this only that we must look. These are its words concerning him:—

The devil, having found suitable organs for his design, Theodore, Sergius, &c., and Honorius, who was Pope of the old Rome, and Cyrus, &c. &c., did not cease to raise up by their means, against the fulness of the Church, the scandals of error of one will and one operation in the two natures of One of the Holy Trinity, Christ our True God; disseminating among our orthodox people, by their novel language, a heresy harmonizing with that of Apollinarius, &c. &c.

The definition of faith, which contains these words, was thus solemnly confirmed by S. Leo II.

The holy, universal, and great Sixth Council hath followed in all things Apostolic doctrine; and because it hath perfectly declared that definition (ὅρος) of the right Faith which the Apostolic Throne of Blessed Peter .... humbly received, therefore we—and through our ministry this worshipful and Apostolic Throne—symbolize in heart and spirit with those things which *have been defined* (ὁρισθεῖσι) thereby, and *confirm them* by the authority of Blessed Peter, as [fixed] on a firm Rock, which is Christ.

S. Leo however at once proceeds to remove all doubt as to the sense in which he confirms the anathema on Honorius. Having

anathematized by name various ancient heretics, he passes on to those just condemned by the Council:—

In like manner we anathematize the inventors of the new error: Theodore, bishop of Pharan; Cyrus of Alexandria; Sergius, Pyrrhus, Paul, Peter, overthrowers rather than rulers of the Constantinopolitan Church: nay, and Honorius also; who did not labour to preserve in purity this Apostolic Church by the teaching of Apostolic tradition, but by profane betrayal suffered the spotless to be polluted: and likewise all who have shared in their error, &c. &c.

Every one will here see that the Holy Pontiff draws an emphatic distinction between the other anathematized persons and Honorius; and consequently, that he does not confirm the definition of the Council, in any sense inconsistent with this broad distinction. They were active, Honorius was passive; they were *inventors* of the new error, while he *permitted* the spotless to be defiled. But if Honorius had been himself a Monothelite heretic, he would have been no less an "inventor of the new error" than were Cyrus, Pyrrhus, Paul, or Peter;* for it was none of these who *originally started* the heretical idea. Indeed S. Leo abstained pointedly from all language, which could be understood to imply that Honorius had himself fallen into heresy. He did not condemn Honorius as a *heretic*. But he proclaimed infallibly the dogmatical fact, that Honorius had grievously injured the Church, by his failure in that energetic *resistance* to heresy, which was the highest duty incumbent on a Roman Pontiff.

Nothing, in fact, can be more intelligible and more consistent than S. Leo's language on this head throughout. He says the very same thing to the Spanish bishops and the Spanish King, that he says to the Greek Emperor:—

Those who fought against the purity of Apostolic Doctrine and have died, have been punished by an eternal condemnation: that is, Theodore, Cyrus, &c. &c.; together with Honorius, who did not extinguish at its outset the flame of heretical dogma, as became his Apostolic authority, but by neglecting fostered it.

All the *authors* of heretical assertion were cast out from the Church's unity; Theodore, Cyrus, &c.: and *with them*, Honorius of Rome, who *consented* that that undefiled rule of Apostolic tradition should be defiled, which he received from his predecessors.

Mr. Renouf says (p. 12) that such words are "weaker" than that language which condemns Honorius of *heresy*. But this is most unfair; they are not *weaker* than such language, they are *inconsistent* with it. If Honorius had promoted the heresy by

* "Monothelitarum *parens* fuit Sergius."—Nat. Alexander.

being himself a Monothelite, he would have promoted it in proportion to his *activity;* and his *neglect* would (negatively) have retarded its growth. S. Leo's language is therefore directly incompatible with the supposition, that he considered Honorius to have been a Monothelite.

There is another and independent argument, which tends powerfully to our conclusion. If S. Leo had intended to condemn Honorius as a heretic, it is most difficult to understand how he can have departed so widely from S. Agatho's judgment. But nothing can be more intelligible than his conduct on the other hypothesis. The legates would have given him a far stronger notion than any previous Pontiff had entertained, on the frightful evil which Honorius's Letters had wrought in the East. Such a report could not affect the Holy Pontiff's opinion on his predecessor's *orthodoxy;* but it would profoundly affect his judgment, as to the injury which that predecessor had inflicted on the Church's Faith.

The received Roman doctrine in later ages was evidently that which we have attributed to S. Leo II. Mr. Renouf quotes in his own behalf (p. 6) the "Liber Diurnus"; but no words can be more expressly against him. Sergius, Pyrrhus, &c., are condemned as "authors of the new heresy;" but Honorius only as "having *given an encouragement* to their evil operations."

Our author next cites (p. 6) the Seventh Council. But this comes to very little indeed. That Council speaks of the Sixth as having excommunicated Sergius, Honorius, &c., who did not will orthodoxy (*ἀθελήτους τῆς εὐσεβείας*).

By far his strongest citation is that taken (p. 7) from the Eighth Council. There is not a syllable indeed in this sentence, which implies ever so distantly that Honorius taught heresy *ex cathedrâ;* nay, as we have already seen (p. 208) the Council expressly rejects the supposition, that any Pope *ever* taught heresy ex cathedrâ. Still if the sentence stood alone and had to be interpreted by its more obvious meaning, it would afford (we readily admit) some ground for the opinion, that Honorius was condemned for falling into heresy. But surely such an interpretation is à priori improbable, in a degree one can hardly exaggerate. It is quite incredible, we say, that after an interval of two centuries, and with no practical bearing whatever, a Pope should (as it were) go out of his way, to visit Honorius with a far severer censure than the earlier Pontiff had done. The most ordinary rules of criticism would lead to the conclusion, that if these words can legitimately be understood in a milder sense, such sense must be the one intended.

Now, as it happens, we can most easily show that such a sense is *perfectly* legitimate. S. Leo II., as has been seen, in writing to the Spanish king and bishops, clearly explained the offence for

which he had anathematized Honorius: viz., for having "fostered the flame of heretical dogma by neglecting to extinguish it"; for having "*consented* that the undefiled rule of tradition should be defiled." His words, as we pointed out, are absolutely incompatible with the supposition, that he considered Honorius a Monothelite. Yet, after this last expression, he immediately proceeds to say that "all these"—i.e., including Honorius—"*preaching one will and one operation,* shamelessly laboured to defend heretical doctrine." His meaning in these words is made absolutely certain, by what immediately preceded. All these anathematized persons combined—each in his own way—to disseminate among Christians the Monothelite heresy: others did their work, by actually advocating that heresy; Honorius, by his most culpable remissness in opposing it. S. Leo II. then, the very Pontiff who condemned Honorius, declared indeed that Honorius had been one of those who "preached" Monothelism; and yet, in the very same sentence, explained that Honorius had done this merely by means of his culpable neglect. No fact can be more certain than that this was S. Leo's meaning; and when therefore the later Council repeated S. Leo's very words, it is no unreasonable interpretation to understand them in S. Leo's very sense. We have no doubt whatever that such was the intention of the Eighth Council. Theodore, Sergius, Pyrrhus, Honorius, Cyrus, and the rest combined in disseminating the Monothelite heresy: the others by actively teaching it; Honorius by not resisting, but rather forwarding, their combined movement.

Such also was undoubtedly the meaning of that Lesson in the Roman Breviary, which Mr. Renouf quotes at p. 6.

Mr. Renouf has the boldness to say (p. 13) that the Roman Church "finally joined in condemning" Honorius as a Monothelite. We have seen how baseless is the statement. And as to any *intrinsic* evidence of Honorius's heresy, it is Mr. Renouf himself who, in accounting his Letter Monothelite, "betrays an utter ignorance of the real nature of the controversy" (p. 14).

We believe there is no single document alleged by Mr. Renouf against Honorius, which we have not harmonized in the argument here brought to an end. For clearness' sake we will recapitulate our successive conclusions.

1. There is not the very slightest—the most superficially colourable—pretence for saying, that any Pope or Council ever condemned Honorius for having taught heresy ex cathedrâ. You might just as plausibly say that Benedict XIV. or Pius VI., or any other Pontiff you like to name, has been condemned for teaching heresy ex cathedrâ.

2. It is most absolutely certain that he did *not* teach heresy or error ex cathedrâ; that neither expressly nor by implication did he

issue any command whatever of interior assent to heretical or mistaken doctrine. Mr. Renouf, intending to deny this statement, in fact corroborates and affirms it.

3. It is far from improbable, but by no means certain, that the Eastern bishops anathematized him for having fallen into heresy; just as they anathematized Sergius, Cyrus, and the rest, for that offence.

4. It is quite certain that no Pope ever anathematized him for such an offence. S. Agatho, as a matter of private opinion, thought that Honorius had rendered the Church good service on the Monothelite question. S. Leo II.—possibly in consequence of having heard much from the legates as to the evil results which Honorius's Letters had wrought in the East—declared ex cathedrâ that that Pontiff had grievously injured the Church's Faith. But neither S. Agatho nor S. Leo suspected him for a moment of having himself fallen into the Monothelite heresy.

For ourselves, we are thoroughly prepared to defend Honorius's orthodoxy on intrinsic grounds alone. His Letters contain no one syllable savouring of Monothelism; and his First Letter, the only one remaining entire, is conclusive for the perfect Catholicity of his doctrine. We will not, however, here enter on this discussion: for it could not be satisfactorily conducted, unless we had far more leisure and more space at our disposal. Such a discussion moreover would oblige us to consider with some care various matters of dogma,—concerning the Hypostatic Union, the Sacred Humanity, the mutual relations of Christ's two Natures,—which imperatively claim a separate treatment. No solid result could be obtained, by thrusting incidental remarks on them into the midst of an article, which is occupied with matters entirely heterogeneous.

Nor is there any practical reason whatever for our here attempting such an inquiry. Mr. Renouf himself hardly enters at all into the theology of the controversy, but contents himself for the most part with peremptory assertions. "Modern theologians betray an utter ignorance of the real nature of the controversy" (p. 14). "Nothing can be more grossly untrue than the assertion that Honorius was misled by Sergius" (ib.). "His own letters are the best proof that he understood" "the question at issue" (p. 15), and held the Monothelite tenet. The author states peremptorily (p. 18) that those propositions of Honorius, which that Pontiff's advocates allege as inconsistent with Monothelism, are not really inconsistent with it; but he does not state what those propositions are, or how reconcilable with the heretical tenet. We will defer therefore the whole dogmatic question to a future number.

A distinct doctrinal inquiry however may be raised concerning Honorius, on which a few words will be in place. However firmly

he clung to the orthodox dogma at issue—did he not hold that the phrase "two operations" is an unsuitable phrase for its *expression*? That he did not teach this opinion ex cathedrâ we have shown most abundantly; but did he not *hold* it? We are not very clear, but we think not. He undoubtedly held that, under existing circumstances, the use of this phrase was most inexpedient. But we really see no proof that he even asked himself the question, whether *in itself* the expression were or were not inappropriate. He left the matter for "grammarians" to decide. He looked into the details of the controversy most superficially, and he was profoundly mistaken on a most vital question of ecclesiastical prudence; but we know no evidence of his having held any positive *doctrinal* error whatever.

We will conclude our discussion on Honorius with three remarks:—

1. It is very suitable that a Pontiff after his death should be censured for gross neglect of his primary duties. As we argued last October (p. 299), "many holy Popes have been canonized, as for other reasons, so also because of the unwearied assiduity with which they have guarded purity of Faith. It is no derogation then from the Papal office, that a Pope shall be honoured after his death by the Church, for his especial diligence in defending the Faith. Neither therefore is it a derogation from his office, that he shall be *anathematized* after his death for his signal *neglect* in the performance of that duty."

2. Moreover, Honorius's condemnation places in emphatic light the difference *in kind* between the Pope and any other bishop, as regards their respective offices in guarding the Deposit. Here is a bishop anathematized for no other offence, than that of having failed to repress heresy with sufficient activity, in a place removed thousands of miles from his own diocese. To no other bishop in Christendom, except the Roman, would any historiandream of alleging that this could by possibility occur.

3. The narrative which we have been considering, is by far the most plausible historical objection against Ultramontanism which has yet been raised; and so evidently thinks Mr. Renouf, by the prominence he has given to it. Yet when you look closely at the circumstances, how completely every difficulty disappears!

If we consulted the rhetorical effect of our article, we should here conclude; having, we trust, successfully dealt with Mr. Renouf's "cheval de bataille." His pamphlet did not appear till towards the end of May; and it will be easily understood therefore, that no time is left us to write in detail on the other matters which he has superficially touched. Our comments then on these points must inevitably be brief and fragmentary, and the result

must be an anti-climax. Still certain of his readers will probably be so taken in by his arrogant tone, as to fancy him an authority; and it is a duty of charity to do what we can towards relieving such timid spirits from their wholly unnecessary alarm. Nothing indeed can be feebler and more desultory than his remarks. He makes no attempt whatever, either to state and defend any theory of his own, or to meet the arguments which Ultramontanes have drawn out for theirs: he does but put together, without order or arrangement, a few miscellaneous facts, which present a superficial appearance of difficulty. As there is no connection of argument in his pages, we will encounter his little pellets as nearly as we can in the order in which he flings them. We will begin, therefore with pp. 25–6.

The author's argument in these two pages only shows the extraordinary credulity often manifested by those who are pre-committed to a theory. The question, whether marriage of baptized persons can be dissolved for the reason to which Mr. Renouf refers, must have been one of the most every-day occurrence in practice. To suppose that a Pope could answer it wrongly—putting aside all reference to supernatural protection—would be like supposing that an English judge is ignorant of the statutable penalties for burglary or arson. It so happens, however, that S. Gregory II.'s answer is extant, and not S. Boniface's letter; and no one therefore can now be certain to what particular case the former refers. Different suggestions have been made, but there is no reason for troubling our readers with them. (See e.g. Canus de Locis, l. 6 c. 8 ad 8.)

We will next consider, with equal brevity, the course of our author's statements from p. 27 to p. 38. Certain Catholics "look forward to the day in which" Pontifical infallibility "shall be defined as an article of faith." "If their hopes are well founded, it is high time that Catholic theologians should get rid of the old maxim about 'quod semper, quod ubique, quod ab omnibus,' as a test of Catholic doctrine" (p. 28).

Now we will not here consider what is the sense, and what the authority, of Vincent's famous dictum. *Mr. Renouf* at all events means to say, that no dogma can have been taught by the Apostles, unless it has been faithfully and consistently believed in every portion of the Church from that day to this. If he means less than this, he has merely put together words without any argument whatever; but if he means so much as this, such an opinion is at once fatal to his reputation as a theologian. We will not waste words on so clear a matter. Take any theological treatise you please—de Deo, de Trinitate, de Incarnatione, de Gratiâ—how many verities have been from time to time defined as of faith, which have by no means (before their definition) been clearly appre-

hended in this or that time and place! Mr. Renouf will admit that the Immaculate Conception was taught by the Apostles: but he will not have the courage to maintain that, before its definition, it had been consistently held "semper, ubique, et ab omnibus." That dogma has now been defined. But putting aside the fact of its definition, we venture to say that, as regards the evidence of its Apostolicity, it stands at a disadvantage in comparison with the dogma of Papal infallibility. We venture to say that there is both much more abundant and much more explicit scriptural and traditional evidence for the Apostles having taught Papal infallibility, than for their having taught the Immaculate Conception.

Mr. Renouf argues that the Apostles cannot have taught this dogma, because in subsequent ages some Catholics have not held it, and others have not clearly apprehended it in its practical applications. We ask him this simple question: Can he name *any consistent doctrine whatever* on the Church's constitution—Ultramontane, Gallican, or any other—which *has* been explicitly and fully apprehended by Catholics of every time and place? Of course he can do nothing of the kind. If he would be consistent, then, he must say, that Christ founded indeed a Church; but that He did not reveal to His Apostles any consistent doctrine whatever, on the *constitution* of that Church.

Ultramontanes allege, in the first place, that this dogma has been most faithfully retained from Apostolic times in that Church (the Roman) which it most immediately concerns. Our author admits (p. 27) that "the Popes for a long time have claimed the privilege of infallibility." Can he point to any one period when they did *not* claim it?

Ultramontanes maintain, in the second place, that Catholics, from the first, have held unanimously certain doctrines, which lead by necessary consequence to the full Ultramontane thesis. We enumerated a sufficient number of these in July, 1867 (p. 33). There is not one syllable in the pamphlet before us which tends to show, either that Catholics have *not* been unanimous in holding these doctrines, or that these doctrines do *not* lead by necessary consequence to the full Ultramontane thesis. His facts in pp. 28-9 do not tend to prove more than we have ourselves often admitted: viz., that occasionally other Catholics have been far less clear-sighted than the Pope himself, in apprehending the full issue of their doctrines; in recognizing the true extent and legitimate application of Pontifical prerogative.

From considering our author's general statements, we now come to notice his various incidental assertions.

1. He alleges (p. 31) that "the idea of Papal infallibility was not consistently developed before the sixteenth century." If he means that this dogma was not explicitly known from the Apostolic

age downwards, we entirely dissent from him. Roman Pontiffs from the very first have exhibited a profound consciousness, that God gives them the right of requiring the interior assent of Catholics to every proposition, which they may regard as either an integral portion of the Deposit, or as necessary for the due maintenance of that Deposit. But if the author merely means that this dogma was not, before the sixteenth century, unfolded in all its details, applications, and consequences, we think he has stated much less than the truth. At this moment there are several relevant questions, very far from unimportant, which have received no definitive answer. We need look no further for a few instances, than to Dr. Ward's "Brief Summary," p. 19. But the whole course of his controversy with F. Ryder has afforded one continued illustration of the fact.

2. Mr. Renouf urges (ib.) that the distinction between what a Pope *holds* and what he *teaches ex cathedrâ* "was never heard of" before the sixteenth century. It is simply impossible that he can accept his own proposition. He admits (p. 27) that "the Popes have for a long time claimed the privilege of infallibility"; and he must assuredly assign the beginning of that claim to a far earlier century than the sixteenth. Does he mean that, before the sixteenth century, a Pope regarded all Catholics as bound to accept every religious opinion which he might hold himself? Or again, suppose some Pope to write a theological treatise: does Mr. Renouf mean that such a Pope regarded all Catholics as bound to accept every proposition contained in that treatise? To mention one out of a thousand instances, was it *after the sixteenth century* that John XXII. emphatically disavowed all intention of imposing ex cathedrâ his own personal opinion, concerning the Beatific Vision? No wonder that a writer, who can think after this incredibly loose and inaccurate fashion, should fall into serious mistakes.

3 "Throughout the middle ages," says the author (p. 31), "it was never doubted that a Pope might... become a heretic or schismatic, mad or imbecile;" and he implies by his context that this is inconsistent with the doctrine now advocated by Ultramontanes. Now no fairer specimen can be found of a modern Ultramontane, than Dr. Murray, of Maynooth. Dr. Murray refers to the possibility of some Pope being a formal heretic, and also of some Pope becoming afflicted with insanity; nor does he allege the existence of a Divine *promise* against either calamity. Without entering further on the question of insanity, we will give his view on the more important issue. (See d. 20, n. 108). Can the Pontiff, he asks, become a formal heretic? Bannez, Valentia, and Laymann answer in the affirmative; Tanner and Viva think the thing uncertain; Bellarmine and Wiggers account it probable—Suarez even more probable—that God will *not* permit this. He cites no one theologian who considers it *certain* that some Pope may not be a formal

heretic; but he adds most reasonably, that the fact of no such circumstance having occurred for so many centuries, affords much increased probability to the more favourable opinion. Dr. Murray adds, as a truth admitted by *all*, that the Pope may fall *materially* into dogmatical error, and even into heresy.

However let us suppose, for argument's sake, that Mr. Renouf's allegation were true. On such an hypothesis, in addition to the Ultramontane doctrine itself,—viz. that the Pope is infallible ex cathedrâ,—modern Ultramontanes have added another tenet altogether distinct; viz., that no Pope can fall into formal heresy. For *this* tenet doubtless they can claim no support from mediæval theologians: but how can such a circumstance affect in the slightest degree the value of mediæval testimony to the *Ultramontane doctrine itself?* It would have been very strange if any mediæval theologians *had* held the opinion that no Pope can fall into heresy; considering that, as Mr. Renouf himself informs us (p. 43), S. Liberius was called a heretic in the Roman Breviary, and his fall "was accepted as one of the simply indisputable facts of Church history." On the other hand, as critical and historical studies have advanced, it has become more and more evident that *in fact* no Pope has ever become a formal heretic; and in consequence the pious hope and opinion has largely and increasingly spread, that God will always preserve the Church from such a calamity.

4. Since the mediævals considered it a certain fact that a Pope could fall into heresy, the question had to be faced, what would *result* from such a phenomenon. By far the commoner opinion seems to have been, as Mr. Renouf points out (pp. 34–37), that he would cease to be "Pope by ceasing to be a Catholic." For ourselves, while counting it indefinitely more probable that God will never permit such a calamity, we incline with diffidence to the mediæval opinion; we incline to think that "by the very fact through which he falls from the Faith of Peter, he" would "fall from the Chair and See of Peter" (p. 33).

5. But here ensues a difficulty, to which our author draws attention. A Pope may—by hypothesis—profess formal heresy; and yet that profession may be generally unknown. He has ceased then to be really Pope, and yet is universally regarded as Pope. Mr. Renouf writes as though this difficulty were confined to the particular case of a Pope secretly professing heresy; whereas his own authority, Turrecremata, might have reminded him (p. 37) that it applies with even greater force to other cases also. Lord Macaulay somewhere supposes that, at a time when hordes of barbarians were baptized en masse, some ten or twenty may have accidentally missed valid baptism. One of these afterwards undergoes the form of ordination and consecration, and is accounted a bishop; in

due time he is appointed to the Pontificate. He is no real Pope, yet every one so accounts him. Even *more* plausible difficulties are often pressed by Protestants, as arising from the Catholic doctrine concerning sacramental *intention*. All these perplexities however are really quite groundless, except on one most strange supposition; except on the supposition that God, having founded the Church, ceases thenceforth to protect and watch over her. Divine Providence, as Turrecremata says (Renouf, p. 37), will protect her against all such evils.

Turrecremata's doctrine has been carried by later theologians to its legitimate results. Divine Providence, he says, will protect the Church against any evil results which might ensue to the Church, from an unavoidable mistake of some seeming Pope for a true one. But if the false Pope proceeded to put forth doctrinal determinations quasi ex cathedrâ, most serious evil *would* accrue to the Church. It is the explicit doctrine therefore of later theologians, that so soon as a Pope, recognized as such by the Universal Church, has put forth any doctrinal determination, he is infallibly the true Pope. Even F. Ryder (Letter, p. 9) considers that this proposition is *de fide*. Whenever therefore any universally recognized Pope puts forth any doctrinal determination, it is infallibly certain that he is not unbaptized, nor otherwise disqualified for the Pontificate.

6. But lastly, urges our author—and this on the surface is his strongest point—mediæval theologians considered that such a seeming Pope may take advantage of his position, by inculcating heresy on the Church. Both Turrecremata and Ockham (pp. 33-35)—the former of whom denounced the latter "with execration"—yet agree in this opinion. A seeming Pope, according to them, may solemnly "define" "an error against the Faith," and "assert that it is to be held by Christians as Catholic."

Now in the first place, *of course* they held this opinion; for every one thought at that time that S. Liberius had acted in this very way.

Then, secondly, Mr. Renouf is quite mistaken in supposing that such an opinion has been unheard of since the Reformation. There have been few more eminent post-Tridentine Ultramontanes than Valentia; who expressly quotes Turrecremata's opinion, and pronounces it "not entirely improbable" ("De Objecto Fidei," p. 7, q. 6).

Nor, thirdly, can the author say that later Ultramontanes have endeavoured to conceal the fact of this opinion having once existed. That admirable journal, the "Katholik," of Mayence, has entered fully on the subject within the last ten years.

We are not ourselves prepared to concur with this opinion; but

when it is fully and fairly stated, there is no difficulty in seeing how Ultramontanes may have held it. We cannot explain it better than by putting an imaginary case. Ultramontanes maintain, that the one way assigned by God to Christians for their learning orthodox doctrine, is a docile submission of intellect to whatever the Supreme Pontiff teaches ex cathedrâ. Suppose then Honorius had really taught ex cathedrâ that in Christ there is but one operation and one will. In such a case, all Christians would be required by Ultramontane doctrine to hold this tenet; and so on the Ultramontane hypothesis God would guarantee error as truth. Consequently (as we have so often observed) Ultramontane doctrine would at once be refuted, if any one could show that Honorius taught Monothelism ex cathedrâ. But now change the supposition. Time goes on: S. Leo II. confirms the Sixth Council, and Monothelism is definitively condemned. Suppose some *subsequent* occupier of S. Peter's chair were to declare that in Christ there is but one will, and were to exclude from his communion those who think otherwise. This would be no *doctrinal determination,* but an *heretical professsion.* The Church has already definitively declared that in Christ there are two wills; and he who publicly denies that dogma, avows himself a heretic. Turrecremata and other mediæval theologians thought that God might permit this; because (as is evident) no perplexity or uncertainty could thence accrue to the Catholic's faith. To use their own language—the seeming Pope is no longer a "shepherd," but stands confessed "a wolf." And so Valentia explains Turrecremata's doctrine. "Grave authors admit [that a seeming Pope] may desire to obtrude on others his private heresy, which is notoriously such." "Nor would this," he adds, "involve danger to the Church. For she, knowing that through manifest heresy such a Pontiff has fallen from his authority and is teaching contrarily to the Church's notorious Faith, would be bound to flee from him."

This whole line of thought, as we have already explained, is entirely alien to the spirit of later Ultramontane theologians; because as sound criticism has advanced, the opinion has most widely prevailed among them, that God will never *in fact* permit a Pope to fall into formal heresy.

7. The case of S. Liberius is now clear enough. For ourselves we are quite convinced that the whole history of his fall is simply fabulous. Mr. Renouf refuses indeed even to *consider* the reasoning of F. Stilting the Bollandist, on which Zaccaria, Palma, and others have founded their conclusion; and in order to defend his refusal, has enunciated one of the oddest controversial canons we ever heard of. No Catholic, it seems, has a right to

expect that other Catholics shall even listen to him, till he has first converted some Protestant or some Jew.*

However we cannot here embark on this historical inquiry; and our general observations must be very brief. Let us suppose, indeed, that some new question had arisen connected with Arianism, and that Liberius had decided that question ex cathedrâ in a sense rejected by later Pontiffs. Such a fact undoubtedly would at once overthrow the Ultramontane theory. But then Mr. Renouf does not even allege any fact of the kind.

The alternative is very simple. At the commencement of Liberius's reign, every Catholic well knew that the Nicene Creed is an infallible Rule of Faith, and that he who rejects that Rule is a heretic. If Liberius did *not* profess rejection of that Rule, Mr. Renouf's facts are, as we believe them, mistaken from first to last; if Liberius *did* profess its rejection, he professed notorious heresy, and became a "lupus fugiendus." The only inference, deducible from such a circumstance, would be an establishment of Turrecremata's and Valentia's above mentioned doctrine.

In our next number, however, we hope to consider the Liberius question at greater length.

Although we think so meanly of this pamphlet, we are by no means sorry that it has appeared. For several years an impression has widely prevailed among Catholics, that controversy on the doctrine of infallibility is practically at an end; that Gallicanism is virtually extinct, and that no other question on the subject remains to be discussed. But recently in Germany, and now in England, arguments against Papal infallibility are again pressed energetically by certain Catholics; and this fact will necessarily disturb the "status quo." We augur nothing but good to the cause of truth from this agitation. We have no doubt indeed, that far abler assaults than Mr. Renouf's will be directed against Ultramontanism; assaults proceeding from thinkers, who at least understand what the doctrine *is* which they assail. But then equal activity will be displayed by learned Catholics on the other side; and the anti-Papal cause is so thoroughly rotten, that no amount of learning and ingenuity can permanently keep it together. Meanwhile this great advantage will accrue from the discussion being reopened, that the "subject" of infallibility will be considered in close connection with the "object" thereof; that theologians will not content themselves with asking "*with whom*

* "It will be time to consider his arguments, when they have convinced a single impartial Protestant like Gieseler or Neander, or a learned Jew like the editor of the 'Regesta'" (p. 45, note).

resides the gift of infallibility," but will consider the further question "*over how large a body of truth* that gift extends."

Such writers as Orsi, Ballerini, Muzzarelli, Cappellari, have conferred great and imperishable services on the Church; and yet it must be confessed that they have occasionally fallen into much inaccuracy of language,—that they have spoken inconsistently with each other, nay with themselves—from not having thoroughly and methodically considered the *extent* of infallibility. We are very confident that Catholic theologians of the present day, when they are obliged to treat the question at all, will treat it as a whole. They will carefully and profoundly examine such questions as the following: the precise relation of infallibility to the Deposit; the bearing and the limits of infallibility over ground primarily secular; the tests of an ex cathedrâ Act; the authority of doctrinal Apostolic Letters, whether addressed to the whole Church or to individuals; and a multitude of others. They will not be content till they have drawn out some full and satisfying exposition, which shall be in profound agreement with the testimony of Scripture and Tradition; which shall harmonize the facts of the past both with each other and with the facts of the present; which shall be explicitly contradictory, not only of Gallicanism on one hand, but (what under present circumstances is a far more dangerous and insidious enemy) of minimism also on the other.

Notices of Books.

The Supreme Authority of the Pope. By the Rev. Father BOTTALLA, S. J., Dogmatical Professor in S. Beuno's College.

WE have to thank F. Bottalla for sending us the proof-sheets of his work; which have arrived just as we were making up for press. The work itself will appear, we suppose, pretty nearly at the same time as our present number. We hope to notice it in October with a care proportional to its importance; at the moment we can only give a most general account of its contents.

Its purpose is, not to reproduce in a different shape the labours of former theologians (p. 2), but to meet the various points raised by Dr. Pusey in his "Eirenicon" and by other Anglicans: and it is thus in some sort a sequel to F. Harper's admirable volume, "Peace through the Truth." F. Bottalla (p. 3) reserves to a future work the Pope's "*infallibility*, with reference to its foundations, extension, and consequences": and here treats only the Pope's *supremacy*.

From first to last the author's argument is most conclusive. In the cursory reading, for which alone we have yet had time, the points which have particularly struck us are—his argument in p. 32 (which we have nowhere seen before) against the Protestant interpretation of "super hanc petram";—his treatment of S. Cyprian;—his discussion on the 28th canon of Chalcedon;—and his exposition of S. Gregory's drift in regard to the term "Universal Bishop."

A Sermon. By HENRY EDWARD, Archbishop of Westminster. With Speeches and Letters by the Clergy and Laity on our Duty to the Heathen. London: Burns, Oates, and Co., Portman Street.

THIS valuable little Pamphlet is a collection of different important testimonies to the greatness and necessity of the work of establishing a College in England specially devoted to the work of Foreign Missions. The collection has been most effectively and judiciously made; opening with the beautiful and appropriate sermon preached by his Grace the Archbishop at the opening of the little church of the Foreign Missionary College on S. Joseph's Day. Then follows a full and most correct report of the meeting at S. James's Hall; and deeply as we were interested in attending what was among the most successful Catholic meetings of our times, it was with fresh pleasure that we read this excellent reproduction of the numerous and inte-

resting speeches there delivered. That of the Archbishop, as usual, shines with the greatest brilliancy; and it is succeeded by the very interesting account given by Father Vaughan himself of his generous reception in America. Among the admirable speeches that follow, it would be difficult to select any deserving especial pre-eminence; all agree in pronouncing an English Foreign Missionary College one of the most important works of the day, and many of them contain very interesting anecdotes apropos of the subject in hand.

If we needed any further evidence of the complete ecclesiastical approbation and authorization enjoyed by Father Vaughan's work than that afforded by the presence of nearly the whole of our English hierarchy at this meeting, it would be obtained by the signal encouragement of the Holy Father, and cordial sympathy of the English Bishops, expressed in the letters, &c., which complete the pamphlet. Indeed to read this little book is to be convinced of the prominent, not to say primary, importance of Father Vaughan's work, among the different and numerous charities of the day.

Catholic University Education in Ireland. By the Very Rev. BARTH WOODLOCK, D.D. Dublin: Fowler.

IN July, 1866 (p. 98), we pointed out that the scheme of Catholic education, at that time favoured by the Irish bishops, was "avowedly a compromise." "The Irish bishops," we added, "have abandoned what they think a higher ideal—viz., a chartered Catholic University—for what under present circumstances they hold to be more attainable, or more desirable, or both. Considering that they act in fullest communication with Rome, and considering also the various conditions of the problem, we quite believe that in this they judge correctly. Still it is imaginable that a good Catholic may think otherwise; though of course, now that the bishops have determined their course, he would not dream of publicly obtruding an opposite opinion."

It is most important however to point out, that the compromise, then accepted by the Irish bishops, was a plan essentially different in kind from that of a Catholic College at Oxford, which was considered by the English bishops and by Propaganda in the winter of 1864–5. Catholic youths at Oxford would have lived in the midst of Protestants, exposed to all the debasing influences of a Protestant University, and on terms of unavoidable intimacy with Protestant associates. The Irish bishops could never have regarded such a scheme with less unreserved disapproval than did their English brethren. The plan to which they assented, proposed that Catholics should have no local connection whatever with a mixed University; nor any connection of any kind, beyond that of their being examined for University degrees by a University board, on subjects and on books determined by the University.

We rejoice however to infer from the pamphlet before us, that the Irish bishops now consider themselves warranted in aiming at the highest ideal, and that

they have abandoned all idea of surrendering a Catholic University. Dr. Woodlock argues very ably, that a distinct Catholic University is indefinitely better suited than a mere College to promote the Catholic's highest "religious and educational interests." It is impossible, within the limits of a notice, to argue so very wide a question: though it is a question, as we think, on which (assuming Catholic principles) all the argument is exclusively on one side. We can here only give one or two references to the author's unanswerable reasoning.

We are very glad to observe the frankness with which he condemns (p. 4) those Catholic members, who supported Mr. Fawcett's plan of unProtestantizing Trinity College. And we hail with particular pleasure his admirably expressed opinion (p. 5) that "the Chapel of Trinity College, although not sanctified by the Sacramental Presence, ... is still the representative of a holy idea: it announces to the Protestant youth who crosses the threshold of that University, that learning, to be fruitful of good, must be based upon religion; must cluster round it; must not grovel on earth, but must look up to heaven."

Our author's main argument is the very obvious one that, according to the College scheme, it would be the mixed University which would prescribe the curriculum of studies. "A mixed senate would be put at the head of the education of our Catholic country" (p. 10). "History, mental philosophy, ethics, political economy, many other" studies (ib.) come into contact with Catholic doctrine at every turn. It is in fact hardly an exaggeration to say, that they are essentially different studies, as pursued respectively by a consistent and loyal Catholic on one hand, and by a non-Catholic on the other. The guardians of the Faith cannot but see the gravest evils in any project, which should permit the final voice in the direction of such studies to rest with any other authority than their own.

But there is another study even more important than these, on which we are somewhat surprised that Dr. Woodlock does not enlarge: we mean the study of Catholic doctrine. In October, 1864, when discussing the parallel question of English Catholic University Education, we expressed in some little detail (pp. 376-382) our own humble views, on the great importance or rather necessity of this study, with a view to the higher ends of Catholic lay education. Doubtless it could be well *taught* in a Catholic College, affiliated to a mixed University; but would it be well *learned* there? We confidently answer in the negative. As we observed in the same article (p. 400), nothing which is prepared for a purely domestic and family examination, will impress and occupy the mind even commensurably with those studies, proficiency in which will be displayed before a University audience, stamped by University approval, and rewarded by University renown.

One objection is urged against denominational education, from its tendency to interfere with "unity of national feeling." We cannot but think that Dr. Woodlock, in arguing (p. 13) against this objection, has taken somewhat too low ground. Of course there could be no greater blessing to Ireland than that "unity of national feeling," which would result from Protestants being converted to the truth. Of course also, even while they remain Pro-

testants, it is most desirable that there should be the smallest possible amount of mutual ill-feeling and animosity. But Catholics and Protestants differ from each other on matters, which are among the most important that can occupy the human intellect or influence the human character. Catholics and Protestants undoubtedly might unite on the basis of latitudinarianism; to Ireland's unspeakable evil both spiritual and temporal. But how *zealous* Catholics and *zealous* Protestants can possess "unity of feeling" with each other, it baffles us to conjecture. As we argued in that article to which we have already more than once referred (Oct. 1864, p. 381), an Irish Catholic has "a far closer corporate connection with a French or Italian Catholic than with an Irish Protestant; and if he be a loyal son of the Church, will have with him a far deeper and wider sympathy." And to our mind one especial benefit of denominational education will be, that it will impress far more vividly than any other on the mind of Catholic laymen this fundamental verity.

In conclusion, we hope all our readers will peruse this effective pamphlet on the most vital question of the day.

Studien über die Honorius-Frage. Von. G. SCHNEEMANN, S.J. Freiburg, 1864.

IT has fallen to the lot of Honorius's memory to be the battle-ground of successive theological controversies. The Gallicans, for the most part, made his alleged heretical teaching and condemnation one of the chief keys of their position; the Jansenists defended his orthodoxy, because they desired to draw from the Acts of the Sixth General Council a conclusive argument against the Church's infallibility on dogmatic facts; and lately we have seen his name brought forward in the cause of minimism. From the sixteenth century until the French Revolution the dispute raged continuously, but especially for the 130 years following the commencement of the Jansenist struggle. During this period, as Döllinger says, nearly every theologian of name entered the lists, and more was written on this than on any other single question of the ecclesiastical history of 1,500 years. The Revolution, however, was only a temporary interruption to the strife. Döllinger, in his "Papst-fabeln," published in 1863, went out of his way to drag in the subject, and to revive within the Church the opinion which, before the end of the seventeenth century, Garnier was able to say was "held by few, and those either of suspected faith on other grounds, or of no great authority" (Append. ad not. Lib. Diurn)—viz., that the Letters of Honorius contain the Monothelite heresy, and that he was condemned as a heretic. This attack of Döllinger drew forth a reply the following year—the excellent tractate of Father Schneemann, to which it is the object of this notice to draw attention. We are heartily glad to see that an English translation of it is advertised. It is the more needed now, since an attempt has quite recently been made by an English witer to use the commonplaces of the

controversy against the Ultramontane doctrine. Of Mr. Renouf's pamphlet we have spoken in a separate article.

Father Schneemann's "Studien" are divided into four parts. In the first, entitled "The Pontificate of Honorius I.," fifteen pages are devoted to a sketch of his reign; which has a special interest for English Catholics, as Honorius was a disciple of S. Gregory the Great, for whose memory he had a tender affection, and, like his master, laboured with zeal and success for the conversion of our forefathers. It was he who sent S. Birinus to England, and through him turned back the tide of paganism which had swept away the work of S. Paulinus and S. Felix in the north and east of the country. The second part is called "The Judgment of Honorius," and is a history of the "great trial of his orthodoxy," F. Schneemann traces this through its three stages—the first shortly after the Pontiff's death, when he was defended by S. Maximus, the Abbot John, and Pope John IV.; the second, that of the Sixth General Council; and the third, the phase of the discussions of the last two centuries. Here our author shows the almost unanimous consensus of Catholic writers in favour of the orthodoxy of Honorius, and has occasion to pass some severe strictures on Dr. Döllinger for garbling and misrepresentation of authorities. This part occupies twelve pages. The third part is a masterly "Exegesis of the two Letters of Honorius," in twenty pages. This seems to us the best part of the pamphlet. Several pages of it are occupied with a very able examination into the patristic use of the words *οἰκονομία* and dispensatio, as applied to our Lord's Incarnation; a question which has an important bearing on the orthodoxy of the two letters. The fourth and last division is on the "Meaning of the Anathema pronounced against Honorius." This is the most difficult portion of the subject, as Father Schneemann himself admits; and we could have wished that he had treated it with greater length and fulness. It occupies only six pages of the whole pamphlet. Father Schneemann adopts, with the majority of Ultramontane writers, the explanation of Garnier. "It is certain," he says, "that the decisions of a General Council are only valid so far as they are approved by the Pope. The Sixth Council acknowledged this by requesting of Agatho the approbation of its decrees. We must accordingly see in what way Leo II. pronounced the anathema against Honorius. Döllinger answers this question thus in his 'Lehrbuch' (i. 173): "Leo places the error of Honorius in this, that by his negligence he promoted heresy, and suffered the Church to be contaminated by it.'" F. Schneemann then goes on to show by passages from S. Leo's Letters, that such was undoubtedly his meaning in condemning Honorius.

To those who have not time or opportunity to study for themselves the voluminous literature of the subject, we would strongly recommend Father Schneemann's pamphlet; as supplying, in a short and interesting way, a fair acquaintance with a controversy, which promises still to be, as it so long has been, one of the most keenly debated in all ecclesiastical history.

Die Encyclica Papst Pius IX., vom 8 Dezember, 1864: Stimmen aus Maria Laach. Freiburg, 1865—1868.

WE noticed in our July number a pamphlet by Father Florian Riess, S.J., on the obligation imposed by the Encyclical and Syllabus of 1864. It was published as the introduction to a series of pamphlets, under the general title which is placed at the head of the present notice, treating of the various errors condemned in the Syllabus. We have now before us ten of the series, to which two more are yet to be added. Although popular tracts, in the sense that they can be read by those who have no previous acquaintance with theology, they show a thorough and scholarly grasp of the subjects which the writers have undertaken; and as a proof of the care with which they have been written, we find it mentioned in the introduction to one of them that the author has read more than one work right through in order to ascertain with precision the sense of a single proposition ("Kirchliche Lehrgewalt," p. 13). That the series has answered to a want in Germany, and that it is appreciated, we judge from the fact that most of the numbers have already gone to a second edition, and one to a third.

After Father Riess's introductory number, appeared "The Fundamental Errors of our Time," by Father Roh, briefly explaining the condemnation of the errors comprised in the Syllabus under the heads of Pantheism, Naturalism, Rationalism, Indifferentism, and Latitudinarianism. This was followed by "The Errors on the Subject of Marriage," from the pen of Father Schneemann, which soon reached a second edition. The fourth number was "The Pope and the States of the Church," an excellent defence of the civil princedom of the Holy See, by Father Rattinger. The fifth is entitled "Modern Heresies, or Liberalism and its Ramifications in the Light of Revelation," in which Father Riess shows the thoroughly Antinomian character of consistant Liberalism. The three following numbers are by Father Schneemann; and bear the titles of "The Freedom and Independence of the Church," "The Power of the Church and its Holders," and "The Pope, the Head of the whole Church." In the first the author shows that the Church, according to the will of her Divine Founder, is (*a*) a true society, (*b*) a perfect society, (*c*) an entirely free society, and (*d*) endowed with the right of acquiring and possessing property.

In the second he treats of (*a*) the power of the Church over her members in general, (*b*) her judicial power, (*c*) her power in temporal things, (*d*) the holders of the Church power—the clergy, (*e*) the immunity of the clergy, and (*f*) the episcopate. Father Schneemann approaches the subject of the Church's indirect temporal power by remarking that few questions are beset by such violent prejudices, even amongst Catholics; a circumstance which he attributes to the strange fact that "so many are better instructed in every other subject than in their religion and whatever has to do with its history." He then introduces his argument by the admissions of Protestant writers.

"To shame them, and to dissipate their prejudices, it will be of use to quote the expressions of some non-Catholic philosophers on this indirect temporal power. Let us listen, in the first place, to the celebrated Leibnitz.

'The arguments of Bellarmine, who sets out with the supposition that the Popes possess at least a mediate power over temporal things, have seemed not inconsiderable even to Hobbes. It is certain, indeed, that he who has received from God full power to carry out the work of the salvation of souls, must also hold the power to put down the ambition and tyranny of the great, which drive such a multitude of souls to perdition.' The Protestant philosopher then adds, 'No one, at least among Catholics, can doubt that such a power belongs to the Universal Church, to which consciences are subject.' Mendelssohn, a Jew by extraction, speaks just as distinctly: 'The State and the Church—the charge of temporal things, the charge of eternal things—civil and ecclesiastical authority,—the former holds the same relation to the latter as the importance of temporal interests does to that of eternal interests; the State is therefore subordinate to the Church, and must give way if a collision should occur. Let him who is able resist Cardinal Bellarmine with the tremendous sequence of his arguments, that the head of the Church on behalf of eternal interests, is set over temporals also, and can therefore, at least indirectly, exercise a high jurisdiction over them.' 'Men speak against the Pope,' says the Protestant historian Johann Von Müller, 'as though it would be a great misfortune if some authority of the ecclesiastical moral law were able to command the ambition and tyranny of princes, Thus far and no further."

Father Schneemann's treatise on "The Pope as Head of the Church," is the eighth of the series. The tractarian and ritualistic controversies have given a special interest to the treatment of the supremacy of the Holy See amongst us. Much has been written on it in England; but it would be difficult to find, on the historical evidences, anything so complete as Father Schneemann's pamphlet within the compass of 148 octavo pages, and with the character of a popular treatise. Besides the positive evidences, he deals with the principal historical objections; such as the resistance of S. Cyprian, the case of Apiarius and the African Bishops, the Greek schism, &c. There is also a very able introduction, on the reasons for the less prominent appearance of the Papal power in the early history of the Church than in later times.

Father Meyer next deals, in a treatise called "The Principles of Morality and Right," with the errors condemned in the Syllabus, under the head of "Errors on Natural and Christian Ethics," including the modern principles of "accomplished facts,"—"non-intervention,"—the right of overthrowing governments, &c., and is then followed once more by the indefatigable Father Schneemann, whose pamphlet, entitled "The Teaching Power of the Church," is perhaps the most important part of the series. Of the five chapters into which it is divided, the third and fourth are on "The Church's Teaching Power," and the "Infallibility of the Pope and of General Councils." A few extracts will show how completely Father Schneemann's doctrine is in accord with the principles which have been so earnestly maintained in this REVIEW.

After ably demonstrating the infallibility of the Church, not only in dogma properly so called, but also in dogmatic facts (pp. 60-68),—he asks, "Is the Church's teaching office limited to the definition of dogma and dogmatic facts?" Here he makes a very complimentary reference to Dr. Ward's "Authority of Doctrinal Decisions" and other writings on the sub-

ject, and to Father Knox's "When does the Church speak infallibly?" but curiously supposes the controversy to have been imported into England from Germany. This is F. Schneemann's answer to the question. Speaking of the Bull "Unigenitus," he says:—

We have, accordingly, in the Bull "Unigenitus," a dogmatic decision of the whole Catholic Church, in virtue of which, under pain of the severest ecclesiastical censures, nay—under pain of refusal of absolution, even at the hour of death, unconditional assent is required, not only to dogmata in the strict sense of the word, but also to other truths, which are merely connected with dogmata. The Church, therefore, lays claim to infallibility in this point also, a claim which we must admit *if we would remain Catholics.* Let it be remarked, however, that with regard to such decisions the Church does not require an act of divine faith, which she claims only for dogmata—truths which are contained in Revelation—it suffices that we submit our judgment to that of the Church, *as to an infallible judgment* (p. 77).

. . . . . .

"The theologian may easily go astray in the obscurity of the objects of Faith, and this cannot be otherwise than unwholesome, pernicious. For even should such false systems not by open heresy immediately contradict the Faith, but only in their distant consequences, still they are always hostile to it." This the author illustrates from the instance of lines which are not quite parallel; and must therefore, in their more or less distant prolongation intersect; or of some organic disease trifling in itself, but which must sooner or later cause death. He then acknowledges how often it happens that the evil consequences lie hidden, and the mischievous doctrine is held by those who "would a thousand times rather give up their opinion than the Faith with which it is in contradiction;" and continues, "This disposition the Church respects, and therefore uses the power of which we are here treating with the greatest considerateness and moderation. But experience shows also how easily scientific men become entangled in certain views, pet ideas and systems, and how hard it is for them to extricate themselves from them. If we add their natural dislike to withdraw a theory once put forth, to acknowledge their error, and also vanity, and the spirit of contradiction,—perhaps also the external influence of evil-minded men, eager to urge and goad them into opposition to the Church's decisions, it is easy to understand that Faith does not always come off victorious in the conflict of views, but in innumerable cases succumbs. If, then, the Church is to guard against this danger, she must be able to condemn, not only heresies immediately contrary to the Faith, but also those doctrines which in their consequences injure faith or morals; and that all the more because such doctrines are often more alluring than open heresies. The consequences of a false system are not clear to all, and do not therefore cause alarm, whilst the glitter of science which, perhaps, surrounds it, the authority of the man who has built it up, the enthusiastic reception which, perhaps, it has met with, mislead the unsuspicious" (p. 71).

The author argues the infallibility of the Church in her minor censures, as we have so often done, from the decree of the Council of Constance and the "Unigenitus" of Clement XI.

The question of Gallicanism is one which has been little handled in this REVIEW in recent years, because it seemed happily to be foreign to our present needs;—as we have had occasion, however, to enter upon the subject in an article of the present number, we will call special attention to its treatment in the "Stimmen aus Maria Laach." Father Schneemann devotes half

of his treatise (pp. 104–215) to the Infallibility of the Pope. We would especially draw Mr. Renouf's attention to his sketch of the history of Gallicanism (p. 118). Mr. Renouf states that the Ultramontane system was elaborated in the sixteenth century. Father Schneemann, on the other hand, writes as follows: "That the infallibility of the Pope was universally received in the Middle Ages, is testified by Tapper, a theologian of the Council of Trent, and Chancellor of the University of Louvain. Similar evidence is given by three other learned men, whom we may reckon without hesitation among the most thoroughly acquainted with mediæval theology. 'Before the Councils of Basle and Constance,' remarks Raynaldus, 'all theologians unanimously taught that Papal definitions made anything a fixed truth of faith.' So Bellarmine says that the doctrine that Papal decisions ex cathedrâ claim infallibility is the most common opinion of nearly all Catholics.' Bellarmine inserts the limitation 'nearly' because he includes the period subsequent to the Council of Constance, during which certainly some had taught the contrary."

Father Schneemann then quotes Thomassinus, who, after testifying to the clear tradition of all ages previous to the Council of Constance against the Gallicans, adds with regard to them, "They do not cease to be Catholics, because *their simplicity*" excuses them, &c. (p. 118). We may remark that Thomassinus is as well known for his moderation as for his learning.

"Pichler, the more than Gallican living historian of the Greek schism, says of Bellarmine, the well-known defender of Papal infallibility, that on the whole he only maintained the views of the great majority of the scholastics" (p. 119).

Gerson, the father of Gallicanism, speaking of what he considered the extreme views of the Pope's power, and especially "the proposition that the Pope could by himself alone compose a symbol of faith," adds, "this tradition had, before the celebration of this holy Council of Constance, so possessed the minds of the greater number (servants indeed of the letter, rather than of science) that any one who had taught the contrary *would have been condemned as a heretic.*"

F. Schneemann shows how Gallicanism first took its rise in the disorders of the Western schism,—how a complete reaction, setting in with the period of the Council of Trent, once more re-established the universal belief of the Pope's infallibility; and, coming to the middle of the seventeenth century, traces step by step first the threats of the Jansenists, by which they hoped to avert their condemnation, and then their successful attempt through the ministers Le Tellier, De Lyonne, and Colbert, who had the ear of the young Louis XIV., to enlist the whole political power of France, the king and the parliaments in a campaign against that doctrine, which they represented in such a way as to offend the pride of the one, and the semi-Calvinism dominant in the other. Then comes the long struggle of the Sorbonne against the Royal absolutism, and the famous declaration of 1682 (pp. 127, 138). F. Schneemann sets forth also the noble reparation of the France of the nineteenth century for the Gallican teaching of the eighteenth. Mr. Renouf has told the world that "all the learned priests he ever met, or

indeed heard of, were determined Gallicans." We refer him to pp. 138–151 of F. Schneemann for an answer. We cannot here give the numerous passages quoted by the learned Jesuit expressing the most unhesitating faith in the infallibility of the Holy See : we cannot even enumerate the Councils, Bishops, and writers from whom they are taken, ranging from the year 1849 to the present date ; but they include the Provincial Councils of Rheims, Tours, Avignon, Toulouse, Aix, Bordeaux, Alby, Lyons, Auch ; the second of Bordeaux, the second and third of Rheims, and a number of individual archbishops and bishops. After these come similar testimonies from provincial and plenary Councils of Germany, Italy, Spain, England, Ireland, and America.

We have noticed these pamphlets at some length,—not only because of their intrinsic value,—but also because it is important to show our complete union of doctrine and principle with the Catholic learning of other nations, and especially with the ever growing school of distinguished Ultramontane writers in Germany.

Postscriptum to Letter to W. G. Ward, Esq. By H. J. D. RYDER, of the Oratory. London : Longmans.

A Brief Summary of the recent Controversy on Infallibility: being a reply to the Rev. F. Ryder on his Postscript. By W. G. WARD, D.Ph. London : Burns & Oates.

THESE two pamphlets, we have reason to think, will terminate the passage at arms between F. Ryder and Dr. Ward ; though neither of the two combatants has convinced the other. In accordance with our practice on former occasions, we have appended Dr. Ward's concluding reply to our present number ; and in doing so we have corrected a little inadvertence, for which Dr. Ward has to apologize. At p. 6, as it originally stood, by an awkward use of quotation marks, the impression was conveyed that Dr. Ward was citing F. Ryder's *words*, where in fact he was only intending to express the drift of that writer's *argument*.

On reviewing the controversy, we must express our opinion that in one particular F. Ryder has rendered a lasting service to theology. We refer to the stress which he has laid throughout on the "pietas fidei ;" on the obligation under which Catholics lie of yielding a real interior assent—though of course not an absolute and unreserved assent—to many ecclesiastical declarations which are not strictly infallible. We had ourselves prominently advocated this view in our treatment of Galileo's case ; but it is to F. Ryder that Catholics are indebted, both for dwelling on the wide range of this "pietas fidei," and also for bringing into notice the phrase itself, which is excellent.

Nor has this been by any means a merely nominal concession on his part ; on the contrary, the view profoundly influences his whole ecclesiastical demeanour. It is this which separates him by so wide a gulf from such writers as those of the defunct "Chronicle" and "Home and Foreign Review."

His theory on the extent of infallibility, as far as we can make out, is not very unlike theirs; but he differs most widely from them in his attitude towards those pronouncements, which he does *not* consider infallible. He is as conspicuous throughout for his spirit of loyalty and docility, as they are for the very opposite qualities.

At the same time we are bound frankly to say—as we have said more than once during the controversy—that in our humble judgment there is a signal inconsistency between his *tone* and his *principles*. We cannot express too strongly our opinion, on the violently and fundamentally anti-Catholic character of *these;* or on the inevitableness and immediateness of that logical process, by which they would lead their consistent upholder to apostacy from the Faith. Dr. Ward mentions this in pp. 27, 8; while adding of course, how well he is aware that in F. Ryder's own case no such danger can practically exist.

In speaking thus severely of F. Ryder's principles, we are not guilty of vague and inarticulate invective. No one can have greater horror than we have of such a practice; no one can more heartily detest any habit of denouncing this or that view as anti-Catholic, without carefully explaining wherein precisely *consists* its antagonism to Catholicity. But in his last reply Dr. Ward has expressed with perfect distinctness five different opinions, which he ascribes to F. Ryder, and which he "alleges to be gravely censurable" (pp. 5–14); he explains (pp. 9, 10) quite clearly his reasons for thinking, that F. Ryder's "attitude towards" certain Pontifical Constitutions "is in itself mortally sinful;" he argues in detail (pp. 16, 17) for the charge that F. Ryder, by his view of the Syllabus, exhibits "in effect, though assuredly not in intention, grave disloyalty to the Teacher of all Christians."

Never, to our mind, were two opposite theological elements more singularly mixed than in F. Ryder; never was a *tone* so loyal united with *principles* so malignant. That in his case his *principles* do not really possess his mind—that it is his *tone* which truly represents *the man*—we have never had a moment's doubt from first to last. Our personal respect for him is most sincere and unqualified.

L'Irlande et l'Autriche: première partie. Par M. de Montalembert. *Correspondant*, May, 1868. Paris: Douniol.

WE shall attempt no appreciation of this remarkable paper, until we have the sequel in our hands; our concern here is exclusively with a paragraph in p. 587. M. de Montalembert thinks, we trust untruly, that certain English Catholics hold the following opinions:—They hold it "as *certain*," according to him, "that in our modern times the Church flourishes more, and gains more souls for heaven, in proportion as she has less contact with earthly governments." They hold that, "even *in countries entirely Catholic*, the temporal power does no good to the spiritual, and its action produces

nothing but scandals and weaknesses." They hold that "at Rome, *and only at Rome*, ought the union between Church and State to be maintained."

Now, in the year 1832 Pope Gregory XVI. addressed all Catholic bishops in the following terms, and the whole Episcopate accepted his instruction (we quote from the "Mirari vos"):—"Nor should we be able to augur happier results, either to religion or to the body politic, from the plans of those who desire Church to be separated from State, and the mutual concord to be broken off which now exists between the priesthood and the civil power. For it is evident that those *who love most shameless licence* fear that concord between Church and State, which has ever been *propitious and salutary to both.*"

If there be really any English Catholic who has held the opinion ascribed to him by M. de Montalembert, we trust that he may have formed it in ignorance of Gregory XVI.'s judgment; and that he will feel a pang of keen regret at having fallen unawares into condemned error. But if there be some still disposed to persevere, we would suggest to them such considerations as the following:—

Will they allege that the circumstances of society have been revolutionized since Gregory XVI. spoke? We cannot imagine any one thinking this; and the Count represents their opinion as applying to the whole period of "our modern times." Moreover, so lately as Dec. 8, 1864, the proposition was condemned (Syllabus, prop. lv.) that "Church should be separated from State and State from Church." We cannot see the distinction between this condemned error and the view ascribed by the Count to these English Catholics.

Now let us even make, for argument's sake, the extravagant supposition, that the Church's teaching in the "Mirari vos" is not strictly infallible. Still, we ask, is it consistent with the most ordinary humility in a Catholic—is it consistent even with his sanity—that he should hold as "certain" an opinion which has been censured by the whole Ecclesia Docens? And even were he unhappy enough to hold it, is it accordant with the commonest notions of decency and propriety that he should publicly express it?

But in the Encyclical "Singulari nos," of June 21st, 1834, Gregory XVI. expressly informed all Catholic bishops that in the "Mirari vos" he had declared *to the whole Catholic flock* sound doctrine, and that *which alone it is lawful to follow*, on the subjects therein mentioned;" that he had "*defined* "*Catholic doctrine* according to *the authority committed to him.*" And if it be objected that he does not use the actual word "infallible," our answer is most easy; for neither is that word used in regard to the canons of Trent, or the definition of the Immaculate Conception. It is an admitted principle of theology, as F. Ryder himself admits, that the Church claims infallibility, wherever she enjoins absolute interior assent.

We are obliged therefore to say, that those who *interiorly* reject the teaching of the "Mirari vos," are rebelling against the Church's infallible authority; and that those who publicly *express* that rejection, are in effect exhorting their fellow-Catholics to join them in ecclesiastical rebellion and in the commission, material at least, of mortal sin.

On the other hand, if the opinions, ascribed by M. de Montalembert to

certain English Catholics, do *not* involve a direct rejection of the "Mirari vos"—we are very curious to understand what Gregory XVI. can have meant in the passage we have quoted.

Civiltà Cattolicà, 6 Giugno, 1868 : "Un caso di coscienza sugli errori condannate dalla Santa Sede nel 1864."

Katholik, Vol. II., 1867 : "Ueber eine theologische controversi, jenseits des Canals."

Révue des Sciences Ecclésiastiques. Mars, 1868.

IT is not our purpose here to enter into the substance of the controversy on doctrinal decisions of the Holy See in which this Review and its Editor have been engaged ; but we consider it owing to ourselves and to our adversaries to make known in our pages from time to time the view taken of the subject by the Catholic journalists of other countries. We shall refer on the present occasion to articles from each of the journals we have named at the head of this notice, as representatives of Italy, Germany, and France. The following words are from an article in the "Civiltà," on the now famous case of conscience argued in the Paris Ecclesiastical Conference on the 5th of February of this year. (See our last number, p. 520.)

"An objector may perhaps say that all 'these judgments (of the Syllabus) are not dogmatic ; that the Church has not enjoined that these her decisions should be believed as dogmata of faith ; and he may hence argue that each individual remains free to think as he pleases, and may lawfully continue to hold, at least interiorly, the contrary opinion. We answer that such a difficulty is based upon a most false supposition. Those who thus object suppose that the judgments of the Church are infallible only when they are dogmatic ; which is *a grave and perilous mistake.* The Church is infallible not only in defining that which is, strictly speaking, a dogma of faith or morals, but also whenever she teaches any truth whatsoever *which is connected with dogmata*, or touches them in any way ; and, lastly, she is infallible also when she teaches a doctrine, or imposes a law, declaring that the one or the other regards the general good of the Church or her rights or discipline, even though it may seem, or even actually be the case, that such decision does not touch the dogmata of faith or morals. In all these cases each one of the faithful is under the obligation of obeying exteriorly, and also of assenting interiorly to such ecclesiastical definitions; and whoever acts otherwise commits sin,* and suffers a loss of his Catholic profession, &c." (pp. 337, 338).

The following is the passage we have selected from the "Katholik":—

"'Dr. Ward,' will many a reader have thought, 'must be a very monster of intellectual tyranny, an unparallelled fanatic, to use such an imperious style of language, as the Pope himself does not use ; and when first I heard his doctrine characterized by the mouth of one of his English opponents, with the names of a 'farrago of nonsense,' 'monstrous,' 'unheard of,' 'savouring of monomania,' I was almost tempted to direct my inquiries rather into the

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* The sin here spoken of, according to the whole scope and the conclusion of the article, is "sin" in the strict theological sense of "mortal sin."

path of a pathological investigation of his mental aberrations than into that of the proper subject of the controversy. The historical instinct, however, which is the privilege of us Germans, induced me to look more closely into the whole situation, and the substance of Dr. Ward's teaching, before pursuing my psychological studies. I soon became aware that I had to do not with psychological peculiarities on the side of Ward, but with temperate and able scientific deductions; and I almost conceived the malicious suspicion, that his adversaries had transferred the question to the region of personalities, in order to escape from his logic."

The writer in the "Katholik" proceeds to express his substantial agreement with Dr. Ward; while implying at the same time that on certain subordinate particulars he is at issue with that writer.

We referred in April (p. 568) to an article written by F. Montrouzier, S.J., in the March number of the "Révue des Sciences Ecclésiastiques" on "The Doctrinal Authority of the Syllabus." It belongs to our present purpose to point out that the learned Jesuit refers in a note to the controversy between F. Ryder and Dr. Ward; and expresses unreserved concurrence with our article of last January on "Doctrinal Apostolic Letters." Any paper which appears in the "Révue" derives increased importance from the high theological character of Abbè Bouix, its editor.

Recent Secessions and Corporate Reunion. Second edition. London: Burns, Oates, & Co.

THIS pamphlet is written in the most Christian tone and spirit; and it imperatively claims the careful attention of those—the Ritualists—to whom it is addressed. The writer does us the honour (pp. 22–24) of quoting some passages from an article in our last number, "which is written," as he testifies, "in a thoroughly cordial and appreciative tone." We have invariably indeed spoken of the Ritualists with that sympathy and cordiality, which are due to the excellent principles and signal piety so widely prevalent among them.

The notion of "corporate reunion" is a different matter altogether. We have consistently maintained that that notion, advocated by some few Catholics and by the Ritualists in general, implies (in the shape it assumes) an *heretical* tenet; though of course *Catholics* who talk of corporate reunion do not *advert* to this implication.

The question for an individual Anglican to consider, is simply whether he can remain external to the Roman communion without meriting hell. Is he, or is he not, firmly convinced that God has imposed upon all men a peremptory obligation of entering that communion? If he is *not* convinced of this, no priest would receive him into the Church. If he *is* convinced of this, he formally merits hell by delaying for one minute his steadfast resolve of submission. And the idea is of course unspeakably absurd that "a large body" (p. 17), or even a small body, "of Catholic-minded men" will at the same precise moment arrive at a firm conviction of God's having imposed this peremptory obligation. The author before us really speaks, as though two

different courses were open at the same time to some given Anglican, *either* of which he could take without meriting hell; as though he were at liberty to take into account his view of *expediency*. But such a notion, as we have seen, involves heresy. It involves a denial of the revealed truth, that God has imposed on all men a peremptory obligation of submitting to S. Peter's successor; and that no man can refuse obedience without meriting hell, unless he labour under invincible ignorance of the precept.

Suppose, for argument's sake (see p. 17), that the fact of some given Anglican submitting to the Church would tend, not to *diminish*, but to *increase* general disunion; still the Divine command of submission is not on that account the less universal or the less indefeasible. The same command woutd be no *less* indefeasible, even though (p. 11) Anglican orders were as indubitably valid as they are indubitably the reverse; and even though (p. 9) there were every hope that "unity of faith, ritual, and discipline," would be restored within the Establishment. If God *commands* you to be Roman, unity of Anglican faith, ritual, and discipline can be no extenuation of your sin in remaining Anglican.

Doubtless, under certain circumstances of past times, the Church has once and again promoted the corporate reunion of certain schismatical societies in the East. But we argued in April, 1866 (pp. 496–500), that this fact involves no disparagement whatever of the great Catholic verity on which we have insisted in this notice; nor gives any sanction whatever to any project of soliciting Anglicans to aim at corporate reunion.

Dogmata Theologica Dionysii Petavii, *e Soc. Jesu.* Editio Nova, &c., curante J. B. Fournials. 8 vols. Paris: L. Vivès. 1865–7.

BOTH publisher and editor have acquitted themselves to perfection, in bringing out this new edition of the immortal work of Petavius. The volumes are of a handy form and bulk, the type is excellent, and the paper admits the free use of the pen. This latter circumstance will be agreeable news to all readers who are engaged in close and extensive study of theology. Such readers constantly require to mark particular passages, to append references, corrections, notes of various kinds. Now, the villainous bibulous paper on which almost all modern French and German editions of theological works are printed renders this impossible. Touch the white margin with only the point of a pen, and the ink spreads and mantles like a dark blush. Such are the copies in the present writer's possession of S. Liguori, Billuart, Carrière, Gury, Maldonatus, and a host of others. From this most provoking blemish not only the present, but also other publications of the same enterprising firm are entirely exempt. The laborious student can ply his annotating nib with as much freedom of hand and delicacy of hair-line on the pages of M. Vivès as on a page of the finest English note-paper.

When we turn from the publisher to the editor we find that the latter has executed his part, if possible, with still greater success. Petavius is

unquestionably one of the brightest theological luminaries of that great society, so rich and radiant in its theological as in its other glories; and he has found in M. Fournials an editor worthy of him. In the first place, M. Fournials has, after the collation of several editions, given as pure a text as is now attainable; and so correctly printed that, though we have read a good deal of several of the volumes, we have not been able to discover a single error of the press. Then he has retained all the valuable matter added, in the way of notes and dissertations, by former editors, together with fresh notes of his own, and these always terse and to the point. Petavius was fond of using Greek words and phrases now and then, all which M. Fournials has translated into Latin. He has also given marginal running titles, and marked those passages of the Fathers, few in number, whose authenticity was, in the days of Petavius and before the stupendous labours of the Maurists, not questioned, but which are now considered doubtful or spurious. To crown all, he has given, at the end of the last volume, an index of Scripture texts, and a general index *rerum et verborum*, both wanting in all former editions, and extending in this to over one hundred and sixty pages. In a word, M. Fournials has proved himself a model editor, an accomplished scholar, as well as a profound theologian. What he has done could not have been done better; and he has done all that was needed to be done. We hear that he is at present engaged in editing a new edition of the works of Cardinal de Lugo, to issue from the same press as the present work, and to resemble it in every respect. We shall look out for it with high anticipations, feeling assured that he will do ample justice as much to the great scholastic and moral as he has done to the great patristic and dogmatic theologian.

Quid est Homo? Sive Controversia de Statu Purœ Naturæ, &c. Auctore ANT. CASINIO, S.J. Aucta notisque illustrata opera D. M. Jos. SCHEEBEN, Prof. in Semin. Archiep. Colon. Moguntiæ: 1862.

THIS celebrated monograph of Casinius was incorporated by Zaccaria with his edition of the work, just noticed, of Petavius. It had become exeedingly rare in its separate form. Dr. Scheeben has therefore done great service to theological students by republishing it in that form. But he has done far greater, and indeed invaluable, service, by the copious, learned, and admirably reasoned appendixes and notes which he has added from his own pen to the several *articuli* or chapters into which the work is divided. The possibility of a state of pure nature is *the* fundamental question of all the great controversies on grace.* Dr. Scheeben's introductory dissertation on the scope and reciprocal connection of the propositions of Baius touching this question is the most acute and original we remember to have ever seen on the subject. After demonstrating, against a certain class of writers, that

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* See our number for January, 1864, p. 71, and Perrone de Deo Creatore, n. 341, note 1, at the end.

the *doctrine* itself of Baius was condemned, and not merely the severe judgments which he passed on the doctrines of others, our editor proceeds to show that his propositions are not, as some have held them to be, a mere unconnected and confused mass, but, understood in their true sense and bearing, a perfectly intelligible and harmonious system of most pernicious error.

The book is small and cheap; and, as our readers can therefore easily procure and peruse it for themselves, we need not give any more detailed account of its contents. It should be in the library of every student, certainly of every professor, of theology. Since writing the above we observe that we had incidentally noticed it in the article referred to. We are glad, however, to have directed attention to it in a more special manner.

The Woman Blessed by all Generations; or, Mary the Object of Veneration, Confidence, and Imitation to all Christians. By the Rev. RAPHAEL MELIA, D.D. London: Longmans, Green, & Co.

THE multiplication amongst us of books on the subject of our Blessed Lady is a remarkable and a cheering characteristic of our times; and, considering the infinite variety of tastes and modes of thought, of powers of mind, of degrees of learning, of prejudices, and the like, we can afford to greet each accession to their number with a very hearty welcome, even if it does not in all respects come up to the standard we should ourselves have desired. Dr. Melia's volume is of an eminently practical character, its special purpose being to set before Protestants the claims of our Blessed Lady to be considered a fitting object of veneration, confidence, and imitation.

The story which he tells in the first page of his introduction gives the key-note of the whole composition, and accounts, we venture to think, both for its merits and its defects. He was standing in some new Catholic church, not yet opened for public service, admiring a figure of our Blessed Lady in the stained glass window, when a Protestant gentleman accosted him on the subject of this portion of Catholic practice, which he dared to stigmatize as idolatrous. Dr. Melia gave the usual explanations in reply, which, however, seemed to have been perfectly new to his interrogator, and at once to have satisfied him. The conversation led to the stranger driving Dr. Melia to his home, being persuaded to make himself thoroughly acquainted with Catholic doctrines as explained by Catholics themselves, and finally becoming a Catholic. If we understand Dr. Melia aright, this little incident first suggested to his mind the idea of writing a book which should give to honest inquirers a true idea of the worship claimed by the Catholic Church for the Mother of God—a book which should bring forward nothing "peculiar to any particular school, and not suited to England or other Protestant countries, but simply the doctrine of the school of Jesus Christ; what is taught by the Universal Church is common to all Catholic nations, and claims a right to be received by all who desire to be called true Christians." We do not observe, however, that in the execution of this idea he has yielded

to the temptation, which was certainly incident to the position, of *minimizing* upon so important a subject. He speaks plainly and simply on each point of the subject as it comes before him ; but we should say that the whole tone of the work is ethical rather than logical ; he writes as the parish priest labouring for the salvation of souls, rather than as the scientific theologian, marking out with rule and compass the exact measurements of this field of dogma. The latter part of the volume, about one-third of the whole, is professedly and exclusively of this practical character ; it treats of the several virtues of our Lady—her faith, hope, and charity, prudence, justice, fortitude, and temperance, as objects of imitation to all Christians. But even in the first, or theoretical part, which undertakes to prove that the Blessed Virgin has been made by the Holy Trinity an object of veneration and confidence to all generations, it is in moral rather than in argumentative persuasiveness that the strength of the writer lies. He has divided this part of his work into twenty chapters, the most important of which treat of the honour due to her as Mother of God. as ever a virgin, as the subject of many types and prophecies, and the recipient of many graces ; of her Immaculate Conception ; the angelical salutation ; of the testimony of the Holy Ghost by the mouth of S. Elizabeth, and of her own Divine Son—first by the thirty years' obedience, next by the beginning of miracles at Cana, and lastly by the words from the cross. On each of these subjects he adduces first Catholic and then Protestant evidence, the latter being chiefly confined to Pearson, Bull, and Hicks, with occasional quotations from Luther and Calvin and Thomas Scott, and very copious references to Mrs. Jameson. The Catholic evidence is subdivided into evidence from Holy Scripture, from the early Fathers of the Church (the first six centuries), and from Christian archæology. We cannot but consider this subdivision singularly unfortunate as far as regards the last member of it. No doubt Christian archæology can be made to render most important testimony to Catholic devotion to our Blessed Lady, and the writer who shall take this subject in hand—for it has yet to be done—and treat it competently, will deserve well of all lovers of art and of truth. But it is to tax this τοπος far beyond its powers to force it to bear evidence upon every one of nineteen or twenty propositions, amongst which are such as these :—Mary is to be venerated for having been announced beforehand as a creature most privileged and beneficial to mankind ; also on account of her Immaculate Conception ; also as having freely and efficaciously co-operated in the spiritual welfare of mankind ; also on account of the gratuitous graces conferred upon her; as also of the sanctifying grace, &c. &c. Such an appeal can only result in disappointment, and is, moreover, calculated to create a general feeling of mistrust towards the whole branch of evidence which is thus abused. In the present instance this feeling is considerably increased by the manner in which the illustrations have been executed by the *Graphotyping* Company—a new company, so far as our knowledge in such matters extends, and, we presume, using some new process, but which we cannot felicitate on this specimen of its achievements. Several of the illustrations are real caricatures of the originals, with which we are well acquainted, and others seem to have no character at all. Moreover, in the interest of Christian art and the science

of its symbolism, we must protest against the "shut scroll" in the hands of Mary—which appears also, we need hardly say, in the hands of S. Paul and others—being made to indicate her perpetual virginity, and some other strained interpretations of the same kind. We must confess, too, to our entire incredulity as to "images of Mary under the symbol of the good shepherdess being repeated four times in various places of the Roman Catacombs." [By the way, are we really to receive that frightful word *hypogées* into our language, to denote the chambers of that subterranean necropolis? We believe that Mr. Hemans was the first to use it, in his "History of Ancient Christianity and Sacred Art in Italy." Mr. Marriott has adopted it in his "Vestiarium Christianum," and now Dr. Melia.] Above all, we are simply amazed to find a learned Italian in these days repeating the old exploded story as to the origin of these Catacombs, that "the greater part of them are the work of the Roman pagans, made in excavating the earth in order to obtain sand for building purposes." Altogether, the treatment of Christian archæology seems to us the weakest part of the volume, and a real blemish, whilst the first part of each section of "Catholic Evidence" seems to us no less undoubtedly the best. It is called the evidence from Holy Scripture; but it does not consist merely, or even principally, of a collection of texts; rather, it is an enunciation of the Catholic doctrine on that branch of the subject which is to be handled in that particular chapter; and this is often placed in a very clear and persuasive light, calculated to arrest the attention and clear away the prejudices of moderately candid Protestants. We would specify particularly the chapters on the Immaculate Conception and on Mary's efficacious co-operation in the welfare of mankind. Even in these sections, however, there are statements which will hardly command that universal authority which in his Preface he seems to claim for them. Nay, we venture to say that Dr. Melia himself hardly always means what his words imply, e. g., in page 157, speaking of personal beauty as one of the gratuitous graces bestowed on our Blessed Lady, "It is *a truth of faith* that Jesus Christ, in accordance with the prediction of the Royal Prophet, was the most beautiful among men." (Ps. xliv. 3.) Neither can we ourselves agree with him in some other of his interpretations of Scripture, as where he insists on a distinction being drawn between *image* and *likeness* (Gen. i. 26), and makes the distinction to consist in this, that "the image is in the nature while the likeness is in the perfection of the same nature. The image relates to the essential qualities of the spirit; the likeness to a greater or less degree of excellence in the same qualities of the spirit." We are well aware that authority can be found among the writings of the Fathers and of theologians, if not precisely for this distinction, yet for something not very unlike it; as, for instance, that the *image* denotes the resemblance of our rational nature to God, and *likeness* the higher resemblance given by sanctifying grace. S. Austin, however, among the Fathers, Estius, Suarez, and Petavius among theologians, altogether abandon the idea of any distinction; and Holy Scripture itself seems to afford every possible kind of proof of the perfect synonymousness of the words. Thus, *image* is used alone, Genesis i. 27, ix. 6, Ecclesus. xvii. 1; whilst, on the other hand, *likeness* is used alone Gen. v. 1, S. James iii. 9. Either word, then, would seem to be adequate

to the whole meaning. Again, both are used together, Gen. v. 3, with reference to Adam begetting Seth, where there can be no question of imparting a likeness of holiness, and in Wisdom ii. 23, where it reads like a common Hebrew reduplication. Finally, S. Paul (Col. iii. 9, 10) uses *image* precisely in the sense attempted to be attached to *likeness*.

La Roma Sotterranea Cristiana. Descritta ed illustrata dal Cav. G. B. De Rossi. *Pubblicata per ordine della Santita di N. S. Papa Pio Nono.* Tomo II. Roma, Cromolitografia Pontificia.

DEAN STANLEY has lately taken credit to the present generation above all its predecessors, for having most keenly and deeply entered into the pleasure and the duty of examining below the surface of things, and investigating them to the bottom. He considers that the duty and advantage of thus "going down till we reach the rock, and sinking till we reach the native spring in the well," has never been so fully grasped as in this century; and that not only in other branches of knowledge, but also (or, he might perhaps have said, especially) in all matters connected with sacred history and religion. At any rate, this is certainly the merit in a pre-eminent degree of the learned and indefatigable antiquarian to whom we are indebted for this splendid volume on *Roma Sotterranea*. All his talents and energy—and among archæologists it would be hard to find any one his equal in either of these gifts—have been spent for the last thirty years in doing both for the history and for the actual soil of the Roman Catacombs what has been done, or is still doing, by other labourers for the soil of Pompeii and Herculaneum, the Forum of Rome, the mounds of Nineveh, and the tombs of Egypt. And that his labours have not been without fruit, the following brief summary of the historical portion of this second volume of his great work will sufficiently prove. We must needs confine our summary within the narrowest possible compass; but we can assure our readers that they will find *pièces justificatives* in abundance in the volume before us, and that those who examine them the most closely will be the last to call in question their argumentative value.

The cemetery of S. Callixtus lies under a vineyard, on the right-hand side of the Via Appia, rather more than a mile beyond the present gate of S. Sebastian's. It was not always called by this name, nor indeed was it always one. The Liber Pontificalis, Martyrologies, Acts of the Saints, and other ancient documents speak of the cemetery of Lucina, *near* the cemetery of Callixtus, and of the cemetery of Soter or Soteris, and of the *arenarium* of Hippolytus in the same vicinity; but these, and perhaps others also, have long since been united, and the whole now forms one vast labyrinth of subterranean graves and chapels, full of most interesting monuments of the early Christian Church. The map of this cemetery, published in De Rossi's first volume, executed with mathematical accuracy, and representing all the various paths crossing and recrossing one another, in the four or five *stories* (so to call them) of the excavation, is a bewildering sight; and a student needs to have

good eyes, a clear head, and indomitable perseverance to trace upon it the boundaries of the several parts, as they were originally formed, and to distinguish the plan of each. In this second volume the author has had compassion on our weakness, and marked out the several areas in various colours, so that each can be as distinctly recognized as the plots of some allotment-ground at the entrance of our small towns, where the different crops often denote as many different tenants. With this material help we recognize at once the gradual growth of the cemetery, and cannot doubt that it originally consisted of several small and independent cemeteries, executed with great regularity, within carefully prescribed limits. Of these the most ancient is that which was once called the cemetery of Lucina, consisting of a parallelogram measuring 100 Roman feet on the side towards the Appian road [*in fronte*], by 180 in depth [*in agro*]; and over it are the remains of a huge monument, which, if it was not originally Christian, yet certainly was at the free disposal of those who were Christians from the very earliest ages, since the grand open staircase which once led to the catacomb was made immediately in front of it, and the paths of the subterranean excavation pass freely beneath it. It was in this part of the cemetery that Pope Cornelius was buried, but it had been begun long before that date, probably even in the apostolic age; unquestionably it was in use in the earliest period of the second century. It belonged at that time to a well-known Roman family, of whom we will speak presently. Different members of this family, and of other branches of the Roman aristocracy connected with them by blood or marriage, were buried here during the reigns of Trajan, Adrian, and Antoninus Pius. About the time of Marcus Aurelius, in the second half of the second century, another plot of ground at no great distance, on a road which joined the Appian and Ardeatine Ways, was given up by the same family for the same purpose. Here, also, two grand and open staircases, without any attempt at concealment, led down to the catacomb; but there is no proof that the superficial area—whose measurement, by the bye, was 250 feet by 100—was ever occupied by any monument. In this cemetery S. Cecilia was buried, having suffered martyrdom about this very time, and being herself a member of the family to whom the cemetery belonged. Her husband, Valerian, and his brother, were not buried here, but on the other side of the road, in the cemetery of Pretextatus; but, as we find a Pretextatus buried in this catacomb of S. Callixtus, just before the tomb of S. Cecilia, there was probably some connection between the families to whom these two cemeteries belonged, so that deceased members of both families were buried in either indifferently. The catacomb continued to be used under Aurelius and Commodus, and till the end of the second century, but, probably, always as the private property of some individual or family. At this time a most important change took place in the legal tenure of Christian cemeteries, and of this one in particular. It is during the Pontificate of S. Zephyrinus, who succeeded to the chair of Peter A.D. 198, that we hear for the first time, both in Rome and in Africa, of public cemeteries belonging to the whole body of Christians as a known and recognized corporation. And this is easily accounted for by the edict promulgated by Septimius Severus at this time, whereby he re-established or confirmed the ancient privilege of clubs or

confraternities, formed for the purpose of meeting the expenses of funerals. Under the protection of this law, Pope Zephyrinus appointed his deacon, Callixtus, over this cemetery, which must now at least, if not at an earlier period, have been given over to the Church; and he prepared a chamber, immediately adjoining that in which lay the body of S. Cecilia, as a burial-place for the Popes, who had heretofore always been buried close to the body of S. Peter on the Vatican. Here, then, Zephyrinus himself was buried, and all his successors, until the triumph of the Church under Constantine, excepting when special circumstances interfered to prevent it. Such a special circumstance was the martyrdom of S. Callixtus, not by any legal sentence, but by popular violence, being thrown out of a window into a well before his own house in Trastevere, whence his body was hastily removed to the nearest cemetery on that side of Rome, S. Calepodio, on the Via Aurelia. Another Pope, S. Pontianus, resigned his Pontificate, when he was driven into exile, and was succeeded by S. Anteros, who suffered martyrdom, however, before his predecessor had died. S. Pontianus died not very long afterwards, and of course was buried in Sardinia, the place of his exile; but when peace was restored to the Church, S. Fabian obtained leave from the government to bring back the body, and to bury it in the official resting-place of all the Popes. [His grave, therefore, would have been next after that of Anteros, though he had been Pope before him; and hence the confusion in some old records as to the order of succession of these two Pontiffs.]

During the long and generally peaceful episcopate of Fabian the Christian religion made rapid progress, and of course there was a necessity for a corresponding development of the cemeteries. A third plot of ground, therefore, lying between the two already in use, and immediately adjoining the later one, was now given, probably by the same family as before. Fabian assigned the care of all the cemeteries to the seven deacons; he also erected small churches over several of them, and the remains of one of these, with its three apses, may still be seen in this very place. A little later, just in the middle of the third century, a fourth area, adjoining the two last, was given, probably by Anatolia, daughter of Æmilianus, who had died in his year of consulship, A.D. 249, leaving his daughter as a ward under the care of Calocerus and Parthenius. But in the month of January in the following year Fabian suffered martyrdom, and a few months later Calocerus and Parthenius also. Fabian was buried among the Popes, and Calocerus and Parthenius in a crypt belonging to this fourth area of the cemetery. Cornelius, Fabian's successor, was not buried in the Papal chapel, but, as we have already seen, in the neighbouring cemetery of Lucina, which was originally, and still remained, distinct from that of Callixtus. We believe the reason of this distinction is to be found in some degree of relationship between Cornelius and Lucina. Lucius, his successor, died early in March, 253, but, for some reason unknown, was not buried in his proper resting-place (where we may still see his gravestone) until the 25th of August. It may be that during the last persecution access to the cemeteries had been forbidden; but of this we have no record. The first certain information that we have of any legal interference with the Christian cemeteries belongs to the reign of Valerian, and the year 257 or 258; and it was disregard of this imperial prohibition which led to the mar-

tyrdom of Pope Sixtus II.; probably, also, of his predecessor, S. Stephen, and of that noble acolyte, S. Tharsycius, who gave up his life rather than expose to the profane gaze of the heathen the Blessed Sacrament which he was carrying. Notwithstanding the prohibition, however, S. Sixtus was buried in the Papal vault, and the Pontifical chair, sprinkled with his blood, was carefully placed in the same chapel near his tomb. Perhaps the edict of Valerian was not intended to interfere with burial, but only with the holding of religious assemblies, in the catacombs, so that the burial of Sixtus may have been quite public; as the burial of S. Cyprian in Africa about this time certainly was, although the same prohibition had been duly proclaimed there; or perhaps it was effected privately by means of secret passages, which seem to have been made through the adjacent *arenarium* some time before. By and bye Gallienus revoked his father's prohibition, and the Popes Dionysius, Felix, Eutychianus, and Caius, each in succession, is laid to rest by the side of his saintly predecessors. Meanwhile, the cemetery of Callixtus had been greatly enlarged, always within the limits of the four areas already described, until at the close of the century it was incorporated with the adjoining cemetery of S. Soteris—a cemetery of whose history we cannot now speak, but which had been executed on a scale of great magnificence, and evidently in times of peace and security, so frequent are the *luminaria* and *arcisolia*, and double, treble, and even quadruple *cubicula*. We are able to fix the date of this incorporation with certainty, because precisely at the point of junction Severus, a deacon, made a double *cubiculum* for himself and his relatives, by the permission (*jussu*) of Pope Marcellinus, whose reign only lasted from 295 to 304. Before his death broke out the last and fiercest persecution of all, that by the Emperor Diocletian, during which the Christians destroyed the staircase leading down to the tomb of S. Cecilia and the Papal vault, and even filled up with earth the whole of that area of the cemetery, and from the third area they removed the bodies of S. Calocerus and Parthenius. Marcellinus himself, and his successor Marcellus, were both buried in the distant cemetery of Priscilla, which, owing to some local advantage which we cannot now appreciate, must have remained more easily accessible and secure. The next Pope, Eusebius, died in exile, but his corpse was brought from Sicily by his successor, and placed in a chapel very near to that in which S. Calocerus and Parthenius had originally been laid. This chapel had served in times of persecution as a place of meeting for the celebration of the Divine Mysteries, and was now richly ornamented with mosaics to prepare it as a burial-place of the martyr Pope. Probably their official burial-place had not yet been reopened, though Miltiades had certainly recovered legal possession of it, having sent his deacons as his representatives to the pagan government in the negotiations for this purpose. Miltiades himself found a similar burial-place to that which he had provided for his predecessor; and with his name closes the roll of Pontiffs who lived in the period of the pagan persecutions. And now began a new era in the history of the cemetery of S. Callixtus. Pilgrims flocked to visit the places consecrated by the remains of so many holy confessors and martyrs; and even hermits came and fixed their cells in the immediate neighbourhood. Pope Damasus enlarged the entrances, made new staircases, sometimes also

extensive alterations in the interior, to facilitate admission to the crypts of greatest interest, at the same time adorning them with marbles and other ornaments, and setting up metrical inscriptions, composed by himself, and beautifully engraved by one Furius Dionysius Filocalus, an artist who devoted himself to the work with great zeal, and appropriated to these monuments a particular form of letters, whereby they can be easily identified. S. Sixtus III. imitated S. Damasus in some of his subterranean labours. He set up an inscription in the *cripta papale*, enumerating all the bishops who lay buried there; and painted on the sides of the *luminare* over St. Cecilia's chapel the portraits of Optatus, Bishop of Vesceter, and other saints, whose bodies had lately been translated from Africa to secure them from the outrages of the Vandals. But not even the catacombs of Rome itself were to remain for ever free from similar devastations. Barbarians came, and, penetrating into these sanctuaries, destroyed some of the inscriptions of Damasus, and plundered some of the graves. Thus, the epitaph which had been provided by Damasus for the tomb of S. Eusebius was destroyed, and only very imperfectly restored at a subsequent period; probably also that which was at the tomb of S. Tharsycius. By and bye, in the eighth century, the Lombards came and put the finishing stroke to the work of ruin, so that the Popes now resolved to translate the martyrs' relics to churches within the city. In vain did Leo III. and Adrian attempt to restore the catacombs themselves; in 817 nobody could find the tomb even of so famous a saint as S. Cecilia; and when four years later this discovery was made, and her body translated, the last page of the *fasti* of the cemetery was closed for many centuries. Some inscriptions and paintings were indeed executed on the spot, with a view to preserving the memory of the translation; but then all was abandoned; the very name of the cemetery became confounded with that of Pretextatus, and all its religious and historical associations falsely attributed to S. Sebastian's.

The rehabilitation (so to speak) of this cemetery in all its rights has been the work of De Rossi, and forms the chief subject of the two magnificent volumes which he has already published of his "Roma Sotteranea." We have given a brief summary of his historical conclusions; to attempt a similar abridgment of his arguments would be both unfair to the author, and an equally ungrateful task to writer and reader; for, however carefully the task might be done, there would remain the same difference between the summary and the original as between a flower pressed and dried in the pages of a herbarium and the same flower as it stood in its native bloom and beauty in the garden or the conservatory. Our present limits will only allow us briefly to redeem the promise we gave in the beginning, by saying a few words about the noble family who first began this magnificent cemetery of S. Callixtus; but these few words will give us a fair sample both of De Rossi's learning, diligence, and modesty—three qualities which promise to make his work one of the most valuable additions to ecclesiastical literature that have been made for a very long time.

First, then, we learn from Cicero that the monuments of the Cæcilii Metelli, and of some other noble families of Rome, were outside the Porta Capena on the Appian Road. *Columbaria* and inscriptions belonging to

other pagan monuments of the Cæcilii were found towards the beginning of this century at no great distance from the catacomb whose history we have been describing. It cannot, then, be considered a fortuitous circumstance that in the chambers and galleries of this same catacomb there have come to light epitaphs and other memorials of several Cæcilii and Cæciliani, and these not mere freedmen who had adopted the name of the *gens*, but real members of the family, as is distinctly marked by the official adjuncts to their names, *vir clarissimus*, *clarissima fœmina* or *puella*, *honesta femina*, &c. We note also among the "illustrious dead" who lie in this aristocratic cemetery certain descendants of the Antonines, who were clearly connected with Annia Faustina, the grand-daughter of Marcus Aurelius, and the wife of Pomponius Bassus, and afterwards of Heliogabalus. Now, it is known that these Pomponii Bassi, towards the end of the first century, lived on the Quirinal; and it can be *almost* proved that they inherited the house of the celebrated Atticus, the friend and correspondent of Cicero; and every classical scholar knows of this Atticus that he certainly lived on the Quirinal, and that he passed from the Gens Pomponia to the Gens Cæcilia, when he was adopted by his maternal uncle, Q. Cæcilius. Hence it is easy to account for the number of Christian epitaphs which have been found here, exhibiting these names mixed in various ways, e.g., more than one Cæcilius Faustus, a Faustinus Atticus, an Atticianus, a Pompeia Attica, an Attica Cæciliana, &c. We have the gravestones also of some heathen members of the same family, sawn in two or otherwise defaced, and used to close some of the Christian graves. One of these was of a Pomponius Bassus, who had lived in the third century, and had filled some of the highest offices of the state, been twice consul, prefect of Rome, &c., and another of L. Pomponius, proconsul of Gallia Narbonensis.

We come now to the application of all this apparently dry genealogical lore. It has been shown that the monuments of the Pomponii Bassi helped to supply marbles for a cemetery which was originally of the Cæcilii, and where Attici, and Atticæ, and Atticiani were frequently buried. From the union of all these names on the same spot, and under these circumstances, De Rossi ventured to conjecture that the Cæcilii to whom this property belonged, and who were certainly Christian, must have been intimately connected with the Pomponii, Attici, and Bassi. Now, it so happens that the first lady of rank of whose conversion to Christianity profane history has preserved any record belonged precisely to this very Gens Pomponia—we mean, of course, Pomponia Grecina, the wife of Plautius, who conquered Britain under Claudius. In the year 58 this lady was accused of having embraced the rites of a foreign superstition. Her husband, in accordance with ancient usage, sat in judgment upon her in the presence of a number of her relations, and pronounced her innocent, after which she lived to a great age, though, as Tacitus adds, "in continual sadness." He tells us that for forty years she never laid aside the mourning she had assumed on the murder of her relative Julia, but continued always in sorrow; that nobody, however, interfered with her in this matter, and that in the end it was considered the glory of her character (*mox in gloriam vertit.* Annales xiii. 32). It has been generally agreed amongst commentators that the foreign superstition here

spoken of was in reality the Christian faith, which was always so called by pagan writers; and it was very tempting therefore for De Rossi to hazard a conjecture that this lady might possibly be the same as we meet with about this time in ecclesiastical records under the name of Lucina. We need not say how frequently this name of Lucina occurs in ancient ecclesiastical history; it crops up in the history of every persecution from the apostolic age to the days of Constantine, and has been the occasion of no slight confusion, and the subject of many learned discussions, among students of hagiography. De Rossi suggests that the name was a Christian *sobriquet* (alluding to the illumination of Baptism, &c.) rather than a real family name, and that it may have been borne by many Roman matrons in succession without any real connection of relationship between them, these ladies being of course known in society and among their heathen kinsfolk by their proper family names. When first he threw out the idea of Pomponia Grecina and the first Lucina having been possibly one and the same person, he spoke with extreme caution and reserve. "It is a mere guess," he said (vol. i. p. 319); "I don't wish to claim for it any value as an argument, perhaps it hardly even deserves the name of a conjecture. But attempts of this kind, violent efforts of the mind, which arouses itself at the faintest glimmer of light amid the thick darkness of antiquity, and seeks to rush forward to the acquisition of new truth, may at least serve to awaken attention, and to keep it keenly on the alert for every scrap of additional information which future discoveries may bring to light, and out of which prudent study may extract the full knowledge of historical facts, now only guessed at and offered *in confuso*." De Rossi wrote thus in his first volume, in 1864. In the middle of the present volume (page 282), written probably six or eight months ago, having occasion to refer to the same subject, he says that "although his guess has been very favourably received by the learned, yet it must not be taken for more than it is worth, until new and more important monumental discoveries shall place it on a more solid foundation." At the end of the volume he is able to explain what was the monumental evidence he desired, and to announce that he had found it. He had no positive evidence either of the relationship between the Pomponii Bassi and the Pomponii Grecini, or that the profession of Christianity had prevailed in either family. He now publishes inscriptions, or at least sufficient fragments of inscriptions, found in this cemetery, and belonging to the end of the second century, two of which testify to the Christian burial here of Pomponii Bassi, and one of a Pomponius Grecinus. Of course it is easy to see that even now the argument has not the force of demonstration; but it is impossible to deny that it has a great deal of probability in its favour, and impossible not to admire the learning and ingenuity by which it has been supported. On a future occasion we hope to take some branch or branches of the large subject so ably handled by De Rossi, and to treat it more at length, in a way more worthy of its importance. At present we must be content with this short synthetical statement of the history which he conceives himself to have established by his own analytical method.

The Life of Las Casas, "the Apostle of the Indies." By ARTHUR HELPS, Author of "The Spanish Conquest of America," "Friends in Council," &c. London: Bell & Daldy.

THIS is in many respects a very remarkable and unusual work, both as regards its subject and its execution. It is the life of a man, in the truest and highest sense of the words, very pre-eminently good and great, of one who received unusual natural gifts, who cultivated them with great industry, and devoted to God all he had and all he was, with a singleness of eye very seldom attained even by sincere Christians. To these things must be added two circumstances which, if accident had any place in God's world, must be called accidental. First, his lot was cast at one of the most important and critical periods in the history of the human race, and in a nation which at that moment held the first and most influential place in the world. He himself was thrown too by circumstances into that part of the world where the most momentous events were going on, and thus a great work was, as it were, set before him by the circumstances of his position. Next, his life was prolonged in full vigour to the age of ninety-two; and thus he was able to exert a very important influence twice as long as other men. Of these circumstances Bartholomew Las Casas availed himself to the very utmost. He early devoted himself to a cause, the noblest that man could undertake,—the preservation of populous nations of heathen who, but for him, would assuredly have been exterminated by his countrymen; and their conversion to the Christian faith. To that work he sacrificed everything; wealth, ease, leisure, the goodwill of his countrymen, the peace of his whole life: all, except his God and his own soul. He laboured with a perseverance which was not unnatural, only because it was supernatural. He suffered dreadful disappointments and reverses, but by them he was only nerved to new exertions. Finally, although his success was far from what he wished and from what it might well have been (considering the justice and wisdom of the cause, and his persevering labours in it), still he did succeed. There are at this day many nations of native American Christians which must have been extinct centuries ago, if the practices and institutions which his life was spent in opposing, and over which in the end he prevailed, had gone on unchecked. Moreover, there were nations which he was himself, directly, the means of converting. Here was success ten-fold greater than man usually attains. But, after all, in estimating the work of a Christian, that is, work done for Christ, we should greatly err if we took visible success as in any degree our measure.

"God does not need
Either men's services or His own gifts."

For our sakes He has made our services the means of effecting His own purposes; and those who serve Him with most fidelity, self-devotion, and love, not those who most see the fruits of their labours, are His most

honoured servants. And among that blessed band (so far as man may presume to judge), a high place will surely be assigned to Bartholomew Las Casas.

It might well have been expected that all that could be said about the life of so great and good a man would long ago have been said, and that nothing would be left to Mr. Helps except to abridge or compile an interesting narrative from the works of former biographers. His singular felicity as a biographer is that the very contrary to this is the fact. It is only of late years that the original records of Spanish history have been thrown open to literary men. A very great part of Mr. Helps' materials and authorities exist only in manuscript, and a large part of what has been printed is to be found only in rare books, almost as little known as manuscripts. A very large part of the voluminous works of Las Casas himself have never been printed. Thus the subject of this volume was not only noble and attractive, but in a very great degree unexplored.

And the execution is in all respects worthy of the subject. We have been utterly amazed at the labour which Mr. Helps must have given throughout—labour both bodily and mental, in discovering, collecting, studying, and arranging his materials. This is no doubt an honourable distinction of the historical writers of our own day, especially when compared with those of the eighteenth century. But in one most important quality Mr. Helps seems to us quite without a rival; we mean in historical justice, fairness, and candour. Macaulay places Hallam before all other historians in impartiality. In this quality Mr. Helps seems to us very far to surpass Hallam himself. We know no writer who approaches him in his power of placing himself exactly in the position of the persons of whom he writes, and looking at men and things from their point of view; still less, any writer who takes the same care in exercising the power. He says in one place, "A fearful consideration it is, that biographers, and the people they write about, may some day be brought into each other's presence;" and we know no writer who seems to have that consideration so perpetually before his mind. It is not merely that he can see no fault in Las Casas; that would be common enough in a biographer; but he manages to look at every act, even of bad men, whose whole course is most shocking and repulsive to him, as they saw it, and gives the fullest force to every excuse which they could have alleged even for the actions which he most strongly and justly condemns. If any other writer ever did this in the same degree, we are not acquainted with him. But this wonderful impartiality is in nowise connected with indifference. Here the contrast with Mr. Hallam is strong. Hallam always gives us the idea of a man by nature incapable of very greatly admiring anything. He is "less of a worshipper than any historian whom we can call to mind," says Macaulay, who admits that though he might "prize his work less" were it otherwise, he would "like it more." This is what every reader of Hallam must, we think, have felt. Mr. Helps, on the other hand, is as hearty and warm both in admiration and in censure, as if he were a partisan; and beyond a doubt this, when combined with perfect fairness and justice, is the true historical temper. For, to have no glowing admiration for that which is justly admirable, and no indignation at

that which is base, cruel, or dishonourable, is to be wanting in substantial justice.

Las Casas was born eighteen years before the discovery of America by Columbus; that year he took his degree of licentiate in the university of Salamanca. His father was one of the companions of Columbus in his first voyage, and six years later both father and son went with him again. Four years afterwards he again went to Hayti (then called Hispaniola), and was the first person ordained priest in the New World. In his earlier years he was chiefly distinguished as a man of business, and was likely enough to have made a fortune, if his conscience had not compelled him to protest against the enslaving of the Indians. In order to do this with effect, he gave up his own plantations; and, for many years afterwards, was chiefly employed in urging plans for their benefit. These Mr. Helps traces in detail. When he was eight-and-forty he became a Dominican in Hayti. Mr. Helps believes this step to have been hasty; urged, partly by a cruel disappointment in one of his main schemes; partly by the persuasion of his friends in the Dominican community at S. Domingo, where he was most kindly received at a moment of keen sorrow. It is impossible fully to test this opinion, as we have no access to the documents by which it would be confirmed or disproved. And, in fairness, it should be said that the historical justice of Mr. Helps is perhaps more shown in his grand appreciation of Catholics, and especially Catholic ecclesiastics, than in any one other thing. In this, we have never met any Protestant writer to be compared to him. We say, therefore, without the least distrust of his fully intending to give a fair account of the matter, that not having seen the documents on which he rests his judgment, we cannot but think he may be mistaken in his view of the means by which Las Casas became a Dominican. The thing is so vastly improbable, whether we consider his own character or the known character of the men with whom he had to do, that we feel sure Mr. Helps must (most unintentionally) have misapprehended and misrepresented the matter. The only words he alleges clearly do not prove the point. They are, that when he proposed to await the answers of the King and Cardinal Adrian (to whom he had written), his friends said, "What will it profit you, if you should die before their answers come?" This would of course be their answer, if what he had already told them had convinced them that he had a real vocation, and was himself aware that he had, but was tempted to delay in following it. Mr. Helps gives us no reason to suppose that such was not the case. And we need not say how easily a Protestant writer might overlook the distinction between urging a man not to neglect what he felt to be a vocation, and urging him to join their own order. Las Casas himself, with his way of thinking, would never see the necessity of guarding against a misapprehension which he would not suppose any one likely to fall into.

The great glory of Las Casas was his unwearied, unweariable energy; his perseverance in spite of all disappointments; and we should therefore be greatly grieved if we really believed that the most important step of his whole life was taken in a mere moment of disappointment and weakness. A notice like this can, of course, give no idea of this perseverance, which comes out when we survey his life as a whole. We must refer our readers to the

volume itself, which will richly repay them. What is important, is to observe that Las Casas was no mere philanthropist. That character is, perhaps, the noblest in the mere natural order; but it is, after all, in the natural order that it is conversant. The love of his neighbour in Las Casas was deeply rooted in the love of his incarnate Lord. This appears, in little hints, through the whole history, although the thing we most desiderate in it is a fuller account of him as a Catholic, a priest, and a religious,—in a word, what Père Chocharne calls (in the case of Lacordaire) his *vie intime*. It is easy to see why we have so little of this. It is because our knowledge of what went on in America in those days, and of the characters of the agents, including Las Casas himself, is chiefly derived from his own writings; and no man was less likely than he to make any display of his own religious life. This gives a special value to a scene between himself and a certain licentiate Aguirre, "a very good man, of great authority in those days, whom Queen Isabella had chosen for one of her executors." Aguirre was shocked at a plan which Las Casas was pressing forward, by which he tried to combine the preservation and conversion of the natives with the gain of the king, the courtiers, and others. He said:—

"That such a manner of preaching the Gospel had scandalized him, for it evinced an aiming after temporal interests which he had never hitherto suspected in the clerigo."

"Las Casas having heard what Aguirre had said, took occasion to speak to him one day in the following terms:—'Senor, if you were to see our Lord Jesus Christ maltreated, vituperated, and afflicted, would you not implore, with all your might, that those who had Him in their power would give Him to you, that you might serve and worship Him?' 'Yes,' said Aguirre. 'Then,' replied Las Casas, 'if they would not give Him to you, but would sell Him, would you redeem Him?' 'Without a doubt.' 'Well, then, Senor,' rejoined Las Casas, 'that is what I have done; for I have left in the Indies Jesus Christ our Lord, suffering stripes and afflictions and crucifixion, not once, but thousands of times, at the hands of the Spaniards, who destroy and desolate these Indian nations, taking from them the opportunity of conversion and penitence, so that they die without faith and without sacraments.'

"Then Las Casas went on to explain how he had sought to remedy these things in the way that Aguirre would most have approved. To this the answer had been, that the king would have no rents. Wherefore, when he, Las Casas, saw that his opponents would sell him the Gospel, he had offered those temporal inducements which Aguirre had heard of and disapproved.

"The Licentiate considered this a sufficient answer, and so I think would any reasonable man."

Our space forbids us to give other extracts of great interest, and we will conclude with calling the reader's attention to the conversion of a numerous and warlike nation in Guatemala, whom the Spaniards had no less than three times attacked, and had every time come away "with their hands up to their heads." Their land became "a phantom of terror" to the Spaniards, and went by the name of "the land of war." Las Casas and his brethren (for he was then a Dominican) undertook to convert and pacificate

the country. It was no easy task, for, being Spaniards, it was absolutely closed against them. But the Friars had, with great labour, learned the language. They composed in it a long poem, in which they stated the chief facts as to the creation, fall, misery, redemption, and resurrection of man. This they taught to some native merchants who had access to "the land of war," and who sung the poem (which the Dominicans had set to music) at the native fairs and feasts. The attention of the people and their king being thus raised, they were induced to send for the Dominicans, by whom they were converted to Christianity. This event seems to have led to the Brief of Paul III., in which, forbidding the enslavement of the Indians, he declared them "veritable men, not only capable of receiving the Christian faith, but, as we have learned, most ready to embrace that faith." For the particulars, which are very curious, we must refer to Chapters IX. and X. of the work before us.

We are glad to add that Mr. Helps entirely clears Las Casas of the charge vulgarly urged against him, of having been the author of the negro slave-trade.

Lough Corrib, its Shores and Islands: with notices of Lough Mask. By Sir WILLIAM R. WILDE, M.D., etc. etc. Dublin: McGlashan & Gill. London: Longmans, Greene, & Co. 1867.

STRIKING, indeed, are the views of Loch Corrib, whether on the lower lake, with its dreary islet rocks tenanted by the dusky cormorant and the ghostly form of the stalking heron, or on the upper division opening out from the mountain groups of Iar-Connaught and Joyce-country, and circling a hundred islands yellow with the cornfield or purple with the heath and the daboecia. But many who have admired the natural beauties of the great lake are little aware of the high interest attached to the ruins along its shores; and it may be safely said that nowhere else in the three kingdoms are there to be found so many clustering relics of different races and widely-separated periods of man's history—the Norman keep, and the abbey of equal age, whose ancient splendours, even after the hands of the despoiler and the winds and rains of centuries, are still indicated by the roofless walls—the older cahir and clochan, with the crumpled holly-bush and dwarfed hazel issuing from between the huge lichen-covered stones—the moated rath showing the simpler defences of a people probably more ancient than either Norman or Celt—and of tribes more primitive still, whose chief dwellings were the lacustrine crannoges, there are also very suggestive remains.*

The ordinary tourist, as he traverses Loch Corrib, may well rest satisfied with all that he can see from the steamer's deck; but there are not a few who would find it an invaluable addition to the pleasures of their trip if

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* We believe there can be little doubt of this high antiquity of the crannoges, although some of them were used as places of refuge so late as the seventeenth century.

they knew of the archæological treasures contained in the islands, and within a narrow district of the adjacent mainland. Until now the remains were little understood. With the exception of a few of the most prominent castles and abbeys, they were, indeed, hardly noticed; and scarce even the locality of many an important relic of the remote past was marked by other than the wandering herdsman. It is so no longer; and in Sir W. Wilde's book all those objects of antiquity, from crannoge to castle, from the Druid's circle to the hermit's cell, are treated of in a style at once learned and picturesque.

But the antiquities do not form the sole theme of the author. The scenery, the physical geography, and the geology receive a share of his attention; but we may remark that many readers would be glad to have a more detailed description of the geology, as well as some account of the botany, both of which possess peculiar interest in the district around lochs Mask and Corrib.

We wish we could share the author's confidence in the manuscript describing the great battle of Moytura. It appears, indeed, that its story was known so far back as the ninth century—an antiquity, however, that is of little account in relation to a period confessedly fifteen hundred years anterior, to which are assigned the events described. Nor do we think that the general style of the narrative is conducive to much reliance on its truth. If not a fable, we can only say that a great decisive battle between the invading tribe of the Danaans and the Firbolgs must have been a much more civilized and cold-blooded affair than we at the present day could regard as probable. On every evening of a four days' contest the opposing hosts not only buried their dead in peace and quietness, but raised elaborate monuments to their fall. Neither is the description of the fighting very suggestive of genuineness. What must one think of the account of this monster conflict between the collected forces of two nations, when we read that "the four sons of Gan charged down the Danaan lines, but they also were killed by Gobnen, the smith; Lucry, the carpenter; Dianceacth, the surgeon," &c.? However, if we admit the MS. to be true, we must needs confess that Sir William Wilde has fixed the most probable site of the contest, and we cannot but admire the ingenuity and perseverance with which he has traced the agreement between the description and the locality.

But here is an episode of history about which, alas! we can have little doubt. Speaking of the abbey of Cong, Sir William Wilde says (p. 166):—

"We find it the peaceful sanctuary of the last monarch of Ireland during the ruthless times which followed the English invasion, when the O'Conors and O'Donnells, sometimes joining with, and sometimes fighting against the Anglo-Normans, devastated the country, pillaging and burning the abbeys and churches, and then slaughtering one another; down to the dark period of Saxon misrule and legalized injustice, when the white-rocheted friars formed their last, long-winding procession, as, passing out of their beauteous abbey, they wound their way with lingering footsteps over the adjoining bridge, and cast a final look upon its tall tower and peaked gables, cutting sharp and clear against the western sky."

Sir William Wilde writes as a true Irishman. Everywhere in his book we find national feelings cropping up; and as he is proud of all that gives interest to his native land, he keenly feels the ills that afflict her. He thus (p. 278) bears witness to the *improvement* of a great property consequent on its passing into the hands of English proprietors :—

"Brown bogs, bare mountains, a succession of small lakes, some turf clamps, and a few cottages, are all that are here presented to the tourist, of the great Martin estate, which it was hoped would have been turned into a garden by the vast wealth, good management, business habits, thrift, honesty, and energy of that great London company, from whose mild rule such brilliant expectations were entertained twenty years ago. Looking round now, and not seeing any effort at their fulfilment—with no drainage, no reclamation, and scarcely any planting—those who remember the baronies of Ballinahinch and Moycullen in former days, are reminded of the lunatic in Judea, out of whom one devil was cast, and of whom it was said that having taken with him seven other devils more wicked than himself, 'the last state of that man was worse than his first.'"

And (p. 298) :—

"Although it was bought exceedingly cheap, at a time when Irish property was pressed into the market at a third less than its value, no portion of Ireland of the same extent has made less progress than the Ballinahinch estate during the last twenty years."

We regret to see Sir William Wilde sometimes following the orthography of Ordnance surveyors and others equally unskilled in Irish words. We must decidedly protest against his spelling in the word "*lough*," where he uses a diphthong that is precisely the most *un*-Irish of all vowel combinations; while, at the same time, we admit that some of the best Irish scholars have, in deference to English philology, written the word as he writes it. Yet we cannot help thinking it a pity that *loch*, which is a shorter form, and has the additional advantage of being correct, is not generally used by Irish writers, as it is invariably by the Scotch.

Neither can we agree with him in his adoption of certain etymologies of Irish names; though for some of them he has good authority. In a search after the root of *primitive* geographical designations, we prefer looking for descriptive rather than historical epithets; and where historical names exist, it seems probable that they have generally supplanted the original. Many names in the west of Ireland strikingly illustrate our notions on this subject —for instance, the beautiful and expressive word Anglicized into Connemara. The common derivation of *Corrib*, adopted by Sir William Wilde, is *Orbsen*, the name of an "ancient Danaan navigator;" but we think we could point out several etymologies descriptive of the place, any of which is more likely to be the true one than the title of this mythical personage. It may be noted that, in the pronunciation of *Loch Corrib*, the peasantry always distinctly pronounce the C in the latter word; and if we regard *Loch Corrib* as derived from loch, *lake;* coir, *solitary, desolate;* and ibh, *district* or *country*, we shall find a name highly descriptive even at the present day. It must, indeed, be admitted that the *bh* in Irish is the English *v*; so that the sound of the last word does not

correspond very exactly with the last syllable in the name; but the sounds of *b* and *v* are easily interchangeable. Then there is *carbh*, an ancient Celtic name for a *ship* (Llhyd's *Arch. Brit.*)—the lake of ships, alluding to its size; and we could suggest other derivations with which we will not trouble the reader. If Moycullen was anciently a wooded district, as it probably was, and if we consider its innumerable small lakes, we fancy that a better etymology may be found for the name in the descriptive words *magh*, a plain; *coill*, a wood; and *lin*, a little lake or pool, than in the one assented to by Sir William Wilde, and relating to a warrior called *Uillan*, who killed *Orbsen* "on the western margin of the lake." We believe that there could scarcely be a more unsatisfactory derivation than this; for, admitting the exploit in question, it would not probably give a name to the entire of a wide region like Moycullen; and further, it must be remarked that the locality assigned to the fight is not at all in the *great plain*, but separated from it by a range of mountains. However, these are but matters of opinion.

The book is full of effective illustrations; and, in conclusion, we will only say that the thanks of the Irish archæologist, as well as the general tourist, are eminently due to the author for the masterly way in which he describes a host of interesting monuments, which were lying uncared for and unknown along the path of those who seek the inimitable scenery of the West.

Celebrated Sanctuaries of the Madonna. By the Rev. J. Spencer Northcote, D.D., President of S. Mary's College, Oscott. Longmans. 1868.

THIS is a truly valuable contribution to our literature, in a department hitherto little worked. Every reader of Butler's "Lives of the Saints" must have remarked the rich mines of precious and interesting material that remain unexplored in what may be called the outlying regions of hagiology. That very dry, though very estimable, old writer is, to our minds, suggestive of interest in a high degree, almost beside his own intention, and that from the details of history and topography by which his subject may be said to illustrate itself. A keen topographic sense, and appreciation of the picturesqueness of such details, is a faculty possessed by readers, and people in general, in very various degrees. It is like an artist's eye, or a discriminating scent, or an ear for music. At all events, we feel grateful to Dr. Northcote for having supplied this especial source of pleasure in the mind with the ample *pabulum* contained in his more than three hundred pages; while we learn, rather grudgingly, from his short "advertisement," that the volume contains only a few out of several such contributions to the *Rambler* of 1850-52. "The larger half of the volume," he adds, "is quite new, and has been written by a friend who has already made many valuable contributions to English Catholic literature." It is to be hoped the sale which we confidently anticipate for this book will induce the President of Oscott either to enlarge it in a second edition by the materials he

has now withheld from us, or to throw them together in a new series. If we may venture on a further suggestion, it would be that there are sanctuaries and places of pilgrimage in that most religious land, the Tyrol, still waiting to be presented to the English mind, *carent quia vate sacro.* Waldrast, Georgenberg, and others would fittingly take their place beside his *one* Swiss sanctuary of Einsiedlen.

Not the least interesting portion of the volume is that which treats of "Sanctuaries of our Lady mentioned in lives of English saints, and those which were the object of 'old English pilgrimages.'" "There is scarcely a parish in England," says Dr. Northcote, "which has not some trace or relic of the old devotion. In one place we find 'Our Lady's Well' still preserved in the parish churchyard [we wonder how many places in England are named Holywell, for a like reason]; in another, as at Woodbridge, in Suffolk, local tradition speaks of the famous image which formerly stood in the wall of the church, 'to which much pilgrimage was made.' Indeed, if we may judge from the indications to be found in topographical histories, we should be disposed to conclude that the English in Catholic times were distinguished in a very remarkable degree by their fondness for this species of devotion. . . . The love of going on pilgrimage was so innate in the English people that neither the Reformation nor the Great Rebellion sufficed to quench it; and Catholics were still found hardy enough to visit some of their favourite sanctuaries, such as the tomb of S. Richard of Chichester, to which many were yearly in the habit of resorting on his feast long after the Restoration" (pp. 290, 1).

We were prepared, of course, to hear of our Lady of Walsingham, the Loreto of our ancestors; and of some few other noted English sanctuaries in the ancient "Dowry of Mary." But we were certainly surprised at the amount of interesting matter which Dr. Northcote has collected for us from Evesham, Tewkesbury, Coventry, and many other places well known to the history and topography of England. As to the great church of the Benedictine monastery of Coventry, founded by "good Earl Leofric and his wife Godiva" in 1043, we may pass by the legend suggested by their names, which gave rise, in the miserable days of Charles II., to a profane travestie of an old Catholic procession. But it is curious, in tracing the chronicle of the place, to stumble upon the namesake of an old acquaintance. The Marmion of history seems to have possessed much the same turn of character as the Marmion of romance.

"In the troublous times of King Stephen, Robert Marmion, Lord of Tamworth, seized the monastery of S. Mary's, and, turning out the monks, converted the church into a fort, which he held against the Earl of Chester. Roger de Hovedon and Henry of Huntingdon tell us that, as if to mark the divine anger at this sacrilege, blood was seen by many persons to bubble out of the pavement, both in the church and the adjoining cloister. But, whatever may be thought of the truth of this prodigy, the judgment of Heaven was not long in overtaking the sacrilegious oppressor; for as he one day made a sally against the enemy he fell into one of the trenches he had himself caused to be dug, and was wounded in the foot by an arrow. He made light of the injury, which appeared but a trifle; nevertheless, it speedily caused his death, before the sentence of excommunication was removed which he had incurred by his crimes."

The Sanctuary of La Salette, of course, takes high rank on the list of the holy places so pleasantly given to us. It has its own history; and the interest attaching to it, from many circumstances, is surpassingly great—so great that, as some of our readers may have observed, it has excited the attention of one of the High Anglican journals, a correspondent in which has vindicated the genuineness of the apparition of our Blessed Lady in that place from the scepticism of the ordinary run of Englishmen. The letter we refer to has quoted with approval Dr. Northcote's account of this remarkable spot. To Catholic readers the recommendation was needless. We refer to this letter, partly in illustration of the strange times in which we live, when Catholic "apologies" are undertaken by non-Catholic writers; partly as a testimony *ab extra* to the interesting materials contained in Dr. Northcote's volume.

Jerome Savonarole et la Statue de Luther à Worms. Par le Révérend Père Pie Marie Rouard de Card, Provincial des Pères Prêcheurs, Docteur en Théologie. Louvain: C. T. Fonteyn; Paris: Poussielgue-Rusand, Rue Cassette, 27.

THIS pamphlet of a hundred pages has been called forth by a proceeding of the Protestants of Germany. They are erecting a great monument to Luther. This is reasonable. Luther was not only a man of remarkable talents and energy, but he was the founder of a new religion, which at one time had millions of partisans. That religion, like other works of men, has now died out. It no longer exists, and Luther has thus been deprived of that which was formerly his memorial (as Islamism is still of Mahomet): it is natural that those who care anything for him should put up a statue to preserve him from absolute oblivion. Father de Card would never make any complaint of this.

The design includes statues of four men who lived before Luther, and might be regarded as his forerunners. Three of these are not ill selected: they are John Huss, Peter Waldo, and John Wycliffe. A fourth was needed, and the projectors of the monument selected Savonarola. This, of course, assumes that he was, like Huss and the rest, more or less Protestant in sentiments and teaching. The object of this pamphlet is to show by extracts from original documents that—

"The statue of Jerome Savonarola, as a part of the Worms monument, is a pure absurdity. Let no one be astonished at this protest. As a son of S. Dominic, I believe myself to be defending a cause dear to his family—to be defending the interests of the Catholic Church, which can never abandon to heresy the memory of one of her sons who died in the peace of her communion—to be defending also the interests of truth and justice.

"First of all, I must state exactly what I undertake to prove. I do not profess to write a life of Savonarola, or to attempt to clear up all the facts of that life which remain mysterious. Such an undertaking would be at this moment to say the least, beside the purpose, and it would lead me too far

away from the immediate subject of controversy, which is only to examine whether the Protestant Reformation can with justice claim this illustrious man among its precursors. I do not intend to defend every one of Savonarola's actions, and I perfectly understand that many of them will be differently estimated among Catholics. It is possible that I may, some day, say all that I think about Savonarala, and it will only be what has already been published by that great Pope, Benedict XIV.: 'His life was saintly; and the reputation for sanctity which encompassed him during his life has survived him.' The same Pope has included him in his third list of servants of God, illustrious and venerable for sanctity.

"But, to confine myself to the single point which ought now to be discussed, I propose to prove that the Protestant Reformation cannot with any justice claim as its own the name of Jerome Savonarola, and this I hope to show by examining in turn his private life, his public life, his doctrine, his death."

Our space forbids to follow at any length the argument of the author under these heads. He fully establishes what he promises. We do not see what the projectors of the Worms monument are to do. As the author shows, their reason for taking Savonarola is evident: they had to find representative men of the four chief countries, Germany, France, England, and Italy. But what Italian could they get? We feel for their difficulty, but cannot admit that it affords any sufficient justification of their posthumous calumny against a great man unable to defend his own character. On the whole, we would suggest as a substitute—Simon Magus. We do not believe he can be proved to have been born in Italy, but he certainly cannot be proved to have been born elsewhere; and so far, at least, he is better than Savonarola, who *can* be proved not to have had the least resemblance to a Protestant. Now, Simon clearly was a "great Italian reformer." He opposed the first Pope, and he opposed him in Rome. We cannot imagine a better precursor for Luther. The only objection is, that nothing is known of his private life, which proves that he can, without gross injustice to Simon, be classed with the founder of Protestantism. But the authors of the Worms monument cannot be over-scrupulous on that point, or they would never have thought of Savonarola. In fact, it might be difficult to find any one historical character who combined in any degree all Luther's characteristics.

We will only conclude by expressing our earnest hope that Father de Card will fulfil his half-promise, and tell us all he has to say of Savonarola. We have now a special right to ask, for S. Philip Neri has removed from Rome to England. Father de Card reminds us that "in the process of the beatification of that great saint it was proved that he had a great veneration for Savonarola, that he always kept by him an image of him encircled with a glory, and that he was accustomed to read his works with profit (p. 74); and also that when a congregation was appointed by Paul IV., in 1558, to examine and report upon his works, S. Philip organized the prayer of "forty hours" in the church of the Minerva, and that the result of the examination was made known to him by revelation. His historians relate that he was heard suddenly to cry out, "Victory! We have prevailed! The Lord has heard our prayers, and has caused that innocence should be brought to light." The congregation decided that the works of Savonarola were free

from all error. Paul III. had already said, when the accusation was strongly pressed, that he regarded as "suspected of heresy" any one who accused Savonarola (p. 75).

The Church of the Fathers. By JOHN HENRY NEWMAN, D.D., of the Oratory. Fourth Edition. London: Burns, Oates, & Co. 1868.

THIS little work is one of those that the author's countrymen and fellow-Catholics will not willingly let die. Church history, most attractive of pursuits, is also among the most difficult. Writers of Church history have seldom been safe guides, because they have not generally been distinguished for faith; and, though a parodox in profane history, yet it is a simple fact in ecclesiastical, that unless we commence by believing, we cannot come at the truth. Whatever men may have said or done, the Church of God has ever said and done what is true and right. Perhaps nearly every English-speaking Catholic is longing for a Church history in his own tongue. Meanwhile the historical works of Dr. Newman, though written in great measure before he became a Catholic, are conceived in such a Catholic spirit, as to make us accept them, with a few evident allowances, as brilliant studies for a picture which none of us may live to see realized in all its completeness. We see in them all the great qualities of the first-rate historians. There is the familiarity with original sources; the wide command of facts; the boldness and the insight; that remove every suspicion of second-hand results. There is, more characteristic still, the intellectual power of analysis; the creative synthesis; the broad and effective force of view; which make facts speak, and quicken into life the stony memorials of the past. And there is, most marked of all, the faculty of reproduction; the gift of speaking other men's thoughts in language such as themselves would have longed to use; of transmitting the petrified treasures of a dead tongue into a vernacular, that places them, with beauty and dignity nowise impaired, close to modern eyes and in the reach of living hands, and that makes them move the world as they did of old.

The series of Essays in the "Church of the Fathers" does not pretend to be regular history. There is a controversial purpose in them; and they are ostensibly written to open Protestant eyes to a few of the more striking aspects of good men's lives in the fourth century. The reason for which they were first put forth, makes them, to a certain extent, incomplete as essays in sacred biography. This should be borne in mind; because to sit down to a book with exaggerated expectations is to incur a severe reaction of disappointment. An essay on S. Anthony, or S. Martin of Tours, from the pen of Dr. Newman is apt by its very title to raise great expectations. And yet there is enough given us to admire, to study, and to profit by. If this little volume contained nothing but its admirable translations from the letters of Basil and of Gregory, it would be a work of art to be placed beside the companion volume of the author's poems. A first-class writer may be expected to be a first-class translator; but only those who have conscientiously tried,

know the difficulty, and yet the pleasure, of rendering into one's own tongue the words of an eloquent ancient.

"Translation," says Dr. Newman, "is after all but a problem; how, two languages being given, the nearest approximation may be made in the second to the expression of ideas already conveyed through the medium of the first. The problem almost starts with the assumption that something must be sacrificed; and the chief question is, what is the least sacrifice? In a balance of difficulties one translator will aim at being critically correct, and will become obscure, cumbrous, and foreign; another will aim at being English, and will appear deficient in scholarship. While grammatical particles are followed out, the spirit evaporates; and, while an easy flow of language is secured, new ideas are intruded, or the point of the original lost, or the drift of the context broken."—(*Advertisement to First Edition*, viii.)

In spite, however, of this assumed necessity of sacrificing either sense or sound, the translations in the "Church of the Fathers," like those in the Essay on Development, and like the Letters of S. John Chrysostom which appeared in the later numbers of the *Rambler*, are singular models of literal rendering in pure and pellucid English. Take, for instance, the translation of the well-known passage in which S. Basil describes to S. Gregory the scene of his Pontic solitude. For the sake of comparison, we may put it beside another translation, not by any means a bad one,* but one which we may take leave to use to bring out certain beauties in the version before us. S. Basil mentions the lofty mountain, at whose northern base his hermitage stood among cool and clear streams. "At its foot is *an expanse of gently sloping fields*," translates the first version. "A *plain* lies beneath," is the simple rendering of ours. The introduction of the word "fields" spoils the picture, for there were no fields: the same translator afterwards calls it a "lonely wilderness." The epithet "gently sloping" is an introduction not warranted by the Greek. Our own idea is that the mountain rose rather abruptly, and the plain lay flat out beneath. Dr. Newman says, in the next sentence, that the "trees were almost thick enough to be a fence." The other version, a little more stiltedly, says that they almost "form a regular enclosure," and abandons the idea of "thickness," which we take to be essential to the sense. S. Basil goes on to evoke a reminiscence of Homer's description of Calypso's island. One would have expected that most translators would have carefully preserved an allusion, so well adapted to brighten their pages. Our version, of course, has it in; its author knew, even instinctively, that such a trait would bring both Basil's retreat and Basil's mind most effectively before the reader. But the other translator does not see this, and actually leaves it out altogether; running into one the sentence immediately before and that immediately after. "On two sides" of this insular 'piece of ground "descends a deep ravine," continues one translation; "deep hollows *cut it off* in two directions," is the rendering of ours, which thus gives the whole force of the Greek verb, instead of the commonplace "descending," which in a ravine means nothing. "On the third side"—we continue to quote the first version—"the stream throws itself from a declivity into the depth below, and forms an impassable barrier." This picture is not easy to realize. If it means anything, it tells us

* Mr. Cox's translation of Ullman's *Gregory of Nazianzum*.

that the third side was a ravine too, with the addition of a river at the bottom of it. Our version reads the original differently, and more intelligibly "The river, *which had lately fallen down a precipice*, runs all along one side and is impassable as a wall." So that the ravines were not precisely "two sides," but merely "in two directions"; the river, tumbling from a mountain precipice, enclosed the spot on one side, almost meeting the curving base of the mountain-range on the other. We notice the force of the first aorist preserved in "*which had lately fallen.*" Lower down, the first translation has the "sweet smell of the meadows." This is pretty; but unfortunately not warranted by the text; and our rendering gives with rigid sobriety, the "exhalations of the earth." S. Basil, after a florid description of the natural attractions of his abode, characteristically adds, that he has no time to think of such things; and our translation faithfully reproduces his exclamation. The former version stops precisely short of it, and leaves it out. The holy solitary goes on to say, in the words of the same translation, that, "in addition to its fruitfulness, in all other respects it affords to me the sweetest fruit of quiet and repose." This is not so good, because not so neat, as, "it nurtures what to me is the sweetest produce of all, quiet ness." S. Basil is glad that the place is "unfrequented" by travellers; the first translation gratuitously throws in the words "lonely wilderness," in order to round off its sentence. He is happy, also, to say that his chosen spot, though abounding in game, has no bears and wolves, "*as you have.*" Why should the last little epistolary arrow be suppressed? Dr. Newman lets us see it fly. The letter winds up with a hit at *Gregory's* solitude, a place called Tibernia, which Basil here calls the "pit of the whole earth," and with another graceful classical allusion to Alcmæon and the Echinades. But the first translation, with a strict feeling of utility, leaves all this out. Such criticism is, doubtless, very minute. But it shows as well as anything else the difference between perfection in translation and mere passableness. It would take us too long to quote extended passages, to show how the translator catches the spirit and swing of his author; how he diffuses the aroma of a particle through a sentence, and happily catches the very quaintness and humour of the Greek in quaint and humorous English.

To those who have lately been reading the fine narrative in which M. de Broglie has embodied the closing years of the great fourth century, nothing can be more interesting and instructive than to compare his treatment of the great figures of Basil and Gregory with that of Dr. Newman. In more than one passage we think we can detect that the eloquent Frenchman is acquainted with the work of the English master. But in any case the study of the life, writings, and characters of the Fathers that flourished from Hilary to Augustine is growing more and more necessary every day. One inconvenience of studying Theology out of short text-books such as are common in modern lecture-rooms, is the sadly inadequate view they give of the mind of the Fathers. That this can scarcely be helped, we are ready to admit; for even to study the Fathers in the lengthy and critical pages of Petavius or Bellarmine is hardly sufficient for ordinary controversial purposes; and it would be foolish to expect more than brief extracts in a text-book. But it is none the less an inconvenience; for to quote a Father without under-

standing his drift, or the force of his terms, is to expose oneself to controversial disaster as well as to domestic contempt. Besides this, the study of the Fathers enlarges the student's view of Theology to an extent that, we are afraid, very few suspect. This is proved by the fact that many who open the pages of Basil or Athanasius in a cursory and casual way, shut them up again with a feeling of their barrenness and inefficiency. The reason of this feeling is that the scope, the intent, the standpoint, the whole mental situation, so to say, of the Father is previously unknown. The reader goes to the ancient for bread; and he thinks he receives a stone, because he does not know that the bread of those days is not the bread of modern bakers, but something rather harder and drier to modern constitutions, though nothing like a stone, for all that. To read and appreciate the Fathers, the student must have the power of viewing ideas and words from a great many different sides. The stereotyped mind cannot get much good from the study of the lights of the fourth century. But it is to be feared that neither will such a mind be able to meet the shifting shapes of modern error. There has been a time when the Church and her enemies agreed so far that they had a recognized battle-ground and a definite issue. This has changed, and the change is daily completing itself. A man who can master the strange contests of Alexandria and Constantinople, of Italy and of Asia, in early Christian times, will be not unlikely to grapple strongly with the nineteenth-century questions of France and Germany. The mind that wrote the notes on Athanasius has dealt English Protestantism its deadliest blows. Whatever, therefore, can serve as an introduction, or as an incentive to patristic reading, we anxiously welcome. Many, it cannot be doubted, have been moved, and will be moved, to seek out the writings of S. Basil, and shown how to read them aright, by the three sketches of his life and labours contained in the little book we are noticing. Many would be anxious to read the five celebrated discourses on the subjects of the day, delivered by Gregory Nazianzen in his little chapel in the midst of heretical Constantinople, if they were to read the Prince de Broglie's great work.* Great minds are smoothing the way for our clergy, and they should stand up for their inheritance. The tomes of the departed saints are as classic to them as the remnants of cultivated heathenism to the literary world. They have thoughts more noble, ideas more stirring, and language pure and lofty enough not to degrade their themes. Christian Latium can never be poor to us with her Augustine and her Jerome; Christian Greece is richer still.

All thine is Clement's varied page;
And Dionysius, ruler sage,
  In days of doubt and pain
And Origen with eagle eye;
And saintly Basil's purpose high
To smite imperial heresy
  And cleanse the altar's stain;

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* His animated description of the delivery of those discourses which won for their author his name of *Theologus*.

From thee the glorious preacher came,
With soul of zeal and lips of flame,
A court's stern martyr-guest;
And thine, O inexhaustive race!
Was Nazianzen's heaven-taught grace;
And royal-hearted Athanase,
With Paul's own mantle blest.

(*Newman, Verses*, p. 98.)

The Life of Thomas Philip Howard, O.P. Cardinal of Norfolk, &c. &c. By Fr. C. F. Raymond Palmer, O.P. London: Thomas Richardson & Son, 1867.

THIS interesting volume is less a Life of Cardinal Howard (why called in the title-page Cardinal *of Norfolk* we know not) than a history of the Dominican Order in England. Under the heading of an Introduction, one-third of it deals directly with the rise, missions, and influence of the Dominican Order, and its early connection with this country. This preliminary sketch brings us down to the times in which it pleased God to aid and to edify the suffering English Church by the grace of vocation to the religious life of a member of the noblest family in the land. We regret that the writer has not led us more into the private life of the Cardinal, and that he has placed him before his readers rather as a historical personage than as one "taken from among men." But this has, no doubt, arisen from the two facts that Cardinal Howard's grand aim in life was to lead his country back into the true fold, and that he regarded his own order as especially designed by God to bring about this happy issue. Hence, as nearly all his labours for the conversion of England took the form of zeal for founding and extending the Dominican Order in England, his biographer has very naturally occupied himself almost exclusively with the outward acts,—especially such as have reference to the affairs of the Order,—rather than with the interior life of his subject. As a contribution to the ecclesiastical history of our country at one of the most critical periods of the Church's existence in it, we can heartily recommend it.

Lives of the English Cardinals: including Historical Notices of the Papal Court, from Nicholas Breakspear (Pope Adrian IV.) to Thomas Wolsey, Cardinal Legate. By Folkestone Williams. London: W. H. Allen & Co. 1868.

TWO volumes, of considerable bulk, replete with popular learning, and the result of multifarious reading undirected by common sense. They are, probably, meant for the use of those deep students who accept all their knowledge, sacred or profane (if they distinguish between the two), from the circulating library. "Lives of the English Cardinals" has a good sound

there is a promise of light, if not of scandalous, reading, combined with useful information, and, indeed, the reader will in one sense not be disappointed, for there are not many books of such matchless erudition as these Lives, to say nothing of the grave amusement they are sure to furnish to what is called the intelligent reader.

The title is slightly erroneous; it should have been, in order to be accurate, "Historical Notices of the Papal Court, including Lives of the English Cardinals," for the greater part of the work is occupied with the Papal Court, and the last Cardinal spoken of is Wolsey, as if none had been created since his day. The author seems to be unaware that the late Archbishop of Westminster was a Cardinal, while he prophesies the elevation of the present to that high dignity. These are his words in the preface, "A dropped title in the Roman Catholic Hierarchy in England; but there can be little doubt of its early resumption" (p. viii.).

The book is really a popular invective against the Catholic Church, for, according to the writer, popes, cardinals, bishops, priests, regular and secular, are nothing but hypocritical rogues intent on the acquisition of money and power. "Adopting the cowl was an easy way of beginning a profession, the honours and emoluments of which were greatly in excess of all others" (p. 385). Ambition was the sole motive which the priests recognized, it seems, and that being so, Mr. Williams has given a good account of them.

"The head of the Christian Church frequently did not possess a single Christian attribute; his characteristics were notoriously the reverse of Apostolic, his policy was often denounced as that of Antichrist. His select council maintained notions of government remarkable only for their intense worldliness" (p. 438).

Speaking of the duties of the Chancellor of the Holy Roman Church the writer uses these words:—

"In foreign affairs there was, in the first place, to be considered the prosperity of the Church in every kingdom, and this was only to be satisfactorily proved by the amount of money contributions the faithful in that part of the world paid into the papal exchequer" (p. 144).

The institution of the Cardinalate "seemed intended to establish the Papacy as a temporal government, with machinery the best adapted for temporal dominion" (p. 74).

"The institution of the Papacy was the work of several centuries" (p. 70).

Let us now hear what is written about the doctrines and practices of Catholics in all ages and in all countries, and therefore easily ascertained by any man who would take the trouble to make inquiry into them.

"Every sinner, male or female, if wealthy, could obtain remission for almost any amount of sin" (p. 156).

"The sale of indulgences and masses was an excellent source of revenue: the first would permit a large amount of evil living, the second remove the penalty of grievous sin. By the one the quick might gratify their inclinations, however reprehensible; by the other the dead could be rescued from the perils of hell. Rome carried on a lively trade in these wares" (p. 159).

"Even large annual incomes were bequeathed or bestowed for masses to be performed till the imperilled soul was safe in Paradise. *It was alleged that*

the damned testified their appreciation of the efficacy of this rite by the most lively demonstrations immediately it commenced" (p. 255).

"The educated classes of the Christian community had been taught that there were three conditions of life after death. The first was that of eternal happiness . . . the second state of life after death was that of purgatory, a condition of endurance for sinners not sufficiently vile for eternal punishment; . . . the third and last state was that of everlasting damnation, as existing in the region of intolerable torture, the abode of devils, the unquenchable fire of hell. But even in this terrible position the miserable soul was not absolutely deprived of hope. The power of the keys to loose and bind was in the successor of S. Peter, and a sufficient representation at Rome might in due course lead to its transmission to a secondary state of punishment, there to receive divine absolution, and thence eventually to be called to partake of eternal bliss" (pp. 438, 439).

It is certainly marvellous that an educated man, conversant with books, and having opportunities of learning, could at this day sit down and write, and then print, grotesque absurdities of this sort. He may himself, through some defect, hold these views, but how can he attribute them to mediæval Catholics?

Here is something still more curious. In a note (p. 114), the writer, borrowing from the novelists, describes the Interdict.

"The doom was announced at midnight by the tolling of the bells; after which all the priests of every grade entered the churches by torchlight, *the consecrated wafers were burnt*; . . . the relics deposited in the crypt, &c."

The clergy usually described as secular and regular, are distinguished by Mr. Williams, apparently in his ignorance, into "regular and irregular," (ii. p. 34). By the former he means the parish priests and the secular clergy generally, and the "irregular" clergy are monks, friars, and canons living in community. Lest we should be suspected of unfairness, we shall prove our assertion by two or three extracts.

"In every country there were, besides the regular clergy, a number of religious communities rising into importance" (i. p. 144).

"The regular clergy were generally opposed to the monks, especially those of the mendicant orders" (p. 284).

"There was quite as much [hostility] between the monks and the regular clergy" (p. 408).

"A priest in deacon's orders" (p. 241).

This is not all. In the life of Cardinal Langham, we are told, and told correctly, that in his early years he was induced "to join the fraternity of S. Peter's, Westminster" (p. 287); but whether this "fraternity" was Benedictine or Dominican is left in obscurity. Perhaps everybody, as the saying is, knows that the Abbey of Westminter was a Benedictine house, and, in fact, Mr. Williams speaks of them as a "Benedictine community." Nevertheless, in p. 406 we read this of the Benedictine Langham: "As a Dominican he regarded the mendicant orders as interlopers," and (p. 417), it is said of him that he "was eager to be back amongst the Dominicans, with whom he had entered on his ecclesiastical career." Perhaps the solution of the puzzle is this: Mr. Williams does not know that there is any difference between a Benedictine monk and a Dominican friar.

Simon Langham is traduced as a heretic, or at least a fautor of heresy.

Mr. Williams says, "there cannot be a doubt that he approved of the opinions the reformer was inculcating" (p. 406). Now, as "the reformer" was Wicliffe, the charge is a very grave one, and some authority should have been produced for the statement, for the general impression is that Langham was no friend of Wicliffe, or of his opinions, and the friends of the reformer have spoken ill of Langham because he turned that turbulent priest out of Canterbury Hall. This is admitted by Mr. Williams himself (vol. ii. p. 4), though he seems not to be aware that the Archbishop of Canterbury, who thus treated Wicliffe, was none other than Simon Langham the cardinal.

Nothing can be more unsatisfactory than the way Mr. Williams refers to the authorities on which he is supposed to rely. Occasionally he gives merely the name of the writer, sometimes the title of a work, besides—volume and page of course omitted. On the whole this is probably wisely done, but it is troublesome to those readers who are not disposed to trust Mr. Williams. That he is not altogether worthy of trust, shall now be shown.

He says (p. 333) that the Dominicans "took forcible possession of a house in Dunstable," while the Franciscans did the same in Bury St. Edmunds, and "the owners of the property had no redress."

Well, the "owners of the property" in Dunstable say, Annal. Dunstapl., ad an. 1259, that though they did not like the Dominicans, yet they did give them leave to settle in the town; *moram ibidem a nobis impetraverunt.* In Bury St. Edmunds the "owner of the property" gave up his house to the Franciscans, as may be clearly seen in Flor. Wigorn., ad an. 1256, vol. ii. p. 187.

S. Richard of Chichester is said to have been Bishop of Winchester (p. 357). Boniface VIII. whom the satellites of Philip le Bel seized at Anagni, is said to have been seized in Rome (p. 370). According to Matthew of Westminster, he [Benedict XI.] was poisoned by the Cardinals. The printed copy of that writer says nothing of the sort.

Of Innocent IV. this is written among other things:—

"He did as he liked with the English, appointing Boniface, a Provençal, uncle of the queen of England, to be primate, and two bishops, Chichester and Chester, without the slightest reference to the king" (p. 294).

We do not admit that the Pope was either wrong or arbitrary, even if the charge were true; but with that view of the case we have nothing to do, because there is no necessity for considering it. It is the fact alone that we are concerned with. In the first place, Boniface of Savoy was not appointed in the first instance by the Pope, he was elected by the monks of Canterbury at the king's request; *regis instantiâ*, and *secundum domini regis desiderium* are the words of Matthew Paris, who never has a good word for the Pope.

The Bishop of Chichester—and in this case it was S. Richard—was certainly elected without, and against, the consent of Henry III., but the evil deed was not the act of the Pope; the bishops of the province of Canterbury generally were the workers of iniquity who made the saint a bishop. The Canons of Chichester, for reasons of their own, elected for their bishop a man famous for his worldly craft and success; and, moreover, in favour with the king. But as his learning was notoriously scanty, the primate elect and his

suffragans were extremely angry, and determined to leave the man where he was. For this end they deputed Grossteste, bishop of Lincoln, to examine him in theology, who very quickly revealed to him certain portions of his ignorance. The bishops rejected him, quashed the election, in some way or other, and found means to nominate S. Richard in his place, keeping the whole process, however, a secret from the king, whose concurrence they never asked for. It does not appear that the Pope knew anything of the matter; he found the nomination apparently regular, and at once confirmed the election, and consecrated the saint with his own hands.

The third election, to the see of Chester, was that of Roger Weseham, Dean of Lincoln. Mr. Williams seems not to be acquainted with the history of the case, for if he had been, he would have said Lichfield and Coventry, instead of Chester, for there was no bishopric of Chester in those days, nor for many days afterwards. The see of Lichfield and Coventry was frequently designated the see of Chester, because the bishop of it had, for a few years, in the time of the Conqueror, sat in Chester. But even the election to the see of "Chester" was regular enough so far as the Pope is concerned; it was the work of Grossteste again to keep the affair secret from Henry III. And still more, the king's attorney at Avignon attempted to hinder the consecration, but his objections were regarded as of no force, and Mr. Williams does not pretend, we hope, to say that the Pope is to set aside a valid and regular election of a fit person merely because Henry III. had not been consulted by the chapter; for the question raised is not about the king's consent to the election—that was given long before the election was made.

Mr. Williams gives us a picture of the Pope in his palace at Avignon; it is the author's own work, derived, perhaps in some measure, from Villani, or, in general, his copyists. In the midst of this description we are told that the events described took place on "the 11th July, in the year 1349" (p. 396). "His Holiness had thrown open the state apartments of the pontifical palace, the Pontiff having just consecrated him [Thomas Bradwardine] Archbishop of Canterbury" (p. 397). Now that consecration took place on the 19th of July, and therefore had not taken place on the 11th of that month.

Not satisfied with one blunder in the midst of a scandalous libel he commits two more at least. "Hugo, Cardinal of Tudela," a brother of the Pope, is described as insulting both the Pope and the archbishop by what is called "a practical joke."

"Suddenly the doors were thrown open, and there was a movement of intense surprise among the entire company. There entered a rustic on a donkey, who at once rode up to the Pontiff to present a petition. Its prayer was that the donkey might be made a bishop" (pp. 397, 398).

If the story were true, no blame could lie on Mr. Williams for repeating it; but even then he ought to repeat it correctly. Who invented the tale we cannot say, but Parker the Protestant Archbishop of Canterbury tells it, though no man of sense has hitherto believed it. Parker, however, says the joke was made on the 19th July, and that the prayer of the petition was, not that the donkey might be made a bishop, but that the man who rode it might have an archbishopric. "Hugo of Tudela" is a blunder of Mr. Williams's,

it should have been Hugo of Tulle, of which see the cardinal was bishop elect at the time; and it is but justice to the memory of the cardinal to say that he was a man of grave conversation and austere life. Hugo Tutelensis is not Hugo of Tudela, but of Tulle.

The misfortune of Mr. Williams is that he has not understood the matters of which he wrote, or that he has taken his account of them from men as little acquainted with them as he seems to be himself.

Cardinal Langton "crowned" Henry III. on the 17th of May, 1220, "in Westminster Abbey, a former coronation having been considered informal" (p. 238). There never was any question about the formality or informality of any coronation of Henry III., and the fact of which Mr. Williams speaks is nothing more than one of the three solemn coronations annually made; that is, the king wore his crown during the high mass at the three great feasts of Christmas, Easter, and Pentecost. In the time of Henry III. the custom was falling into disuse, and this "coronation" took place on the feast of Pentecost. On these occasions the Archbishops of Canterbury placed the crown on the king's head, and that was the only time when the Archbishop of Canterbury said mass in the royal chapel.

"The world were informed that the empire had been bestowed by His Holiness as *bonum feudum*" (p. 120).

"In vain they declared that a clerical error had been perpetrated: it was *bonum factum* not *feudum* that ought to have been written in the papal declarations" (p. 135).

Mr. Williams does not even understand the story, which is as follows:—The Emperor charged the Pope with saying that he regarded the empire as a fief of the Holy See, because of the word *beneficium* in a papal letter which the Imperial lawyers pretended to consider as intended for benefice, and not, as it really was, for good offices. The Pope in his reply says that he used the word in its natural sense, and that it did not mean *feudum*, but *bonum factum*; there was no question whatever about what was written, that was clear enough, the Pope had written *beneficium*, and the Emperor never said otherwise. This is probably enough to show how much the "Lives of the English Cardinals" is worth.

English Monasticism. London: Jackson, Walford, & Hodder. 1867.

WE have said so much about Glastonbury, in another part of our present number, that it might appear to dwell over much on one subject if we did more than give the title of Mr. O'Dell Travers Hill's work. It is a book, we are forced to say, of no ordinary silliness. In the raving incoherence of its ultra-Protestantism, and the sort of inane declamation with which it is set forth, it reminds us more of Archdeacon Wordsworth's effusions than of any other writings that occur to us. Fancy an author who cannot mention the proto-martyr S. Stephen without drawing a parallel between his Jewish persecutors and (the said author's own fancy-portrait of) the Inquisition! The book has been so far framed on a good plan that Mr.

Hill endeavours to trace the rise, progress, and influence of the monastic system in England by the fortunes of one remarkable instance of that system; and Glastonbury, being the most prominent of English monasteries through the whole course of its history, is fixed upon for the *experimentum*, not *in corpore vili*. This is a hint worth following up. The history of our larger monasteries still remains to be written. It would not be beyond the leisure and means of investigation of some among our Catholic writers to give us the same kind of monograph of our other great Benedictine and Cistercian establishments, the ghastly beauty of whose ruins forms such a feature in British topography all over the face of our land. Meanwhile we are glad to reproduce a passage conceived in a better spirit than many other parts of the volume. Mr. Hill is speaking of such portions of the monastic system as claim his admiration: and it would be well if he and others were at the pains to enforce the following point upon the officials of, *e.g.*, the Farnham Union workhouse:—

"Besides being the cradle of art and science, the monastery was a great and most efficient engine for the dispensation of public charity. At its refectory kitchen the poor were always cheerfully welcomed, generously treated, and periodically relieved; in fine, the care of the poor was not only regarded as a solemn duty, but was undertaken with the most cheerful devotion and the most unremitting zeal. They were not treated like an unsightly social disease, which was to be cured if possible, but, at any rate, kept out of sight; they were not handed over to the tender sympathies of paid relieving officers, nor dealt with by the merciless laws of statistics: but they were treated gently and kindly, in the spirit of the Great Master, who, when on earth, bestowed upon them the larger share of His sympathy,—who, in the tenderness of His pity, dignified poverty and sanctified charity when He declared that, 'Inasmuch as ye have done it unto the least of these My brethren, ye have done it unto Me.' Whatever may have been the vices of the monastic system, or the errors of its ritual, its untiring charity was its great redeeming virtue" (Introduction, pp. 5, 6).

We thank Mr. Hill also for another candid sentence, by which Usher and others might have profited, both as to the first foundation of Glastonbury, and many kindred points beside:—

"One thing it would be well to remember in historical investigation, that in cases where writers so authoritatively declare this and that [document] to be spurious and unauthentic, the reason of their rejecting such a document is generally far more apparent than the reason why it should have been forged at all. It has become convenient to some historians of the nineteenth century to brand a considerable amount of documentary ecclesiastical evidence as forgeries, which at the time of its creation would have answered no purpose, and would in all probability have failed as such" (p. 49).

It is, no doubt, in the anti-Roman interest that we find him writing as follows; but we may accept his facts, without admitting the conclusion he would attempt to draw from them:—

"There can be no doubt that the plot of marshy land known to the ancient Britons by the name of Ynswitryn or Avalonia, and subsequently called by the Saxons Glassenberg or Glastonbury, was the spot where, in the first century of the Christian era, was erected the first English temple of the Christian faith. However contradictory the ancient chroniclers are as to

who was the planter, all unite in fixing upon this spot for the planting. . . . . The last (of three theories), sadly clouded by legend, but receiving some faint confirmation (!) in the antiquities of the country, is that which fixes upon S. Philip as the apostolic instigator, and S. Joseph of Arimathæa as the actual missionary, who, in the midst of the darkness of paganism, first planted on the marshy isle of Avalon the Cross of Christ. . . . . The Cross was planted, the Church was founded; and when, five centuries later, S. Augustine came to England, he found on the isle of Avalon, at Glassenberg, or Glastonbury, a compact, renowned body of Christians dwelling there, active and prosperous. . . . . History mentions little of the young colony after the death of Arviragus, but fortunately sufficient to preserve the clue."

He then gives the account of SS. Faganus and Diruvianus being sent from Pope S. Eleutherius, in the second century:—

"They were soon informed that Christianity had already been preached in the south-western portions of the country by other missioners, who had retired to Ynswitryn or Avalonia, where they lived and died, and where a church had been erected. They then pushed on for this Holy Isle, as it was even then called, and about the year 183 arrived there, and found the rude, rush-covered church, which, we are told, in after years received the familiar name of 'Ealdechirche,' the old church. Here also they discovered many evidences of a Christian colony; for, although Christianity had spread through the neighbouring districts, and even to the court itself, the 'Ealdechirche' had been deserted as its devotees died off. Guided in their researches by the two Christian courtiers—one of whom, Eluan, was a native of the island [of Avalon, *i.e.*]—the Roman delegates took possession of the spot, built another oratory of stone to S. Peter and S. Paul, and also the church at the top of the Tor Hill adjoining, dedicated to S. Michael. Here they settled and lived for nine years, when, in memory of the first twelve, they chose twelve of their company to dwell in the island, in little cells apart, but to meet daily in the church for public worship. They also obtained from King Lucius a confirmation of their title to the island for themselves and their successors"—("English Monasticism," pp. 39–50).

We will dismiss the book with one extract more, which we do not believe to contrain an overcharged description of the spot:—

"In the early part of the sixteenth century the ancient Abbey of Glastonbury was in the plenitude of its magnificence and power. It had been the cynosure for the devotees of all nations, who for nearly eleven centuries flocked in crowds to its fane. . . . . Although not a single picture, but only an inventorial description, is extant of this largest abbey in the kingdom, yet, standing amidst its silent ruins, the imagination can form some faint idea of what it must have been when its aisles were vocal with the chant of its many-voiced choir, when gorgeous processions moved grandly through its cloisters, and when its altars, its chapels, its windows, its pillars, were all decorated with the myriad splendours of monastic art. Passing in at the great western entrance, through a lodge kept by a grave lay-brother, we find ourselves in a little world, shut up by a high wall which swept round its domains, enclosing an area of more than sixty acres. The eye is arrested at once by a majestic pile of building, stretching itself out in the shape of an immense cross, from the centre of whose transept there rises a high tower. . . . A splendid monument of the genius of those mediæval times, whose mighty cathedrals stand before us now like massive poems or graven history. . . . . Beneath this tesselated pavement is a spacious crypt, provided with an altar, and, when used for service, illuminated by lamps suspended from the

ceiling. S. Joseph's chapel, however, with its resplendent altars, . . . is only a foretaste or prelude of that full glare of splendour which bursts upon the view on ascending the flight of steps leading from its lower level up to the nave of the great abbey church itself, which was dedicated to S. Mary. Arrived at that point, the spectator gazes upon a long vista of some four hundred feet, including the nave and choir" (Introduction, pp. 7-10).

The Life of Father Balthasar Alvarez, Religious of the Society of Jesus. By F. Louis du Pont, of the same Society. Translated from the French. In 2 vols. Vol. I. London: Richardson & Son, 1868.

CONSIDERING the number of foreign Catholic books which have within the last twenty years been brought within the reach of English readers, it is somewhat surprising that no translation has hitherto been made of this valuable work. Coming from the pen of one of the greatest spiritual directors the Church ever produced, it is for that reason alone, if for no other, well adapted to assist in supplying a present need, the importance of which to English Catholics cannot be overrated. Few will deny that the formation of a sound and healthy Catholic literature is of paramount importance to us, and that whatever may be wanting for this purpose in native growth must be obtained from foreign sources—foreign, that is to say, so far as mere locality of production is concerned, though not in any other sense; for that which belongs to the whole Catholic body can hardly be foreign to any of its individual members. We, therefore, congratulate the translator on putting into an English dress a work which comes to us with the recommendation that it was written by an eminent master of the spiritual life, whom the Church has declared a venerable servant of God, and whose canonization has frequently been demanded by the kings of Spain.

But the importance of this work does not consist solely in the fact that it was written by the Ven. Luis de la Puente, by the way, who is known to French readers as Père Louis du Pont. It is as interesting in its subject as in its author, for it details the events of the life of a holy Jesuit, who not only exercised a wide-spread influence on the members of his own Society, but helped to mould the spiritual life of the sainted foundress of another distinguished Order, and himself attained to so sublime a degree of virtue that it was revealed to his client S. Teresa "that he surpassed in perfection all the holy souls then living" (p. 134). When we call to mind that at the time this revelation was made S. Philip Neri was founding his congregation of the Oratory in Rome, S. Charles Borromeo sanctifying himself and his flock in the see of Milan, S. Francis Borgia illuminating the Society of Jesus with his singular virtues and austerities, and S. Teresa closely uniting herself to God by the practice of the most ardent charity and entire self-sacrifice, we shall be able to form some conception of the height of perfection at which Father Balthasar Alvarez must have arrived. Lest, however, this description of exalted virtue should deter a diffident Catholic from studying the life of Father

Balthasar, concluding that it must contain things admirable only, and not imitable, we may mention that these pages teem with instructions which cannot fail to be profitable to every devout reader, though he be the merest novice in spirituality. What, for example, could be more practical, even for ordinary Christians, than the following exhortation to thanksgiving after communion?—

"Well convinced that all might, if they pleased, enjoy the wonderful favours and spiritual delights with which God loaded him in his thanksgivings, he exhorted them not to lose such great blessings. 'I seem,' he said to them, 'to hear Jesus Christ giving you the warning He gave one day to His Apostles: "You will not have Me always with you." "Me autem non semper habebitis." (S. John xii. 8.) Yes, this is what He says to each of you after communion. It is only necessary to understand the meaning of these words, which is, "I am actually present in the midst of your heart, and I am come to give you the opportunity of carrying on with Me a holy and useful commerce. But, as you know, I shall not always remain with you. My presence is attached to the subsistence of the sacramental species. In a few moments they will be destroyed, and I shall then retire. Profit, then, of this short visit to negotiate with Me, and enrich yourselves with the blessings I wish to heap upon you."' The servant of God added these few words to this touching exhortation: 'He who communicates should endeavour to lose none of that precious time, when the Divine Majesty dwells within him. I will show you how it may be spent holily. First of all, we must reflect on the presence of God, and adore Him with the deepest possible respect. Then we must acknowledge ourselves unworthy to behold His divine face, and humbly ask His blessing; we must then listen attentively to the interior voice by which He deigns to speak to the soul, to profit by the lights He gives, and to follow His counsels. There are two defects in particular against which communicants should be on their guard—too short thanksgivings, and too much reading or meditation. Those who are guilty of the first fault are very blind to their own interest, not to speak of their ingratitude and rudeness. God comes to visit them with His hands full of graces, and they leave Him to run after their pleasures or business. Can we conceive such folly? Every one who has a true love for his soul, instead of shortening his thanksgiving after communion, prolongs it as much as he can, according to the counsel of Ecclesiasticus xiv. 16: "Lose not the benefit of the good day, nor any part of the blessing God gives thee." "Non defrauderis a die bono, et particula boni non te prætereat."

"'The second defect, though less hateful, is no less injurious. Reading, meditations, and long prayers have doubtless their utility, but they are misplaced during the time devoted to thanksgiving. These exercises, in fact, are supplications that we send forth to God to beg Him to come into our hearts; now is it the time to call upon Him, and entreat Him, when we are actually in the enjoyment of His presence? Besides, what can books or meditations teach us that is not taught much better by Jesus Christ Himself present? What sweetness and consolation can such means procure that we do not find much more abundantly in communion? If the reading of good books be a help to holiness, certainly familiarity with the thrice Holy God is a much more efficacious aid. Reading raises up our heart towards Him, but our pious affections, such as we should have in our thanksgiving, draw down His towards us. He speaks to us in books, we speak to Him in holy prayer.

"'O Lord, he is very sick who is fatigued by Thy visits; that soul is very near a fall that does not find her joy and satisfaction in Thee. Where, in

fact, shall she find it, if God does not suffice to satisfy her? Where shall she find the zeal and devotedness Thou meritest, if Thy loving visit cannot inspire her with these virtues? Thou honourest her by desending into her house, and Thou comest to bestow on her all sort of goods; what ought not to be her gratitude? But if Thy conversation be burdensome to her, if she leave Thee to run elsewhere, it is clear that her heart is fixed upon something different from Thee.'"—(Pp. 83–86.)

Very touching and effective, also, is the following incentive to perseverance in prayer:—

"'Let us not be tired, my brethren, of going to the gates of God, which are always open, or which will certainly open immediately when we knock, according to this promise: "Knock, and it shall be opened to you." "Pulsate, et aperietur vobis." (Luke xi.) How is it that this promise of Jesus Christ to us does not suffice to make us bear His delays in peace, and to support our confidence? Can we then doubt of the teaching of faith? Reason alone would suffice to reassure us. Does it not, in effect, tell us that the hardest heart cannot bear to see a poor man trembling with cold at his door without opening it? Now, the Heart of God is not a hard heart; it is the heart of a father. Let us, then, my brethren, persevere in knocking at the door of this great God, even if an icy cold should seize us. At the moment when we least think of it, Assuerus will open the door to Mardocheus, and admit him into his presence. Then his happiness will make him quickly forget the miserable days passed at the gate of this great king.'"—(Pp. 164, 5.)

We regret, however, to observe a number of blemishes of a serious character which have been faithfully transferred from the French translation to the present version. Whole sentences and paragraphs of the original Spanish are sometimes omitted, while others are so inaccurately rendered that the author's meaning is distorted or lost. For instance, at p. 32, after relating some advice of Father John of Avila on the necessity for constant prayer, the English translation proceeds, "In speaking thus, Father Balthasar only expressed what was his own constant and persevering practice." This is an accurate rendering of the French version, but it differs widely from the Spanish, which reads, "Lastly, he put the finishing stroke to all the care he took (to gain the spirit of prayer) by the great constancy and perseverance he employed in all the above-mentioned things."* Again, at p. 142, the sentence, "For fourteen years I was in the habit of presenting myself before God as a poor man asking alms," should read, "After fourteen years I was moved to place myself in the presence of the Lord as a poor man expecting alms."† Besides these more serious errors, we frequently meet with French names for places which we are accustomed to designate according to the Spanish nomenclature, as, for example, "Complute" instead of "Alcalà," "Abula" instead of "Avila," "Val d'Olet" instead of "Valladolid," and "Métine-du-Champ," instead of "Medina del Campo." We the more regret the existence

* Finalmente echò el sello à todas sus diligencias con la grande constancia, y perseverancia que tuvo en todas las cosas sobredichas.—*Obras Espirituales del V. P. Luys de la Puente.* Madrid, 1690.

† Passados catorze años, fuy puesto en ponerme en la presencia del Señor, esperando limosna como pobre.—*Ibid.*

of these blemishes in the English version because of the great esteem in which we have always held the original work, but we trust that our observations will be in time to prevent the occurrence of similar errors in the second volume.

Messrs. Richardson have brought out this volume in a light and readable shape, uniform in size and external appearance with Father Faber's "Notes."

Life and Letters of Madame Swetchine. By Count DE FALLOUX. Translated by H. W. PRESTON. Boston: Roberts Brothers.

IN our January number we promised our readers a further notice of the translation of the Count de Falloux's singularly attractive and instructive life of Madame Swetchine. Had that life been spent, like the life of Eugénie de Guérin, in the retirement of a provincial château, it would still have excited the interest and the loving admiration of all who can appreciate an exquisitely feminine character, endowed with high intellectual powers, refined by assiduous cultivation, and with an unusual measure of moral excellence, supernaturalized by faithful correspondence with grace. But the book before us owes its charm not only to the beauty of the principal figure, but to the religious and historical interest of the stirring events amidst which it is placed, and of the remarkable characters grouped around it, amongst whom the noble biographer himself is not one of the least distinguished.

Sophia Swetchine (née Soymonof) was born at Moscow, in November, 1782. Her father, who was descended from an ancient Moscovite family, was secretary to the Empress Catherine II., and occupied a high place in the administration. He was a grave, learned man, of noble mind and manners, full of the Utopian schemes of universal philanthropy at that time struggling with the old Moscovite traditions which had received so rude a shock from the hand of Peter the Great, but utterly destitute of religion. At the age of fourteen, Sophia Soymonof was acquainted with the Russian language, of which most persons in the higher ranks were ignorant; spoke English and Italian with as much ease and purity as French, and German correctly, and was studying Latin, Greek, and Hebrew. But of religious exercises she knew nothing save the pompous ceremonies of the Imperial chapel, and had never been taught even to say her morning and evening prayers. From her earliest years she showed remarkable firmness of character, and a self-control of which one or two remarkable instances are given by M. de Falloux (pp. 13 and 14).

At sixteen Mademoiselle Soymonof was appointed maid of honour to the Princess Mary of Wurtemberg, the bride of Paul I., who had just succeeded his mother. The young empress was a model of patient sweetness and goodness in a position of extraordinary difficulty. Under her kind and careful guardianship, Sophia remained until she was seventeen. The cultivation of her mind was not neglected, and her talent for both music and drawing,

which was considerable, sedulously cultivated. She was not remarkable for beauty, but she possessed a charm of voice and manner, and a high-bred ease and grace which distinguished her even to the latest years of her life. At the age of seventeen Mdlle. Soymonof was affianced by her father to General Swetchine, his own personal friend, a man of high military distinction, upright character, and a calm and kindly spirit. He was forty-two years of age; but the disparity of years does not seem to have made him unacceptable to Sophia, who acquiesced in the choice, as in every wish of her father, with loving deference. She had lost her mother several years before, and the certainty that she would be still able to fill a mother's place to her little sister was to her the greatest consolation. She was never blessed with children of her own. Shortly after his daughter's marriage, M. Soymonof, by one of the unaccountable caprices of the Emperor Paul, was sent in disgrace from S. Petersburg to Moscow. The spirit of the proud, upright man of the world, who had no higher consolation to support him under the sense of disgrace and the separation from his darling daughter, was utterly broken, and he was carried off by a stroke of apoplexy. This, her first severe sorrow, brought Madame Swetchine to God.

"That first solitude of soul, that need of a support which had never failed her, and whose loss she had never faced, lifted her eyes at once to heaven. Her first prayer sprang from her first trial, and when she could no longer say *my father!* she cried my God. 'I woke early,' she wrote many years afterwards, 'from a sleep worse than death. At the age of nineteen, I threw myself into the arms of God, with a passionate fervour unexampled in my experience. For several years my religion was of that stamp, and, if you will believe it, my friend, five minutes of religious exaltation sufficed to obtain every sacrifice, and give direction to the remainder of my life. It was grace; and I say it with the deepest conviction, I deserved none. Later, Providence took away my milk and leading-strings. How weak I felt when it became necessary for me to walk alone, and climb instead of leaping'!" . .

It is remarkable that in this fervour of religious enthusiasm, destitute as she was of all spiritual guidance, Madame Swetchine was preserved from falling into the false mysticism of Madame de Krüdener, who obtained so strong an ascendancy over the mind of the Emperor Alexander, and over the minds of many who, like himself, were yearning for something more living and loving than Russian *orthodoxy*. An instinctive reverence for authority attached her to the system by which it was represented to her; and it was not till painful and careful investigation had proved to her the schismatical position of the body to which she belonged, that she sought and found her home in the arms of the true mother, whose place had been usurped so long. The chief instruments of her conversion and of the conversion of many others of her countrymen were some of the faithful and noble-hearted French Catholics who sought refuge in Russia from the universal philanthropy which was making one vast charnel-house of France. The Emperor Paul, under the name of the *Comte de Nord*, had visited France in the days when Louis XVI. and Marie Antoinette were the idols of the fickle Parisians; he now extended a ready and honest protection to the *Orphan of the Temple*, their sole-surviving child, and to many of the noblest of the French aristocracy.

The old chivalrous names, once household words at Versailles and Trianon were now familiar in the drawing-rooms of S. Petersburg, and among those who bore them were some whose saintly lives would not have disgraced the Church of the Catacombs. There were some like the Count de Maistre, well able to defend their religion by their lips and by their pen; more whose lives and deaths witnessed most eloquently alone. Of this number was the Princess de Tarente, who died just as her long exile was ended by the restoration of the Bourbons, and she was preparing to return to France. "Her influence," says M. de Falloux, "was rather the authority of virtue than of superiority of mind. Her political ideas were remarkable neither for depth of wisdom nor acuteness of penetration, but they were mixed up with such stately traditions and such pathetic misfortunes, that one easily forgave her fixed contemplation of the past, and never approached her without being lifted above oneself by veneration and tenderness."

Count de Maistre was undoubtedly, of all the friends of Madame Swetchine, the one who had the strongest influence over her mind. Yet he was not, she used to say, the first in the field. The honour of the introduction of Catholicism amongst the Russians belonged of right to M. d'Augaud, an old officer of the French marine, and Chevalier of S. Louis, who brought with him from France a prayer composed by the saintly Madame Elizabeth, which he had received as a parting gift. He had neither the superior mental endowments nor the sensible religious fervour which distinguished Count de Maistre, and in his humility he did not aspire to influence any; "but the very simplicity and essentially French grace of his mind, his liveliness, and the sweet frankness with which he expressed his convictions, gave him a power over those with whom he conversed the more irresistible, as they never thought of guarding themselves against it."

Madame Swetchine became acquainted with these Catholic friends in 1801; but it was not until the autumn of 1815 that the full light broke upon her, and "the darkness of her mind," to use her own words, "yielded to the *fiat lux* spoken by the voice of God in the depths of her conscience." The intervening years had been spent happily and usefully in the loving care, first of her young sister, and then of an adopted daughter of her husband, and in deeds of devoted charity to the poor, to which the widowed Empress Mary devoted her remaining life, and in which she was aided by the Empress Elizabeth, the beautiful but neglected wife of the Emperor Alexander. Much of Madame Swetchine's time was then, as always, devoted to correspondence with her friends upon subjects both religious and literary, and upon the engrossing political topics of those spirit-stirring days. Of this correspondence M. de Falloux has made free and judicious use, leaving Madame Swetchine and her friends, as far as possible, to tell the story of her life without the intervention of a biographer. He has also enabled us to trace the progress of her mind, both intellectually and spiritually, by selections from an enormous collection of extracts from various authors, begun by her in her nineteenth year. Thirty-five of these volumes remain, thirty of which are in quarto, filled with close fine writing. Reading with her was never a simple relaxation. She had not done with a book till she had filled it with notes and comments, and in some cases

copied it entire. These voluminous extracts represent the successive stages of her mental and spiritual progress.

In the June of 1815 her doubts as to the claims of the Russian Church to her allegiance became so urgent that she determined upon resolving them by a course of searching inquiry, which issued in her submission to the Catholic Church. She retired for six months to the country house of a friend, where, during the brief days and long nights of the Russian autumn and winter, she employed herself in examining the most contradictory documents which she had laboriously collected beforehand. She saw that the question at issue between the Latin and Greek Churches was not so much a question of doctrine as first and pre-eminently of history. She therefore analyzed most carefully the acts of the principal Œcumenical Councils assembled in the East, noting particularly whatever bore upon the supremacy of the Pope. Her chief guide through this historical labyrinth was Fleury, whose unsatisfactory tone added weight to the testimony which he bore to the truth in question. Greeks lauded him to the skies, Protestants spoke of him with respect, and he was not absolutely rejected by Catholics. Her searching analysis of Fleury's Church History remains entire in a folio volume of four hundred and fifty pages, filled with her closest and finest writing. But, while thus working her way to the truth by a laborious path which few are called upon, or have ability or perseverance to follow, she neglected not the royal road of prayer. Her friend the Princess Galitzin, already a Catholic, had composed a prayer for her conversion, which she had repeated daily for the last five years. And hers were no formal supplications. In a letter written a little while before her conversion she says, "I have been often reproached with what people call my familiarity with God; and it is quite true that, starting from the principle that no one who loves is offended by confidence, I take Him, as it were, aside, and tell Him of my joys and of my wishes, as well as of my sorrows. Prayer is to me a *tête-à-tête par excellence*, and I pity those with whom it is nothing but a soliloquy." The following note occurs in one of her manuscript books:—"My last Greek Communion, on the 20th of June, 1815, was received with the sole purpose of removing my remaining hesitation. God in His goodness did not despise my choice of means, and on the 8th of November of the same year I made my abjuration." It was made in secret. Her first confession was heard by Father Rosaven in a drawing-room with open doors, and in momentary dread of interruption. The consequences of this step, when she made it known, and the jealousy aroused at court by the respectful and affectionate regard borne by the emperor to Madame Swetchine, led to the removal of both herself and her husband to Paris, where both were to end their days, and where Madame Swetchine was to form friendships and to exert an influence for good which have given a more than European celebrity to the name of one of the most retiring and simple-minded of women. The filial love and reverence borne to her by Père Lacordaire, M. de Montalembert, and the writer of the present biography, has been revealed by all three. Her letters to the illustrious Dominican, and his replies, form perhaps the most interesting portion of his correspondence. "She was a woman," he once said, "whom S. Jerome

would have loved as he loved S. Paula." Her humility was wounded by the comparison, yet it strikes us as singularly happy; the combination of great intellectual gifts and singular firmness of character with womanly tenderness, which distinguished Madame Swetchine, reminds us of that saintly daughter of the Scipios and the Gracchi, whom S. Francis of Sales describes as "l'humble violette." Another quality remarkable in Madame Swetchine, and which was brought into strong relief by the varied and often exciting circumstances of her life, was her appreciation of good in those who differed from her. Her unswerving fidelity to her own convictions of truth and duty was accompanied by a respect and tenderness for the conscientious convictions of others, which enabled her to be the friend, adviser, and confidante of persons who had few other connecting links between them.

The good she effected during the thirty years of her residence in Paris will never be known till the secrets of all hearts are disclosed. She rarely gave what is called advice, her humility made her shrink from responsibility. "God alone gives us grace to answer," she would say; but "if you opened your heart to her, she extended you her hand, and never drew it back again." In her conversation she never aimed at effect. The very absence of all pretension was her first claim to originality. Except under some strong excitement, she was never brilliant. There was nothing striking about her. People loved and admired her instinctively long before they could give an account of the charm which subdued them.

Madame Swetchine's days were divided into three distinct parts. She kept the morning exclusively to herself; but her morning began before day. At eight o'clock she had heard Mass and visited the poor (her daily and most cherished occupation). She then came home; and her doors were closed till three o'clock. From three till six her drawing-room was open; it was closed from six to nine. At nine her soirée began, and rarely closed till midnight. The *habitués* of the afternoon and evening were generally different.

Madame Swetchine's charitable labours in Paris in no way interfered with her duty to her dependents in Russia, over whom, in her banishment, she never failed to exercise a tender and watchful care. She would never consent to follow the advice of her friends, who urged her to sell her property in Russia, and place her fortune beyond the reach of any arbitrary measure. "I will never," she said, "forsake the peasants whom God has entrusted to my care, and so strengthen in the emperor's mind the fatal prejudice which makes him suppose that by becoming a Catholic one ceases to be a Russian."

Madame Swetchine survived her kind and venerable husband five years. Without any premonitory symptom he was struck down by a sudden fit of apoplexy, at the age of ninety-two, as his wife was reading the morning paper to him. Their union had been one of perfect harmony and affection. General Swetchine loved his wife devotedly, and with a kind of tender veneration, and she bore him an affection full of respect, and tended him in his old age with loving care.

Madame Swetchine had been a sufferer for the greater part of her life from painful bodily ailments. The details of her last illness and death,

simple, holy, and self-forgetting as her life had been, are given in a touching letter from M. de Falloux to the Count de Montalembert, which closes this most interesting and instructive history. We are glad to see it in an English dress, for the sake of those to whom the original is unknown. But we cannot speak highly of the translation. There are glaring blunders here and there, such as *Paule et Marcella*, translated *Paul and Marcellus; arrêt, arrest*, &c., which make nonsense of the passages in which they occur; and the English throughout does poor justice to the exquisite French of M. de Falloux.

Etudes Religieuses, Historiques et Littéraires, par des Pères de la Compagnie de Jésus. Paris: Albanel 15, Rue de Tournon.

THE *Etudes* for February contains a curious historical article upon "Albert of Brandenbourg, first Duke of Prussia." All the world knows that this man, a younger son of the Margrave of Brandenbourg, was elected Grand Master of the Teutonic Knights about ten years before the commencement of Luther's evil career; and that in 1525, under the influence of Luther and Melancthon, his "conscience" (in some respects resembling that of our King Henry VIII.) compelled him, as Bossuet says in the "Variations," "to become a married man, a reformer, and a hereditary sovereign." He obtained for himself the territory which he had held in trust for the Teutonic Knights, and, after holding it for forty-three years, left it to his son, upon whose death without children, his dominions fell into the elder branch of his family, and ultimately gave the title of king to the House of Brandenbourg. But what has only very lately been made known by documents in the Vatican, published by the learned Oratorian Theiner, is, that Albert himself, in his later years, returned to the Catholic Church, and sent a private embassy to Rome to obtain both the removal of his own excommunication and the advice of the Holy Father as to the means of bringing back his subjects to the one true faith. It may seem a matter of small importance what so bad a man believed or did, but we cannot admit that it is so. Surely, nothing is a stronger testimony to the supernatural power of the Catholic Church over men's consciences, than the fact that no one ever heard of a man who, finding himself approaching to death, after living all his life as a Catholic, has felt that he could not die easy without first becoming a Protestant; while, on the other hand, all the world knows how very numerous are the instances of Protestants who, on the approach of death, have resolved to submit to the Catholic Church. As to this poor man, the family which he took such wretched measures to aggrandize, soon came to worse than nothing. His only son lived many years, a nominal sovereign, but in truth a lunatic, deprived even of his personal liberty; and the unhonoured death of that son ended his line. Let us hope that the return to the Church of the founder of the Prussian State may be only a type of the return of that State itself to the unity of the Church.

Among other articles in the number of the *Etudes* before us there is one on Bees, by F. Babaz, S.J., who gave us two months back, in the same magazine, a most curious and interesting one on Spiders. The Rev. Father is one of those gifted men who see much more than their neighbours in the common objects which nature offers to the eyes of all. It is the old story of "eyes and no eyes." The number of the magazine before us is also enriched by a "Bulletin of Science," which, it is announced, is henceforth to appear quarterly. It is supplied by a man of unusual ability and great attainments upon all subjects of mathematics and physical science, the Rev. F. Carbonnelle, S.J., who, after having been superior of the College of S. F. Xavier at Calcutta, has lately been recalled to occupy the chair of Professor at Louvain. He gives here some exceedingly curious information upon the experiments lately made as to the interpenetration of different metals by gases. F. Carbonnelle is one of those lucid writers who have the gift of explaining the most difficult subjects in a manner intelligible to every reader. The recent experiments which he explains, promise (among several other very curious results which he indicates) to enable us to ascertain the nature of the atmosphere in which meteoric stones (those hitherto puzzling phenomena of nature) have been, before falling to the earth. The amount of knowledge with respect to the matter of which the sun and even the fixed stars are composed, which we may ultimately attain by following up the course of inquiry which they suggest, it is as yet impossible to anticipate. F. Carbonnelle gives a good deal of curious information about the two eclipses of the sun in 1868. The first took place on Sunday, February the 23rd; the other is to be on August the 18th. It is a total eclipse, unfortunately for us not visible in England, but which takes place when the moon is at its nearest point of approach to the earth. The consequence is, that the period of total eclipse, instead of lasting, as it usually does, only a few seconds, will last for almost five minutes. This will not happen again for a century. It is expected that considerable discoveries as to the physical construction of the sun may reward careful observations made during this eclipse, and F. Carbonnelle expresses an expectation that many European astronomers will go out with their instruments expressly to have the opportunity of taking them where the eclipse will be most favourably observed; viz., in British India. F. Carbonnelle must be tempted to wish that his return to Europe had been delayed a few months, so that he might himself have been among the observers of a phenomenon, the sight of which he evidently considers cheaply purchased at the cost of a voyage to the other side of the earth. But, happily, nothing earthly seems to a good religious worth weighing against holy obedience.

In the same paper F. Carbonnelle gives some curious details about the Electric Telegraph, and ends by a very fair and courteous account of the strange attempt made by a celebrated French *savant*, M. Chasles, to prove that Sir Isaac Newton in truth fraudulently appropriated the discoveries attributed to him, and that they were really made by Pascal. This (as our readers are probably aware) M. Chasles attempts to prove by producing an immense mass of letters, professing to be originals written by "Pascal, Newton, Huyghens, Cassini, Galileo, Malebranche, Montesquieu, Louis XIV.,

and James II. To the credit of the literary and scientific men of France, they seem generally agreed that the letters are a forgery; and, what is strange, M. Chasles refuses to say how he got them, or to give any means of tracing their history. The celebrated astronomer Leverrier, in a tone of calm irony, stated that, as M. Chasles was, unfortunately, unable to do this, he had at once dismissed any further thought about them, which, he says, is the habit of astronomers. M. Chasles, however, perseveres. Under these circumstances, F. Carbonnelle says, with great courtesy, "Here is a painful question for an impartial judge; for the choice lies only between two improbabilities. Is it probable that so distinguished a man as M. Chasles should allow himself to be the dupe of a forger? Is it probable that so great a man as Newton should have been knave enough to impose upon the whole world? There is no other alternative." He then shows reasons for deciding that the letters are a forgery—a very thoughtful and deliberate forgery; for hardly any doubt can be suggested as to one of them, which is not satisfactorily met by some other letter in the series. Unfortunately, however, they receive no support from any trustworthy document outside this same series. Thus, it is admitted that Pascal could not have made the discoveries disclosed in his supposed letters to Newton if he had not been informed of certain observations. Had he any knowledge of them? "Unquestionably," says M. Chasles; "for see, here is (in my series) a letter written with his own hand by Galileo to Pascal in 1641, in which those observations are described." "Indeed," it is replied; "but could Galileo write in 1641? had he not lately become totally blind." "No," says M. Chasles, "for here are letters (still in my series) from Viviani, which distinctly state that he could then see to read and write." All holds together beautifully, but F. Carbonnelle shows that both Galileo and Viviani, in extant documents quite distinct from this series, declare the contrary. It is impossible not to feel that, although this controversy has not lost its interest, the nature of that interest is changed. When M. Chasles first produced his "letters," the question was whether or not Newton was an impostor. That question is now settled by the agreement of all reasonable men. But it has left behind it another question, interesting in its measure; to wit, by whom were the letters forged? M. Chasles is an eminent literary man, whose character is of value to his country, and it ought not certainly to be less valuable to himself. Under these circumstances, it is strange that he does not feel that justice to himself requires that he should contribute his aid to the solution of this question, by stating the quarter from which the supposed letters came into his possession.

We have called especial attention to the quarterly, "scientific Bulletin" of F. Carbonnelle because we cannot help thinking that there are in England many Catholics who will be glad to have put before them in a form so concise, so clear and interesting, the subjects which from time to time are occupying the attention of scientific men. This they will find in the quarterly scientific article of the *Etudes*.

Parochial and Plain Sermons. By JOHN HENRY NEWMAN, B.D., formerly Vicar of St. Mary's, Oxford. In eight volumes. Vols. i. and ii. London, Oxford, and Cambridge: Rivingtons.

MESSRS. RIVINGTON are at present republishing in a very neat and convenient shape, a complete edition of Doctor Newman's sermons preached in the Church of England. The eight volumes, of which two have been already published, will contain the various series of sermons preached between the years 1825 and 1843—the first six including the "Parochial Sermons," and the seventh and eighth the "Plain Sermons, Contributors to the Tracts for the Times," which was Dr. Newman's contribution to that series. The present edition is produced under the care of the Rev. W. J. Copeland, of Farnham, who, at the conclusion of a preface, brief but written in an excellent spirit, says:—"It is right, though scarcely necessary to observe, that the republication of these sermons by the editor is not to be considered as equivalent to a reassertion by their author of all that they contain; inasmuch as being printed entire and unaltered, except in the most insignificant particulars, they cannot be free from passages which he certainly now would wish were otherwise, or would, one may be sure, desire to see altered or omitted." A little instance indeed indicates the exact fidelity with which the original text is reproduced—and that is the extraordinary abundance of italicized passages, a form of mechanical emphasis, which has almost disappeared from Dr. Newman's later style, and which indeed was never necessary to a style of such intensity, transparency, and tension. We cordially join, though not perhaps in Mr. Copeland's exact sense, "in the fervent hope and belief that like good to that which by God's blessing, these Sermons have done before, they may by His mercy do yet again under other circumstances."

The Doctrine of Holy Indulgences explained to the Faithful. By the Abate DOMENICO SERRA. Translated by F. AMBROSE S. J. JOHN, of the Oratory of S. Philip Neri, Edgbaston. London: Burns and Oates.

ONE of the greatest benefits conferred in our time on English Catholic devotion, was F. S. J. John's translation of the "Raccolta." He has now proceeded to translate and publish a treatise on indulgences, of which we had hoped to give a full account in our present number. But our good intentions have effected their own overthrow. We were so resolved not to set to work until we had time to write *fully*, that we have ended by putting it off until we have no time to write *at all*. In our next number we hope to repair the deficiency, and meanwhile we heartily recommend the volume to our readers' study.

Correspondence.

LETTER IN ANSWER TO "VINDEX."

(To the Editor of the DUBLIN REVIEW.)

SIR,—I have read the letter of "Vindex" in the DUBLIN REVIEW of last April, and I have endeavoured, to the best of my poor ability, not to repeat in the present letter the faults (as far as I can see them) which he pointed out to me. I hope he will feel that here at least I have tried to do justice to Professor Ubaghs, and that I have not made use of a single epithet which has not been sanctioned by his own use.

In reviewing "Vindex's" letters, *i.e.*, that to the DUBLIN REVIEW of April last, and those in the *Westminster Gazette* (No. 59, 60-62), to which he refers his readers for his views, I have, for clearness sake, drawn out his various theories and systems, and compared them with each other, and I have ventured, as the reader may observe, to express, from time to time, my inability to follow him. Next, I have given the general view of Church Philosophers as expressed by F. Kleutgen, and have confirmed his view by the learned brochure of Dr. Schütz. It would be arrogance indeed (well deserving of all "Vindex's" severity), were I to pretend to lay down a system of philosophy of my own as the only sound teaching. I merely hope, by the aid of a little gentle criticism at first, and the light of great minds next, to throw one little ray into the obscurity.

First of all, "Vindex" has several theories about the seven condemned propositions.

Theory I. is this: "Their meaning is clear (N. 59). Any ordinary reader who will consider them at all carefully will see that in their *primâ facie* sense they affirm the monstrous doctrines" censured below. "Vindex" brands them with the following marks, showing he holds them to be directly contradictory—in their *primâ facie* sense—to the Deposit.

Censures A. "They tend proximately to the subversion of all philosophy, of all virtue, and of all religion." "The simple truth is, these propositions are monstrous." "They are really atheistical." "They are utterly pantheistic and rationalistic."

Censures B. The 1st is "astounding nonsense;" 2nd and 3rd, "outrageous absurdities;" 4th, contains three assertions, "all three atrociously absurd;" 5th, "an outrageous absurdity;" 6th, made up of five points, "all these points are absolutely insane;" and "ontologists suppose these propositions must have been framed in Bedlam, or after dinner;" the 7th, "an outrageous absurdity." (N. 60.)

Censures A. and B. exclude each other.

"*Nonsense*," says Butler, "is that which is neither true nor false;" or, if he prefers Dryden, "The literal sense is hard to flesh and blood, but *nonsense* never can be understood."

Censures C. "Ontologism is the antipodes to these propositions." (N. 59.) "All seven of them are no more ontologistic propositions than they are the man in the moon and the Siamese twins." (N. 60.)

Who taught A, B, and C? "Leading ontologists." (N. 60.) That is, Professor Ubaghs taught doctrines "altogether similar" to some of the propositions* A, B, C. (I use "Vindex's" translation of *plane similes* as fairer and more accurate than mine. See W. G. for Jan. 18.) And M. Brancherau taught propositions "almost identical with A, B, C." (N. 62.)

D. Did these men want acuteness? Professor Ubaghs "possessed a rare penetration of intellect, and an art but little known of clearly explaining the most obscure questions." (N. 57.) M. Brancherau was "an eminent philosopher." (N. 62.) Were they led away by fellow-ontologists? "Ontologists say that they [unlike these two professors] never held such doctrines (as A, B, C) that they heartily detest them, that they gladly subscribe their condemnation, and have a thousand times refuted them." (N. 59.)

Theory II. Here the seven (1) "are *capable* of [see A] a bad sense." (See B. N. 62.) (2.) "*Some* of them, at least, are capable of a good sense" (See A.B.) i.e., after having been subject to "important restrictions." (See C. idem.)† (3). In a word, as *they stand*, none of them are capable of a good sense. (See Theory I. with Theory II.)

Professor Ubaghs and Brancherau taught propositions akin to these, (4) and both the seven, and those taught by the professors, were condemned as "unsafe," because "ambiguously worded." (See C.) (Idem.) But "Vindex" says, too (5), the Holy Office teaches that they all have a good sense, by declaring them only "dangerous" and "unsafe." Had the Holy Office held opinion three of Theory II., he tells us it would have branded them as "atrocious, absurd, stuff and nonsense;" and as "altogether damnable."‡ (See A, B.) (N. 62.) (6.) "If any," says "Vindex," "through ignorance, or misguided zeal, or malice, say different [from the judgment of the Holy Office], they pervert the judgment of the Holy Office, in order to set up their own private opinions for dogmas of the Church—a thing most strictly forbidden by Pope Benedict XIV. in his Constitution *Solicita et provida*, and most injurious to charity and peace. (Therefore compare A with *c* below). (N. 62.)

(7.) According to this theory those who, like MM. Ubaghs and Brancherau, have taught doctrines almost identical with, and altogether similar to, A, B, C, are "simple and credulous men." (Idem.) (See D.)

Theory III. The Roman Theory.

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* I sometimes speak of A, B, C, as censures, sometimes as the seven, or some of the seven propositions so censured. The context will make clear when the one is intended, and when the other.

† Idem, throughout, refers to the number or page whence the sentence is taken, from the *Westminster Gazette* or DUBLIN REVIEW.

‡ But it did *not* so brand them; but see what *he* does at A, B.

a. The seven "cannot be safely taught." (See A with 6.)

b. M. Ubaghs' books were censured (not as containing "propositions ambiguously worded," but) as containing *doctrines altogether similar* to some of the seven. (See (4).)

c. The censure was "cannot safely be taught." (See A. and (6).)

Theory IV. (See DUBLIN REVIEW, April, p. 579.)

x. "Ontologism "*explicitly* contradicts *all* those seven condemned propositions." (See (5).)

y. The first proposition of the seven *by its terms* permits and *requires* the following interpretation: An immediate (i. e., *facie ad faciem*, unconditional, actual) knowledge of God, at least habitual, or God's immediate knowledge (of Himself and of all things in Himself, inasmuch as their being and substance are His being and substance) is of the essence of the human intellect; so that, except by it, it can know nothing, since this knowledge is the light of the intellect (and with it the intellect possesses all possible knowledge). Idem. (See (4) and B.)

z. This proposition, which *requires* the above interpretation, is "*equivocal* and treacherous" (idem), and the rest are "ambiguous." (See A, B, C.)

w. With the proper distinctions they are *all* sound. (See (2) and then B.)

And now a word on P. Ubaghs, at whom "Vindex's" Theory strikes with cruel force. I mean Theory I., on which he lays by far his greatest stress.

I will explain myself. "Altogether similar doctrines" are visited by "altogether similar" censures. Now, though I hold that Professor Ubaghs (unconsciously) taught for a length of years poisonous doctrines, I am far from going the lengths of censures A. I consider they destroy the idea of the Professor's good faith. I reject censures B as striking at his intellect, censures C as striking at his judgment; and while I hold D, with restrictions, I am at the same time of opinion that the Professor was somewhat obscured by his philosophy.

"Vindex" rejects my theory of obscuration. So, holding D unconditionally, and at the same time holding A, B, and C, he irredeemably destroys the good name of Professor Ubaghs. However, I will do "Vindex" the justice to believe that he will be ready to sacrifice his theory to save his Professor.

If the reader have any curiosity, compare proposition A with B, B with D, C with D, (2) with (5), A with (6), D with (7), *a* with A, and (6), (3) with (5), (4) with (b), B with (2), (5) with (2), B with (5), *y* with *z*, (4) with *y*, B with *x*, and so on, and see whether he can hold them simultaneously without falling under censures B. Then he might try the effect of holding theory I. with theory II., theory II. with theory III., theory I. with theory III., theory IV. with theory III., and finally theories I., II., III., and IV. altogether. That "Vindex" holds theory III., as well as theories I., II., and IV., is evident from (6). But I cannot say whether he holds them altogether or by turns. But my impression is that he holds them all at once.

The next question is—is ontologism condemned? "Vindex" says of those who think this ground dangerous, "their feelings and motives carry no weight with me, for the evidence both external and internal is so overwhelming, that, to such as know it fully, there is no room for doubt that ontologism is

not touched by the decrees of 1861."* (N. 60.) He tells us, agreeing with F. Kleutgen and Ubaghs, that on these three following points, "modern ontologists agree."† I call this System I.

1. God, the perfect being, always present to the mind, is perceived by the soul by an immediate intellectual vision or intuition, without any intermediate image or idea.

2. The eternal verities are something identical with God, and are seen directly in contemplating Him.

3. God is the light of the mind, without which nothing is intelligible to it. After quoting this from Professor Ubaghs, "Vindex" adds, "There is no misunderstanding between F. Kleutgen and myself as to what are the principles of ontologism."

This is the first of the seven condemned propositions :—

4. Immediata Dei cognito, habitualis saltem, intellectui humano essentialis est, ita ut sine eâ nihilo cognoscere possit: siquidem est ipsum lumen intellectuale. See, under Theories, A, B, C ; then compare System I. with 4 and with System IV.

System II.

5. The infinite Being is the *first* intelligible idea, the light in which we see all eternal truths, and out of whose essence we see no eternal truths. (N. 62.)

6. Yet the following is *not* "the fundamental tenet of ordinary ontologists" : "The immediate knowledge of God must be the *first* in order of all our knowledge: He himself is the first object known. This knowledge is possessed by all men at least in confuso, and is implicitly the source of our knowledge of all other things."‡ So the first intelligible idea is not the first object known. Then, the first object known must be something *un*intelligible. See 6 with 1, 2, 3. Then, under Theories, B.

System III.

7. Without the immediate presence of the intelligible ideas which *exist in the essence* of God, the mind cannot perceive the primary principles of reason, metaphysical or moral, or perform *any* intellectual operation.§ (N. 60.)

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* This was said in the beginning of February. About three weeks before he held ontologism to be a very questionable system. (See note further on.)

† I quite agree with "Vindex" here. See my reasons in Malebranche, c. l. 3, p. 2, ch. 7, p. 115 ; Fabre, p. 2 ; Fénélon, "De l'existence de Dieu," p. 2 ; "Sans Fiel," p. 23; Ubaghs' Essai, p. 63 ; "Bossuet, Œuvres complètes," tom. ii. p. 35 ; Liebnitz, "Logica et Metaph.," Genev. 1768, p. 217; Rothenflue "Inst. Philos.," p. 211 ; Schmid, "Wissenshaftliche Richtungen aus dem Gebiet des Katholicismus, München," 1862, p. 111.

‡ See DUBLIN REVIEW, April, p. 580.—The Editor of the REVIEW thinks this is a fundamental tenet of ontologists ; so does Malebranche: De la Recherche de la Vérité. Paris, 1712, l. 3, p. 2, ch. 6, p. 102. See also Kleutgen, Die Philosophie der Vorzeit, Münster, tom. i. p. 712. "Vindex" gives no authorities for his view.

§ "Haud idonea est ipsa mens nostra in ipsis rationibus, quibus facta sunt (omnia), ea videre apud Deum, ut hoc sciamus, quot et quanta qualiaque sint" (St. Aug. De Gent. I. v. c. 16, n. 34).

8. The objective intelligible ideas are the light of the intellect, and render its operations intellectual. (Idem.)

9. We understand the Divine Being *only as He is perceived* in the intelligible ideas of God and His attributes, which ideas are virtually distinct from the essence of God. (Idem.)

10. Sensitive knowledge does not depend on a previous knowledge of God. (Idem.) Compare 3 with 10, 7 with 10, 8 with 10.) Can we "know" the unintelligible? Does not knowledge depend on some intellectual operation? Does not ideas in God's every intellectual operation depend on essence, according to 7, and on the Divine Being according to 3? Or can a man "know" without an intellect, or see without light? (See 3 with 10, 2 with 9.) In one case we are said to see the ideas and not the essence, because virtually distinct.* By parity of reasoning then, in 2 we see the essence, and *not* the ideas. (See 1 with 9, 3 with 8; see B.)

System IV.

11. Man knows God directly in the intelligible ideas of His Being and attributes, which reside in His essence, and manifest Him *ad extrâ* to the mind.† (See 1 with 11, 2 with 11, 5 with 11. DUB. REV. p. 580.)

But, 12. "Our perception of God is not through intermediate ideas which represent the absolute intelligible truths to the soul." (Idem.)

Ad extrâ, if it mean anything, means outside Himself. So that which is *in* God's essence manifests outside His essence that which is within it. This cannot be done by an "intermediate idea" (see 12). Therefore God makes in *via* to man, an *ad extrâ* manifestation of that which resides in His adorable essence.

13. We can have an experimental knowledge of creatures without knowing them intellectually (idem). We know them experimentally by direct sensitive perception of them severally, according to their kinds (compare 13 with 3, then see B. Idem). So that were man's "intellect or reason" blotted out, sensation would become knowledge, so that he would "know" by sensitive perception creatures severally according to their kinds.‡ Would he "know," judge, and compare them together (nothing being intelligible to him, all the time) with his arm or with his leg? (See 3.)

14. Man knows creatures intellectually by the union with this sensitive knowledge [which is *not* intelligible] of the knowledge of the eternal archetypes which are *seen in* God. (Idem.)

So men's "intellectual" knowledge of creatures is the result of a synthesis of an unintelligible sensation, with an intuition of an archetype in the essence of God. A house, a tree, a horse, a rat, a pig,—intellectually known, is a vision of God, who is modified, according to the various sensations produced

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* "Offenbar ist dieser letztausgesprochene Satz," says Schmid, "das Hauptbollwerk für allen und jeden Ontologismus; damit steht er und damit fällter." (P. 109.)

† Si videtur Deus vel aliqua attributa ejus, necesse est videri totam essentiam Dei." (Suarez, De ult. fine, disp. 16, sec. 2, n. 5.)

‡ Rothenflue, l. c. p. 185; and Ubaghs, p. 59—63; Logic, p. 129, are more consistent.

in my body, into the intellectual representation of created things.* Now read the Fifth condemned proposition, viz. :—

Omnes aliæ ideæ non sunt nisi modificationes ideæ, quâ Deus tanquam ens simpliciter intelligitur. (See A, B, particularly C.)

"The previous exciting cause or condition of our perception of ideas in God's essence is our experience of things finite (idem). Though we have no "idea" of them. He must mean "sensations," for there is utter darkness without the *lumen intellectus*. (See 3, 7, 5.)

Whether "Vindex" holds these four systems one after the other, or simultaneously, I have no certainty for knowing. A short while ago he considered them the "only antidote" to A, B, C, and "the only true system of philosophy." He must see now that they assert or necessarily imply "an immediate perception of God, or of that which is really identical with God." (See DUBLIN REVIEW, April, p. 569.) But this doctrine, he seems to admit (p. 569), is absolutely condemned by the Church. So, after all, in place of being "the only antidote" to A, B, they "favour" A, B (then what becomes of C ?), and instead of being "the only true system of philosophy," they are a false system of philosophy (see A). I therefore do "Vindex" the charity to believe (and it is to be hoped he will clearly state that it is not misplaced †) that he cordially rejects System I., II., III., and IV., and embraces System V., namely that "our perception of God is not *facie ad faciem*; it is conditional or *mediate*," which is the contradictory of System I., on which "modern ontologists agree," and of II., III., and IV.‡ Now compare 4 with C, B. ; 5 with 6 ; 1, 2, 3, with 6 ; 3 with 10, 7 with 10, 8 with 10, 3 with 13 ; 2 with 9 ; 1 with 9 ; 3 with 8. Then see B ; 1 with 11, 2 with 11, 5 with 11 ; 13 with 7. See B. Compare System V. with the other four ; with 5, 7, 11 ; and finally again see B, as my humble opinion of the result of the comparison of theories with systems, with each other, and with their parts. (See B, 6th censure, as the censure which it would fall under most naturally.)

15. Now to pass on. What is the "overwhelming evidence" proving ontologism *not* condemned ? I will keep to System I., on which "modern ontologists agree." §

"Vindex" brings five witnesses : (1) In 1862, Mgr. Guibert wrote "from the surest and best authorized sources," that "ontologism had never been the object of censure"; (2) Mgr. Doney, in 1864, wrote, "*all* ontologism is not

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* Different from S. Augustine, Conf. l. 7, c. 17, n. 23. De gen. 1, 4, c. 32. Compare De vera relig. c. 29, n. 52. De Trinit. l. 12, c. 14 ; II. c. 9, n. 16.

† "Vindex," at the same time that he puts forward system V. in the DUBLIN REVIEW, also puts forward System IV. (see 11, 12) its direct contradictory (April, p. 580).

‡ In January, "Vindex" held all these systems, I., II., III., IV., V., to be questionably sound. "This is a subject [whether the ontological system be sound or not] for the *serious consideration* of philosophers and others." (See W. G., Vol. iii. n. 54, p. 38, Jan. 4, 1868.)

§ See DUBLIN REVIEW, April, p. 580.—There is no escape by saying that I am arguing from a particular to a universal—from *some* to all. I do not wish to press the argument further than it goes.

condemned": therefore *some* is. Witness (2) contradicts witness (1). Besides *solvitur ambulando.* In 1860 System I. was widely taught; in 1868 it is everywhere rejected. Now come three Roman savants, (3) Vercellone, (4) Rignano, (5) Ceni. "One of these" (says "Vindex") "has been deposed from his unimportant office for having helped to foster an illusion in certain minds" . . . still "there will be two left;", which two he does not say. So three are discredited. "Vindex" only gives the system of one of them. "The idea of being," says P. Rignano, "makes us intelligent; it is an *image* and a *likeness* of God." This directly contradicts System I. (see 1 and 12, then question 15). But the Institutiones of Gerdil? I can find no proposition in his two volumes identical with Proposition 1 (System I.) in which "modern ontologists agree." He says (p. 192, tom. ii.) "cognitio nostra visio proprie, seu cognitio intuitiva nequit appellari." He says "(1) Ex una parte essentiam divinam intuemur prout repræsentativam perfectionum, quæ formaliter sunt in creaturis: unde potius dicenda est *id quo*, quam *id quod* cognoscitur: (2) ex alia parte *Deum ipsum* cognoscimus secundum attributa quædam *abstracta* præcipue vero secundum attributum abstractum infinitatis —non secundum quod est in seipso." (Idem.) The doctrine, then, of these Institutiones on the immediate vision of God, is not, as "Vindex" asserted, "identical" with that "in which modern Ontologists agree," but its contradictory. It also contradicts System II.; and, moreover, there is such a heavy cloud hanging over these two little volumes at present, that one would hardly take them as a *tessera veritatis* in matters of such a delicate nature as metaphysics, even supposing p. 192 did not contain propositions mutually destructive. I have marked them (1) and (2).

What has been the general teaching of the scholastics? F. Kleutgen gives it in his "Philosophie der Vorzeit." And the teaching of Dr. Schütz is a strong confirmation of the view given by the learned Jesuit. I will first give the substance of F. Kleutgen's fifth chapter,* and then make some quotations from S. Augustine, giving Dr. Schütz's summary of his teaching. Some of the references and notes are added, in places, by myself.

That we may possess truth, we must attain to something unchangeable which may serve as a rule by which other things may be judged.† Things which fall under the senses are subject to change. Moreover, the impression made by a sensible object differs according to the state a man happens to be in. The man who is in good health and one who is sick are differently affected by the same object. If there were no other way of attaining truth men would be led astray. Plato draws the conclusion from these two facts that the senses are not the only instruments by which man attains to certain truths. Since we are conscious, he argues, of some truth which is permanent, it must follow that, besides the sensible order which is always changing, there must be something unchangeable and eternal, viz., the ideas; and that

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* Erste Abhandlung. Von den intellectuellen Vorstellungen. In wiefern wir die Dinge vermittelst der ewigen Ideen erkennen. (P. 89.)

† "Vindex" expresses contempt for Father Kleutgen. I felt rather surprised at that, since "Vindex" studiously avoids the real point of every one of this philosopher's arguments.

we must possess a faculty above sense by which we are enabled under the influence of these ideas to contemplate the essence of things.

Aristotle took a different view from Plato. He shows that although the sensible order is subject to change, that still there is that within it which has a character of permanency, and that as we possess the faculty of knowing the changeable, so also we have a higher faculty of detecting in the same order something permanent, viz., the nature and essence of things. Now, Plato's doctrine cannot be harmonized with this, but S. Augustine's * can. For, according to S. Augustine, these ideas are not independent entities, but they are the eternal thoughts of God. As such (what Plato wants) they can still be considered both as the foundation (ground) of the permanent being of things, and also of our knowledge of them. They are the foundation of the being of things because everything that exists and continues in being has in them the examples and the laws by which it exists and continues existing. They are the foundation of our knowledge, because our mind possesses a power, not only of knowing what is fluctuating, but also what is permanent, because it partakes, through the light of reason, of the increated light in which God knows all things. How so? That similarity to God, by reason of which man, of all beings on the earth, is called God's likeness, consists in its deepest reason in the spiritual essence of the soul—in its immateriality, by reason of which it possesses over and above the sensible life to which the organs of the body minister, an intellectual life—a being which is independent of the body. As in God the absolute independence of His Being must be considered the foundation of the Divine reason—of the uncreated light—in which are contained all the ideas of the First Cause, so also that immateriality by reason of which our soul possesses a great likeness to God, must be considered the foundation of that intellectual light by means of which it knows the essence of things, and, according to its measure, thinks God's thoughts.

How far can we say that we know all things in the Divine ideas? Only so far as we wish to point to them as the foundation of our knowledge. We say that we see things in the sun, because the sun gives the light by which we see things, but not because we look on the sun itself and see all things that are around us within the sun; so we know things in the Divine ideas, because God gives to our soul the light of reason, and so lets us participate in the light by which He knows all things, and not at all because we see the eternal ideas in God, and in them the essences of things. For this method of knowing, which is natural to God alone, is given to the created soul through the supernatural light of heavenly glory.†

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* S. Augustine disagreed much with the Platonists. See De Civ. Dei, l. 8, c. 17. De Vera Relig. c. 2, n. 2, contradicts Sans Fiel, p. 233.

† Cum quæritur, utrum *anima humana in rationibus æternis omnia cognoscat;* dicendum est, quod aliquid in aliquo cognosci dupliciter. Uno modo sicut in objecto cognito, sicut aliquis videt in speculo ea, quorum imagines in speculo resultant: et hoc modo anima in statu præsentis vitæ non potest videre omnia in rationibus æternis; sed sic in rationibus æternis cognoscunt omnia Beati, qui Deum vident et omnia in ipso. Alio modo dicitur aliquid cognosci in aliquo sicut in cognitionis principio; sicut si

So when S. Augustine says that all that we know is known by us not in ourselves but in the immutable truth which is above us, and hence the Divine ideas furnish the highest norma according to which we judge about truth, he means nothing else, according to S. Thomas, than that we possess a reliable criterion with regard to the truth of our knowledge, because the laws which are in our soul harmonize with the eternal truth which is in God.* And in truth, that we have a participation in the Divine light, by which we possess the faculty to know, but by no means are put in the possession of knowledge, S. Augustine proves himself by telling us that we must acquire our knowledge of things gradually by observation and experience.† True enough, the holy Doctor speaks also of an intuition of truth, not as it is in things, but as it is in God ; but this vision is not, according to him, the natural knowledge of reason, which is possessed by all men, but a higher grade of grace, by which pure and holy souls are elevated, even in this life, to a knowledge which approximates towards heavenly vision.‡

F. Kleutgen proceeds, "The later scholastics, as far as I know, have held no other view but that of S. Thomas."

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dicamus, quod in sole videntur ea, quæ videntur per solem. Et *sic* necesse est dicere, quod anima humana omnia cognoscat in rationibus æternis, per quarum participationem omnia cognoscimus. Ipsum enim lumen intellectuale, quod est in nobis, nihil est aliud quam quædam participata similitudo luminis increati, in quo continentur rationis æternæ. Unde Ps. iv. 6 dicitur, "Multi dicunt : quis ostendit nobis bona?" Cui quæstioni Psalmista respondet, dicens : "signatum est super nos lumen vultus tui, Domine :" quasi dicat, per ipsam sigillationem Divini luminis in nobis omnia demonstrantur (S. P. i. q. 84, a. 5). "Vindex" gives the words put in italics as S. Thomas's *teaching*. They contain the *difficulty* he is explaining.

* This is the well-known passage of S. Augustine : "Si ambo videmus, verum esse quod dicis et ambo videmus esse quod dico ; ubi quæso id videmus ? nec ego utique in te, nec tu in me ; sed ambo in ipsa, quæ supra mentes nostras est, incommutabili veritate." (Conf. i. 12, c. 25.)

S. Thomas explains it : "Quamvis diversa a diversis cognoscantur et credantur vera, tamen quædam sunt vera, in quibus omnes homines concordant, sicut sunt prima principia intellectus tam speculativi quam practici, secundum quod universaliter in mentibus hominum divinæ veritatis quasi quadam imago resultat. In quantum ergo, qualibet mens, quidquid per certitudinem cognoscit, in his principiis intuetur, secundum quæ de omnibus judicatur, facta resolutione ipsa, dicitur omnia in divina veritate vel in rationibus æternis videre, et secundum has de omnibus judicare." (Cont. Gent. l. 3, 47.)

† Numquid quia philosophi documentis certissimis persuadent, æternis rationibus omnia temporalia fieri ; propterea potuerunt in ipsis rationibus perspicere vel ex ipsis colligere, quot sint animalium genera, quæ semina singulorum ? Nonne ista omnia per locorum ac temporum historiam quæsierunt ? (De Trim. l. 4, c. 16.) See also Kleulgen, p. 836 ; Liberatore della conoscenza intelletuale, p. 142 ; S. Aug. Serm. 126 ; De Verb. Evangel. c. 2, n. 3 ; De Civit. Dei. l. 22, c. 29, n. 6 ; De Ordine, l. 1, c. 18, n. 47.

‡ Rationalis anima non omnis et quæcunque, sed quæ sancta et pura fuerit, asseritur illi visioni (scilicet rationum æternarum) esse idonea. (Lib. qq. 83, q. 66.)

Now, what is meant when S. Thomas says that our reason *partakes* of the divine light? This expression (participare μετέχειν) is frequently made use of, not only by the scholastics, but by the Fathers and by the Greeks, and is used to express the difference there is between the created being and the Creator. The creature is what it is by participation of that which God is through Himself, or through His own essence. Of course it is taken for granted the question has exclusively to do with what we find to be good and perfect in creatures. When the *being* of a creature is called esse participatum, it means to say that the creature is not its own origin, but that it *received* its being from God, while, on the contrary, God receives His being from no other. He exists through Himself—ipsum esse subsistens est. For this reason He is the very being, since it belongs to His essence to be, and His not being is altogether impossible and unthinkable. He is also called ens per essentiam, and the creature ens per participationem.* Just as what has fire but is not fire, by participation is fiery; so, also, what has being, but is not Being, is only being through participation.† What is predicated of being is also predicated of all those perfections which are thought of as infinite. God is what He is through Himself, and, consequently, according to His essence, He is not only being, but very life, reason, love, &c. The creature, whatever of these perfections it possesses, has received them from God. Since God is eminently reason, wisdom, power, and the rest, so must He be *pure* reason, wisdom, power, &c., whilst in creatures such perfections only exist as powers or properties which spring from the essence or are acquired. Hence the creature is not, according to its whole being, reasonable, wise, powerful, and the rest. And so it is easily seen that the other attributes which distinguish God and man are accompanied by the respective terms of ens per essentiam, and ens per participationem. Creatures are what they are by participation of what God is according to His essence. So by the expressions esse, vivere, intelligere participatum is not only meant, that we receive our being, life, knowledge from God, but that we have part in the good which God is, and therefore have some *likeness* unto God. So by this expression God is spoken of not only as the active or creative, but as the archetypal cause of the created essence.‡ It is an old and undoubted maxim that no cause can produce an effect which it does not contain either after the likeness of the effect, or in a more perfect manner. Just as God through His power could not give being to creatures if He had not being Himself; so He could not bring forth any living or rational creature were He not living and rational Himself. From this it can be seen why S. Thomas above calls not alone God, but the divine ideas, the foundation of our knowledge, and the intellectual light in us a par-

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* Deus est ens per essentiam suam, quia est ipsum esse, omne autem aliud ens est ens per participationem; quia ens, quod sit suum esse, non potest esse nisi unum. (Cont. Gent. 1, 2, c. 15).

† Sicut illud, quod habet ignem et non est ignis, est ignitum per participationem; ita illud quod habet esse, et non est esse, est ens per participationem. Deus autem est sua essentia. (Summa, p. 1, q. 3, a. 4).

‡ Participatio ideæ fit per aliquem similitudinem ipsius ideæ in participante ipsam, per modum quo exemplar participatur ab exemplato. (Summa, p. 1, a. 84, a. 4).

ticipata similitudo of the uncreated light. What God creates He creates by the power of His will after the likeness of His essence,—the highest ideal of all being, truth, and goodness. Just as He, as absolute Being (ens per essentiam), bestows being on all things that they may exist, so as absolute life, He bestows life on living things that they may live, and as absolute reason, reason on rational beings that they may know. This influence of the divine essence by reason of which what God's power operates, resembles God, the scholastics expressed by the term imprimere, and refer to what has been noticed before in the expression of Scripture, that God has sealed us with the light of His countenance—namely, that of all other creatures He has, through the reason He has given us, made us to the image of His own essence.

Si homo participaret lumen intelligibile ab angelo, sequeretur, quod homo secundum mentem non esset ad imaginem ipsius Dei, sed ad imaginem angelorum, contra id quod dicitur, Gen. i., "Faciamus hominem ad imaginem et similitudinem nostram," *i.e.* ad communem Trinitatis imaginem, non ad imaginem angelorum: unde dicimus, quod lumen intellectus agentis, de quo Aristoteles loquitur, est nobis immediate impressum a Deo, et secundum quod discernimus verum a falso et bonum a malo. (De Spirit. Creat. a. 10.) Augustinus possuit rationes rerum in mente divina, et quod per eas secundum intellectum illustratum a luce divina de omnibus judicamus, *non quidem sic quod ipsas rationes videamus;* hoc enim esset impossibile, nisi ipsam Dei essentiam videremus; sed secundum quod illæ æternæ rationes imprimunt in mentes nostras.—Ibid. ad. 8.

It is evident how far the general teaching of philosophy in the Church is removed from that system in which "modern ontologists agree." S. Austin's mind can be read in the following extracts and summary from Dr. Schütz. I beg particular attention to the summary:—

Viderunt etiam ipsi (se hujus seculi philosophi) quantum ab homine fieri potest, creatorem per creaturam, factorem per facturam, fabricatorem mundi per mundum (Sermo 141, de verbo Domini; cf. de symb. sermo ad catech. c. 2, n. 2).

According to S. Augustine (see Schütz, p. 15), In solâ animâ similitudo Dei perfecta vel "similitudo per modum imaginis" repetenda est: in creatures "similitudo per modum vestigii" (compare S. Thomas S. 1, q. 93, a. 6, Stöckl: Die speculative Lehre vom menchen und ihre Geschichte. Wurzburg, 1852, pers. 2, p. 363).

"Nec corporis oculis nec mentis adspectu nunc videmus Deum." (Epist. 147, ad Paul c. 1, n. 3.)

"Deum nemo videbit umquam, quia eam, quæ in Deo habitat, plenitudinem divinitatis nemo conspexit, nemo mente aut oculis comprehendit" (Epist. ibid. c. 25; cf. de Gen. 1, 12, c. 31, n. 59).

Deus naturâ invisibilis est (Ibid.) "Visus enim ad utrumque referendum est, et ad oculos et ad mentem (see c. 9, n. 21, Merton p. 10). Deum . . . mentis tamen obtutu non in hac jam vita attingi posse; a spiritu mortali nondum facie ad faciem videri, sed tantum per speculum in ænigmate; illum vero modum, quo directe et immediate oculos mentis nostram liceat in ipsam claritatem Dei conjicere ac majestatem summum nobis in resurrectione præmium promissum esse" (Schütz on S. Aug. p. 29, 30. See De div. qu.

83, qu. 46, n. 2. De lib. art. I., 2 c. 16, n. 42. Cf. de Civ. Dei, t. 10, c. 9, n. 22).

"Ubinam sunt istæ regulæ scriptæ, ubi, quod sit justum, et injustus agnoscit, nisi in libro lucis illius, qua veritas dicitur, unde omnis lex justa describitur et in eos luminis, qui operatur justitiam, non migrando, sed tanquam imprimendo transfertur, *sicut imago ex anulo et in ceram transit anulum non relinqui*" (De Trinit. l. 14, c. 15, cf. in Ps. 4, n. 8).

Est nobis *impressa* notio ipsius boni, secundum quod et probamus aliquid et aliud alii præponimus (De Trinit. l. 8, c. 3) mentibus nostris *impressa* est notio beatitudinis (De lib. art. 1, 2, c. 9, n. 26. Priusquam sapientes simus, sapientiæ notionem in mente habemus impressam (Ibid).

The teaching of S. Augustine can be summed up in these pregnant words of Schütz (p. 60) :—

"Modum ipsum vero, quo quidem "intelligibile in potentia," omnibus iis, quæ ad materiam pertinent, remotis, separatim percipiatur, et quo generatio fiat in intellectu, Augustinus accuratius non explanavit . . . miro enim modo, quem idem certis quidem terminis non circumscripsit, mens nostra, quam per impressionem luminis intellectualis Deus ad sui intellectus creavit similitudinem "quasi ex caveis abditioribus naturæ suæ intellectualis," sibi jam inde "ab ipso exordio humanæ generationis," "sparsæ et neglectæ latitabant, "eruit," elicitque, "ideas principales seu rationes rerum stabiles." Quas simul ac "pariundur," directe et immediate conspicit sicut proprie dicendum est in semet ipsa, in Deo vero non aliter nisi tanquam in principio cognitionis remoto. Atque secundum nos "quas communiter cernunt omnes, interiores regulas veritatis mens de omnibus rebus judicat," et "exinde conceptam rerum veracem notitiam tanquam verbum apud se habet et dicendo intus gignit." Ad eam denique causam, quam existere, quæ sunt sensus cum externi tum potissimum intimi objecta, manifeste sane indicant, inveniendam velut e duplici portu egressa ens supremum et absolutum, summum bonum ac summum pulchrum invenit, ipsum Deum ; ita tamen ut non directe et immediate, sed non videat illum nisi in creaturis velut in ejus imagine."

I have, in conclusion, but two remarks to make. 1. "Vindex" says that Herr Schütz maintains "the existence of a faculty of intuition" of *absolute ideas*. 2. "Vindex" says that Herr Schütz has not *taken proper pains to understand* ontologism." I can agree with neither of these statements. I have read Dr. Schütz through several times most carefully, and I can find no doctrine of absolute ideas being the objects of immediate intuition ; and I have been excessively struck by the evident (to me) pains that Dr. Schütz has taken to understand ontologism.* The second statement casts a slur, not only on Dr. Schütz, but upon those who conferred upon him the grade of Doctor in Philosophy for his learned brochure. Still, I believe in the fairness and love of justice of "Vindex," and shall look forward with interest for the reasons which he thinks justified him in publishing such a statement.

I am, Sir, your obedient servant,

THE WRITER OF "KLEUTGEN *versus* VINDEX."

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* Whether he has *succeeded* in understanding it, of course, is quite another question. Thirteen years acquaintance with, and study of, that system makes me agree with the DUBLIN REVIEW, that he *has* succeeded in understanding it.

LETTER ON CHURCH MUSIC.

To the Editor of the DUBLIN REVIEW.

DEAR SIR,—I have to thank you for two very kind notices of my pamphlets on "Church Choirs and Church Music;" the one in your January, the other in your April number. The first appeared when my second pamphlet was under correction for the press, and I was able to express briefly my sense of its value, in terms which were qualified only by the fear that I might be open to misconstruction in praising what was so complimentary to myself. The second of these notices, which appears in your current number, although not directly on the subject of my pamphlets, demands my acknowledgements for another reason. The writer considers that the views of the Rev. James Nary are less opposed to mine than might be thought from the circumstance of his work being avowedly intended in reply to me. This remark I regard as doubly valuable; partly because it proves that the author of it had studied our respective pamphlets with great care, and partly because it tends to exhibit Mr. Nary's essay and my own, as joint contributions towards a common object, rather than as exponents of two antagonist theories. I have for some time been anxious to bring out the same hopeful view of the case by a somewhat detailed examination of Mr. Nary's argument, but have been deterred from the attempt, as well by the expense of independent publication, as by an unwillingness to prolong a discussion which some persons, unlike Mr. Nary, think I had better not have raised. The permission I have received from you to throw my desired remarks into the form of a letter to yourself removes the former difficulty and greatly lessens the latter.

Mr. Nary has supplied me with a convenient starting-point for my remarks, in the summary he has given of the views in my pamphlets from which he dissents, and of the grounds of his dissent.

"In his pamphlet, or in the postscript to it, Canon Oakeley advances—that plain chant and figured music are 'the two great styles of Church music;' that 'Plain Chant, on the one hand, and what is called music, on the other, represent different ideas, the one of which is not at all more religious than the other;' that the 'leading idea' of plain chant is that it is content 'with merely providing a vehicle for the utterance' of words; that 'there is a certain sentiment which religious worship is intended both to evoke and satisfy, and to which plain chant is decidedly unequal—the sentiment . . . of Christian joy;' that figured music represents 'a devotional idea quite beyond the reach of Plain Chant;' that in restricting ourselves exclusively to plain chant, we become guilty of a 'Protestant view of divine worship, which excludes from it every idea but that of heavy and somewhat mournful solemnity;' that if we do not confine ourselves to Plain Chant, 'there is no principle on which we can exclude any concerted and elaborate music, except, indeed, some of the lightest compositions of the Italian school,' though, as the writer may here observe, one cannot easily

understand how, in the absence of all principle, even those 'lighter compositions' are excluded; for, if taste is once introduced, it may assert itself as a principle which will exclude many compositions besides the lightest of the Italian school; that 'Pope Benedict XIV. . . . gives the support of his high personal and official authority to the Catholic view of ecclesiastical music which Canon Oakeley advocates;' that 'the organ . . . is an injury to plain chant;' that the use of an orchestra is justified 'on religious grounds;' that 'orchestral accompaniments . . . have ecclesiastical authority in their favour.'

"To these convictions entertained by Canon Oakeley, the writer wishes, with all due respect, to oppose his belief that the Church has only one style of music properly her own; that Canon Oakeley underrates the power of plain chant; that the organ is not an injury to plain chant; that the Church does not favour either figured music or orchestral accompaniments, though both are perfectly lawful; that Pope Benedict XIV. does not support them, either with his high personal, or with his official character." ("Our Church Music," pp. 7, 8, 9.)

Now I begin by observing generally, that my rev. brother gives a somewhat undue prominence to the latter portion of the "few words," which was intended, and has been generally understood, to be quite secondary and subordinate to the former and principal portion. The main purpose of my pamphlet, as shown in the postscript to it, was to remove objections known to be felt by many of the clergy against the use of exclusively male choirs, by offering to their consideration suggestions founded on long experience, and tending to show that such a practice is as feasible as it is ecclesiastical and Catholic. This portion of my pamphlet was meant to be practical and suggestive. Its object is briefly but pointedly stated in a decree of the First Provincial Synod of Westminster—"Pueri in scholis musicen edoceantur, ut feminarum, maxime conductarum, voces e choro excludantur." In the sequel, I merely sought to propose a view which seemed to me to mediate between two theories of Church music, often advocated in an exclusive, not to say uncharitable spirit, without the compromise of any of those religious or ecclesiastical principles which are apt to be claimed for one of these theories as against the other. I had no thought whatever of urging upon my rev. brethren the use of one of these styles in preference to the other; but if my remarks bore in either direction it was certainly rather more in that of the Plain Chant than of figured music. Mr. Nary, however, objects strongly to the theory itself, and implies, though in the most courteous language, that it is got up to meet the facts of the case. I can assure him that it rests, as I believe, on a better foundation. I do not ground it merely on the fact that a certain style of music extensively prevails, and must therefore be defended, but on a conviction arising partly out of my own personal experience, and partly from observation of the phenomena around me, that there are persons of the most unquestionably religious character who find in the style of Church music to which Mr. Nary objects, a pure and most rational pleasure eminently ministrative to devotion, and who, were the music of the Church to be limited to plain chant, would suffer a very real and by no means insignificant privation.

The particular analysis of this pleasure I attempt to frame by investigating what are the sources of it in myself; and, so far as I can judge, I believe it to proceed from the cause I have specified; namely, that there are certain emotions which the modern appliances of music have a tendency to satisfy, in a manner and to an extent to which the older chant, with all its inimitable excellence, is inadequate. It is perfectly true, as Mr. Nary reminds me, that I have grown into this view since I was first a Catholic, and that, in an article written upwards of twenty years ago, I spoke, not certainly with greater admiration of Plain Chant than in my recent pamphlet, but in a depreciatory tone of the music which I am now disposed to place by its side as the representative of what I call a different, and not less religious idea. But when it is considered that I wrote that article in the earlier years of my Catholic life, when I was at a college where little or no Church music besides the Plain Chant was admitted, and when I had not yet been disabused of my Protestant prejudices against all Church music but that of the severest character, it will not perhaps be felt that my change of opinion on the subject of ornate music and concerted accompaniments is so great a proof of inconsistency, as my adherence to the view then expressed on the characteristic excellence of Plain Chant is a proof that I have not abandoned my principles on the subject, though I have materially modified their application.

Mr. Nary, though I am sure most undesignedly, has done great injustice to my pamphlet, or at least to my intentions, when he supposes me to lower plain chant to the level of mere recitative. When I speak, both in my article twenty years ago and in my recent pamphlet, of its appearing to me to "retreat" before the words of which it is the vehicle, I mean, so far from disparaging it, to attribute to it a special and very high order of excellence. I certainly think that a religious idea is realised in the treatment of some subject contained in those words, by bringing to bear upon them the powers of musical art. But I think also, that another and most exalted religious idea is represented in the enunciation and, if I may use the term, protrusion of the sacred text by means of a vehicle at once simple, solemn, and (as I have been mistakenly supposed to deny) melodious. These two ideas, which may be called the subjective and objective treatment of the words, are illustrated respectively in the *Sanctus* of the *Missa de Angelis* and in the *Sanctus* of Cherubini's beautiful Mass in G, or in the *Agnus Dei* of the Dead Mass, and that of Mozart's first Mass, which, with the greatest respect for Mr. Nary's opinion, I must still consider a beautiful piece of religious composition. However, if I am denied the *Agnus Dei*, I will fall back on the *Benedictus* of the Requiem.

With regard to the expressive powers of Plain Chant, I candidly admit that Mr. Nary has convicted me of injustice, although I never intended my enumeration of the specimens I so much prize to be exhaustive, or even ample. But I know not how I happened to omit the record of such treasures as the *Te Deum*, or the *Regina cœli*, or how I could have said, consistently with my habitual and often expressed admiration of those treasures, that plain chant is unequal to the expression of a certain kind of religious joy.

But there are two kinds of religious joy, as I conceive of it; the one solemn and majestic, the other bright and exuberant. It is the latter kind of joy, as it seems to me, which is meant to be represented by a *Gloria in excelsis*, especially in Masses like the Midnight Mass of Christmas, or that of Holy Saturday, when the *Gloria* carries with it a peculiar meaning, and when its spirit is intensified by some sentiment of surprise, or heightened by some effective contrast. A Plain Chant *Gloria* on either of those occasions would strike upon my own religious feelings with a certain sense of shock, and damp them with the cruel chill of a wet blanket. Indeed I think that it was upon its *Glorias* especially that I founded my too severe judgment of Plain Chant in its relation to the sentiment of Christian joy. I certainly think them failures of their kind. I own, likewise, to a personal weakness in favour of a brilliant *Credo*, especially after a dull sermon, though I cannot deny that the music of grand recitation is well adapted to a profession of faith. But is it not too great a demand upon the ecclesiastical spirit of our people in general to expect that they will patiently bear with the repetition of the same Masses Sunday after Sunday, or, at least, with so little variation as the Plain Chant admits?

But if it be true, as our good friend Mr. Nary considers, that the Church has enthroned the Plain Chant in the Sanctuary to the exclusion of all pretenders, there is, no doubt, an end to the question. Can it, however, be said, that this proposition is true in any other sense than that the Church has prescribed this chant as the exclusive medium for the intonation of her prayers, Prefaces, and such other portions of her Liturgy and Offices as are recited in her more solemn celebrations by the officient? With regard to the choral portions of the same Liturgy and Offices, a certain latitude is not only allowed, but sanctioned by the highest ecclesiastical authorities. When the Pope celebrates High Mass in the metropolitan church of Christendom, the aforesaid portions of the Liturgy are sung in the proper ecclesiastial tones, but the *Gloria* and *Credo*, after having been intoned as the rubric prescribes, are taken up and continued in figured music. Figured music, again, is used in the Papal choir, to give effect to the Lamentations, and even the *Miserere* in Holy Week, although the rubric itself seems to imply that the latter should not be sung at all, but said in an under tone. So hard is it to plead this theory against precedent and practice. I know it will be said, that the music of the Papal choir is of a certain character, and that Mr. Nary is speaking about music of another character. But this brings me to a point on which I ventured to lay stress in my pamphlet. I said, and still say, that the moment you quit the ground of strict plain chant for any figured music, however grave, you introduce a new principle, and all then becomes a mere question of taste and degree. Mr. Nary urges, that if I admit Beethoven, for instance, I am bound by my admission to allow the introduction into our churches of the lightest music of the Italian school. But I think I may retort that if he make an exception in favour of the Masses of Palestrina, he will have no better reason for excluding those of Cherubini or Beethoven than that for which I would exclude the lighter Italian compositions; namely, that he does not like them. The line which separates the

least severe specimen of the Roman school from the most severe of the German (such, for instance, as portions of Mozart's *Requiem*) is surely one which, unlike that which separates the Plain Chant from all figured music, implies a difference in style rather than in principle, and appears to me to be so far similar in its nature to that which separates the Masses of Mozart or Cherubini from those of the lighter Italian school.* It is the old question between abstinence and temperance. When the line is once passed, we exchange a fixed and positive for a relative and variable standard which does not admit of being subjected to any test but that of individual feeling and discretion. Hence, if I were a thorough-going Plain Chantist, I should be a "total abstainer." Yet how can I maintain a principle which is practically contradicted by the Church? I think that Mr. Nary is less clear on this part of the subject than on others. If he invest Plain Chant with some peculiar authority which he denies to all other music, I want to know in what category he would place the figured music which prevails in the various churches at Rome, and even in S. Peter's itself, under the immediate or implied sanction of the Holy Father. For even at S. Peter's I have heard the Vespers sung on a great festival to concerted music of the most brilliant description; yet if Plain Chant should any where assert its prerogative, one would think it would be in the psalmody of the Divine Office. If from S. Peter's we pass to other churches of the Roman Vicariate, I imagine that we shall find both light music and instrumental accompaniments, which, if the ecclesiastical authorities do not openly sanction, they certainly feel it wise to tolerate.

But the claim of figured music, in the abstract sense of that term, to an authority co-ordinate with that of the Plain Chant, does not rest simply on the practice of the Church at head-quarters, as well as in every part of her world-wide empire. This claim has been placed on record, once for all, by the formal decision of the Church at the period of the inauguration of her modern life. At the time of the Council of Trent, the Church had the opportunity of appropriating, in some especial and exclusive manner, the ancient chant as her sole standard in the musical department of worship. As Mr. Nary somewhere reminds us, she was on the point of doing so, but, on second thoughts, she decided the question in the negative, and took figured music under her wing as an accessory to that chant which will always remain, in a certain sense, her own, since, unlike that accessory, it has never had its place in the world. Hence it is that Pope Benedict XIV., in words which merit special attention in this controversy, goes so far as to brand by the term "novelty," the proposal of those bishops who were for banishing figured music in favour of the Plain Chant. The passage will be found in page 27 of my "Few Words," but it is so very pertinent to the question at issue that I cannot forbear from giving it *in extenso*.

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* That this latter is a real distinction is proved by the fact that Italians dislike the music of the German school, not because it is light, but because they consider it heavy.

"A quibusdam episcopis, ecclesiasticæ disciplinæ studiosis, propositum fuerat, ut cantus musicus ab ecclesiis omnino tolleretur, nec nisi Gregorianus canendi modus in ipsis retineretur; cum alii recte animadvertissent per hujus modi novitatem innumeris querelis atque perturbationibus aditum apertum iri, hoc denique consilium captum fuit, non ut musici cantus in ecclesiis prohiberentur, sed ut certis propositis regulis ad pietatis et gravitatis normam reformarentur."—De Syn. Diœc. lib. xi. c. 8.

The citations which my rev. brother has made from Papal mandates, and other documents of the highest authority, in support of the ecclesiastical chant, or in protest against abuses in Church music, must surely be interpreted with a reserve in favour of these precedents and sanctions. It is undeniable that the study of the Plain Chant is made incumbent upon students for the Priesthood, and a necessary part, therefore, of education in seminaries. The reason of this provision is obvious, and a reason it is which does not apply to other music, so that we cannot wonder that, at a period when time is so valuable, the rectors of seminaries should be required to promote the study of the ecclesiastical chant to the exclusion of other kinds of music. Neither, of course, have I anything to say in excuse whether for a secular style of music, or for those theatrical modes of executing it which the Church has so repeatedly denounced. But I must ever think that the employment of females in the musical service of the Church is a very primary cause of both these abuses. In the first place, it tends to encourage the use of such music as the female voice alone can represent with the highest effect; and, in the second, it diffuses over the choir a certain air of secularity which, in my opinion, is far more injurious to the religious spirit than any music can possibly be which is within the powers of the puerile voice. If these questions are to be decided by authority and precedent, I will venture to affirm that, on no subject connected with the choir, is the Church, as interpreted by her most approved practice as well as by authoritative decisions, more explicit than against the official employment of females.* It was to this abuse, therefore, that my "Few Words" were principally directed; and, in so directing them, I had certainly an eye to the more extensive introduction of the Plain Chant, while, at the same time, I did not, and do not, see that such a reform need carry with it the abolition of other music. Mr. Nary appears to think that I would stipulate for male choirs singing in an ecclesiastical dress near the sanctuary. Certainly if they sing near the sanctuary they must, according to the rule of the Church, sing in an ecclesiastical dress, even though they be laics.† Certainly also I consider this arrangement all but necessary for the due celebration of Offices which involve antiphonal singing.‡ But I think it far more necessary to have male choirs than that they should sing in this

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* Of course I never thought of questioning their right to take part in popular psalmody. Indeed, I have directly maintained that right at page 46 of my Postscript.

† See Dale's "Ceremonial According to the Roman Rite," p. 351.

‡ Hence I think that, in the construction of all new Catholic churches, a provision for a choir near the sanctuary should be made indispensable.

or that part of the church ; and, if instrumental accompaniments be introduced, an organ gallery is no doubt the most natural place for them. I remember, however, that when Archbishop Errington made the episcopal visitation of my church in 1858, his Grace expressed no objection to the instrumentalists being downstairs, near the altar, provided that a screen were placed between them and the people.

And now for one word about instrumental accompaniments. With regard to their permissibility, there seems to be no difference between my rev. brother and myself. He classes them, in point of lawfulness, with "figured music" (p. 9), and I certainly had no thought of claiming for them any higher sanction. Nor, indeed, can there be any reasonable doubt on this question, after the letter of Pope Benedict XIV. to the Italian Bishops, and the more recent allowance of the practice, with certain limitations, by the Cardinal Vicar of Rome. But the use of such accompaniments must obviously be an exceptional arrangement, for this, if for no other reason—that instrumentalists, when hired, are very expensive, and when amateurs, are apt to be very indifferent. The case of my own church, as I stated in my pamphlet, forms an exception to both these rules. But I have no desire to enter into controversy with our author on the question, which he decides in the negative, and I in the affirmative ; the question, namely, whether these accompaniments, when properly ordered, contribute to the majesty and beauty of our celebrations. This question is, of course, intimately connected with that of the style of music we may adopt. As I am disposed to give a place to the more ornate, as well as to the more simple, I am naturally attracted towards those resources of instrumentation which ornate music usually pre-supposes, and which serve to heighten its effect. Here I will add that my rev. brother has made a vast deal too much of a mere casual observation in my pamphlet on the use of the organ as an accompaniment to the music of Palestrina, and to the Plain Chant. I said that it is ruinous to the first, and injurious to the second. In the former of these opinions I take it for granted that we are all agreed. The latter I am quite ready to retract in deference to the judgment of so excellent an authority. Certainly no one can appreciate more highly than myself the beauty of the Rev. William Dolan's organ accompaniment to the Dead Mass and to the Plain Chant in general. I suppose when I wrote the passage in question that my mind was running upon the Tenebræ Office as I remember it at S. Edmund's College, and as I have often heard it in my own church. On these occasions, the organ accompaniment, had it been even permitted, would certainly have been an injury to the effect.

My rev. brother has dwelt at some length on the subject of popular singing in Divine worship. This interesting question did not fall within the scope of my pamphlets, and one at least of my kind critics has here credited my suggestions with tendencies which, however fairly their consequence, were not certainly present to my mind when I offered them. Whatever helps to rid our choirs of the purely professional element, helps, at the same time, to break down the barrier which separates them from the rest of the people. "*Artistes*," as they are called, especially female "*artistes*," whatever their sup-

posed attractions, certainly exercise a strangely withering influence on the humbler members of the musical fraternity. The choral staff itself, as I can testify from experience, receives many valuable additions from the floating body of amateurs which pervades our large towns, where unpretending boys occupy the place of formidable ladies. Whatever tends to strengthen the staff of the leaders, tends also to increase the confidence of the followers. The spirit of song is contagious, and thus it is undeniably true that the arrangements I have ventured to advocate do actually bear, indirectly, upon what is called "congregational" singing. At the same time, I should not be candid did I not avow my impression that the Mass itself is not the proper department of popular vocalism. I delight in the many-voiced responses to the Litanies; I prefer (as a rule) to all others, those Benediction hymns in which all the people can join, and am quite prepared to believe that the Plain Chant *Te Deum*, sung by a multitude of enthusiastic worshippers, would be a religious treat of a very high order. But I am not disposed, as at present minded, to acquiesce in the view that the choral portions of the Mass are intended to be sung by the people. I think that the Mass is most properly regarded as an act in which the people are to share, in the way of attention and meditation rather than of direct and personal participation, and hence it is that I am favourable to such music as aids those mental operations, though I am as far as possible from denying that the Plain Chant, properly executed, may be such. Moreover, I am not prepossessed in favour of the practice by my own experience. Perhaps I have been unfortunate in the instances which have come before me, but I must say that they have not converted me to it. I once heard a Plain Chant Mass thus executed in France, and a real execution it was, as far as the music was concerned. The Plain Chant undoubtedly requires, for its due effect, a great number of voices; but I humbly conceive that they should be the voices of select persons who have also got ears, not of a multitude of excellent people, some screaming, others grunting, others mispronouncing the Latin, others singing out of time, others out of tune, and the whole together resulting in a concert, but certainly not of sweet sounds. If a certain number of persons in the body of the worshippers could be trained to join in with the choir, the effect would, no doubt, be excellent and most impressive; but if once we give out that the music of the Mass is meant to be what is called "congregational," we shall run the risk of having the music marred by unmusical intruders, or of incurring those far worse consequences in the way of dissatisfaction and jealousy, which it is one of the objects of popular singing to prevent. The same difficulties, though in a less degree, seem to me to stand in the way of popularizing the Vesper Office.

I have thus touched on the chief points of the able and interesting pamphlet which you have kindly permitted me to review. I trust I have shown, on the whole, that my rev. brother and myself are more in accord on the subject we have undertaken to discuss than I think he is disposed to allow. I am not sure that he appreciates the full extent of my agreement with him in his admiration of the Plain Chant, and I hope that on this subject, at all events I have been able to express myself more clearly in these few

pages than I was led to do in either of my pamphlets. I have no doubt he will find it hard to understand the union in the same person of a real love of two styles of music which he regards as hopelessly opposed to one another. I cannot deny that I believe such a union to be uncommon, but I am sure that in the cases where it exists, the two several tastes which are combined in it are most real, and that they co-exist in nearly the same proportions. If, as I trust, this union involve no compromise of religious principles, no mere sensuous view of music in its religious uses, no hankering after the pleasures of the world, no misconception of the true character of devotional affection, it is undoubtedly, on the other hand, a source of much consolation and a ground of much thankfulness. It not only multiplies our sources of religious pleasure, but withdraws us from an atmosphere of controversy in a matter which, almost more than any other of the minor questions of the day, seems to produce exasperation in the supporters of different theories. If this little passage of arms between my respected antagonist and myself shall issue in no other good effect, it will at any rate have shown to the world that differences of opinion on this delicate and thorny subject may be expressed without reserve, yet without detriment to those feelings of mutual charity and confidence which should ever prevail between priests who have no other object at heart than to advance the glory of God, and the edification of His people in the manner which they conscientiously believe to be the most conducive to those ends. I am, dear sir,

Your faithful servant,

S. John's, Islington, 6 May, 1868. FREDERICK OAKELEY.

THE Very Rev. F. Knox, Superior of the London Oratory, has published a letter, of which we subjoin the translation :—

To the Editor of the "Révue des Sciences Ecclésiastiques."

London, 13th April, 1868.

SIR,—I request that you will have the kindness to correct an inadvertency which has crept into your last number, page 221.

F. Ryder is not a member of the London Oratory, but of that of Birmingham.

The congregations of the Oratory, according to the law of our institution, have a totally separate existence and direction. They have no mutual relations of subordination, not even as regards the Oratory at Rome.

Consequently, each congregation is responsible only for the acts and the writings of its own members.

I think it right to add that F. Ryder's sentiments with regard to the

infallibility of the Church, are very different to those which have always been professed by the Fathers of the London Oratory. As for myself, I considered it my duty to testify, without naming Father Ryder, to what an extent I disapprove of his doctrine on this subject, by publishing a pamphlet, entitled, "*When does the Church speak infallibly?*"

I am, Sir, yours faithfully,

F. KNOX,

Superior of the London Oratory.

THE

DUBLIN REVIEW

OCTOBER, 1868.

ART. I.—DOCTOR O'BRIEN ON JUSTIFYING FAITH, ITS NATURE AND EFFECTS.

An Attempt to explain and establish the Doctrine of Justification by Faith only, in ten Sermons, upon the Nature and Effects of Faith. Preached in the Chapel of Trinity College, Dublin. By JAMES THOMAS O'BRIEN, D.D., formerly Fellow of Trinity College, and Archbishop King's Divinity Lecturer in the University of Dublin, now Bishop of Ossory, Ferns, and Leighlin. Third edition. London and Cambridge; MacMillan & Co.

IT is impossible to overrate the importance of the topics treated in this volume, whether viewed in themselves or in their connection with others of vital interest and weight. On our holding the sound doctrine concerning justification depends for each one of us the attainment in ourselves of the end for which the Son of God became man, and suffered and died for us; the end for which He established His Church, and dowered her with such gifts and powers. To fallen man the all-important question which the trembling jailer put to Paul and Silas, "What must I do, that I may be saved?" is but another form of the question—What must I do that I may be justified? Salvation can be attained only through justification, and justification can be attained only in the way established by Christ: seeking it in any other way, we can never find it, and so remain as we are in our lost estate.

The first edition of Dr. O'Brien's book appeared in the year 1833, the author then holding the office of divinity lecturer in the Dublin University. Although this edition was quickly disposed of, the appearance of a second was delayed for nearly thirty years, the work having been from time to time during that period retouched and considerably enlarged. Originally composed in the undisturbed retirement of academic leisure, and then submitted to the "limæ labor" of so many years, it may fairly be taken in its present form as an elaborate and

matured exposition and defence of Protestant doctrine, put forward by one whose past and present position would seem to mark him out in the judgment of his co-religionists as well fitted for such a task. The author, indeed, expressly informs us (xv.)* that he has not advanced all the arguments deemed by himself conclusive; but unquestionably he has made his selection, as he himself pretty clearly intimates (ibid.), from those which appeared to him the strongest and most unanswerable.

Before all things clearness and precision both of thought and language are necessary in a theological discussion, especially on subjects not only lying out of the range of sense, but rising above the order of nature. The lack of these important qualities generally arises in learned men who are not naturally puzzle-headed, from the want of a previous scientific or—as we should call it—scholastic training, or from the want of definiteness in the doctrine itself, or in the way in which it is commonly formulized, or from all together. Certainly, Dr. O'Brien, from whatever cause, has not succeeded in giving sharp and defined outlines to the fundamental ideas of the controversy. With this controversy, in its Protestant as well as Catholic aspects, we have been for many years familiar. But we have sometimes experienced great difficulty in trying to grasp—if, indeed, we have grasped accurately—his precise thoughts, what exactly he means to say and to hold, and what exactly he means not to say or to hold. For this purpose we had to read several passages over and over again, to compare several passages over and over again. The book is both learned and acute; but the style is most unsuited to theological discussion or exposition; it is the very opposite of direct and terse.

There is, according to Catholic theology, a first justification and a second justification. By the first is meant the transfer of the soul from a state of mortal sin to a state of sanctifying grace. By the second is meant a growth or increase in this sanctifying grace. It is only with the former, which is called simply (*sine addito*) justification, we are concerned here: the latter belongs to an entirely distinct head.

On the dispositions for justification, on its nature and effects, the Catholic doctrine differs essentially and widely from the Protestant. But on two general points there is an agreement between the confessions; first, that faith is in some way a disposition for justification; secondly, that justification effects something in relation to the man justified, that it is not a mere

* The numeral references indicate the pages of Dr. O'Brien's book.

word without any corresponding thing signified by it. The main points of difference (so far as the subject is entered into by Dr. O'Brien) are elicited in the answers to the four following questions:—1st, What is the nature of justifying faith? 2nd, Does faith alone justify? 3rd, How does it justify? 4th, what are the nature and effects of justification? The three first questions are chiefly handled in the first, second, fourth, and sixth sermons; the fourth, in the third sermon; the remaining sermons have little of a polemical character, at least so far as Catholic doctrine is concerned. In the present paper we purpose confining ourselves to a reviewal of the Protestant doctrines and Protestant arguments, as put forward by Dr. O'Brien, on the two first points: to do more within the limits of a single article would be impossible. Moreover we select these points because we believe that the Protestant doctrine about them is not only far more widely received than on the other heads, but also is practically far more pernicious.

First Question: *What is the nature of justifying faith?* The Catholic answer is clear and definite in the very words of the Council of Trent (Sess. 6, chap. 6, Waterworth's translation):—"They [adults] are disposed unto said justice, when, excited and assisted by divine grace, conceiving 'faith by hearing' [Rom. x. 17], they are freely moved towards God, believing those things to be true which God has revealed and promised, and this especially that God justifies the impious 'by his grace, through the redemption that is in Christ Jesus' [ibid. iii. 24]; &c."

Faith then, according to the Catholic idea, is assent; according to the Protestant idea as adopted by Dr. O'Brien, it is not assent, but trust (or confidence, or assurance), founded indeed on knowledge and assent (12, 291), but distinct from them (12, 13), and forming only a part, though an essential part, of the proper signification of the word *faith* (25).

Now the object of this confidence, when there is question of justifying faith, may be threefold. First, it may be a confidence—an *act* of confidence—in the mercy of God towards sinners in general, as revealed in the Scriptures, and as manifesting itself daily in the conversion of sinners. Secondly, it may be a confidence of my own personal justification at this moment, based on that general promise of mercy. Thirdly, it may be confidence of my own present justification, based not only on that general promise but on a special divine intimation made to me at this moment. Protestants hold that confidence in a sin-pardoning God is *the* mean by which sinners are justified; so that when a sinner makes an act of this con-

fidence, he is thereby immediately justified, not because the act is in any way meritorious of such a gift, but because it is, as it were, the instrument which God has freely selected and ordained, through which to grant the boon, or, as others phrase it, the instrument whereby, hand-like, the justice of Christ is apprehended or laid hold on. But Dr. O'Brien nowhere tells us which of the three confidences it is that justifies. Pity he had not studied theology after our old-fashioned method. He would then have known that, in entering on a discussion like the present, one of the first things to begin with is a clear definition with its "genus proximate" and "specific difference." In one place (12) he says that "the true meaning of faith in Christ, or in God through Christ, is not *merely** or *properly* belief of the Scripture narrative concerning our Lord; or an assent of the understanding to certain propositions derived from that narrative, however true and however important they be; but that it is TRUST IN CHRIST, or IN GOD THROUGH CHRIST [sic], founded upon such a belief or assent; an entire and unreserved *confidence* [sic] in the efficacy of what Christ has done and suffered for us; a full *reliance* [sic] upon him and upon his work." Again (24), he says, "Nor will the firmest belief in the Scripture narrative . . . . . constitute faith in Christ, until, to this clear conviction of the sufficiency of his atoning sacrifice, are added a real *desire* for its fruits, and heartfelt *confidence* in its efficacy; until the Spirit has enabled us to cast ourselves in humble reliance, for time and for eternity, upon the mercy and the ***truth*** of a *reconciled* God." In Note E (292) he discards, "under the name of faith, any fanatical *impressions of peculiar personal favour*," as neither taught nor countenanced by the great old Protestant authorities. But when we turn to these same authorities, of which he gives a lengthened series (292-303), we find several of them clearly and unmistakably understanding by justifying faith, that assurance, resting on special communication from God, which the individual sinner has that he himself is justified or being justified; and which our author stigmatizes as fanaticism—alluding, it seems to us, to the rhapsodical and convulsional scenes so common at the prayer-meetings and revivals of the Methodists and extreme Evangelicals.†

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* The italics, when not otherwise specified, are our own.

† See Conybeare's Essays, pp. 64, 75. By the way, in the reprint of the Essay here referred to ("Church Parties") there are some curious suppressions. For example, the following note in the original (*Edinburgh Review*, v. 98, p. 327) is omitted in the reprint (p. 137):—"Many clergy of both these schools misplace all the aspirates, and some, in reading the Lessons, adopt the rule

We give some examples below.*

It is important to observe here that the third species of assurance recedes very much farther from Catholic doctrine than the second; the second much farther than the first. The third is in all its parts pure and unmixed error; the second has nothing objectionable in it, if taken to mean a certain probable opinion or persuasion a man may have of his own justification, after having adopted the means established by God for attaining justification. In the mouth of a Protestant, however, it does not mean this, but involves two errors: first, that a man may have, and to be justified must have, an absolute and undoubting conviction that he is justified; secondly, that it is by this conviction, and by it alone, he is justified. The first sort of confidence, as it lies by itself (*prout jacet*), may signify merely the firm belief that God is able and willing to justify sinners, and has promised to justify them under certain conditions. But, first, to say that this is the complete act of justifying faith is, on Catholic principles, a grievous error (see the extract given above (p. 319) from the Council of Trent); secondly, to say that such an act of faith, or any act of mere faith, justifies by itself, is a no less grievous error.†

We cannot say that Dr. O'Brien's "confidence" corresponds exactly with any of these three: sometimes he seems to mean

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of emphasising all the words printed in italics, which are really the least emphatic, being those supplied by the translators to complete the sense. We have ourselves heard a clergyman of the Low and Slow school produce an effect irresistibly comic by applying this principle in reading the following verse, 'The Prophet spake unto his sons saying, Saddle me the ass. And they saddled HIM.'" In another suppressed passage (p. 89, *Edinburgh Review*, p. 293) the present Dr. O'Brien is numbered among the Recordite or extreme Evangelical party.

* "Fides significat non tantum historiæ notitiam . . . . sed significat amplecti omnes *articulos fidei*, et *in his* hunc articulum, credo remissionem peccatorum. Nec tantum aliis eam dari *credo*, sed *mihi* quoque."—*Confessio Saxonica* (293).

"Quid est fides? Est non tantum notitia qua firmiter assentior omnibus quæ Deus nobis in verbo suo patefacit, sed etiam certa fiducia a Spiritu Sancto per Evangelium in corde meo accensa, qua in Deo acquiesco, *certo* statuens non solum aliis sed *mihi* quoque remissionem peccatorum, æternam justitiam, et vitam donatam esse, &c."—*Catechesis Heidelbergensis* (294).

So also Melancthon (295, 312), Conf. Augustana (386), &c. A "Sylloge Confessionum sub tempus reformandæ Ecclesiæ editarum," was published at Oxford, in the year 1827. It contains the Creed of Pius IV., and, strange to say, does not contain the 39 Articles.

† On the Protestant *fides justificans*, see a learned note in Sir William Hamilton's Essays, p. 493. See also Whitby's Preface to the Galatians, § 2, 3. It is hardly necessary to observe that when we use the words *justifying faith* as a Catholic phrase, we mean faith as *one* of the dispositions or conditions for justification.

one, sometimes another.* But whatever may be his exact meaning, he affirms that confidence *is* that very faith—or an essential part of that faith—which is represented in Scripture as justifying sinners. This is his proposition. Let us now consider the arguments by which the learned lecturer enforces it.

First Argument.—The faith which justifies is faith in Christ, faith in his name, faith in his blood, or faith in God through him; as is signified in the texts referred to below.† Now the faith mentioned in these texts is trust or confidence (12, 13).

Answer.—We deny the second or minor proposition. 1st. If, as Dr. O'Brien maintains, the word *faith* (πιστις), in every one of the texts referred to,‡ really signifies and "expresses" (this is the very term he uses) *confidence*, it is not a little strange that his own authorized Protestant version in every one of these texts has *faith*, in none of them *confidence*. It is true that in certain contexts the word *faith* signifies or implies *confidence*, as when we speak of having faith in a man's skill, honesty, &c.: see below, p. 324, &c. But assuredly the words *faith* and *confidence*, *believe* and *confide in*, are in our language by no means simply and universally convertible terms.

2nd. We of course hold, as defined by the Council of Trent (l.c.), that hope (or trust, in the Catholic sense) is a necessary condition for justification, and that it is of the nature of faith, especially of a strong and lively faith, to beget this hope; but we deny that the two are identical, or that an act of faith cannot be truly such and supernatural and disposing to justification, until there be added to it that confidence, which our author so much insists on but nowhere defines. He throws down a heap of mere references, without the slightest attempt to show that even one of the texts referred to is in point—

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* Since the above was written, the present writer's attention has been drawn to the fifth chapter of Dr. Ward's "Ideal of a Christian Church," which contains an elaborate analysis of Dr. O'Brien's doctrine on justifying faith, and in which it is clearly demonstrated that the genuine Lutheran tenet—that justifying faith is a special belief that one's *own* sins are remitted,—which our author unmistakably holds in some places, is entirely at variance with what he advances in other places. Dr. Ward's book was published before his conversion: the coincidence therefore between his reading of Dr. O'Brien and our own is not a little confirmatory of the justness of our view.

† Faith in Christ: Rom. iii. 22; Ephes. i. 15; Col. i. 4; ii. 5; Gal. ii. 16, 20; iii. 26. Faith in his name: John i. 12; 1 John iii. 23; v. 13. Faith in his blood: Rom. iii. 25. Faith in God through him: Rom. iv. 5; 1 Thess. i. 8; 1 Pet. i. 21.

‡ In the texts of S. John referred to the word which occurs is not the substantive *faith* but the verb *believe*, πιστευω.

simply and coolly remarking that his interpretation "seems to admit of very little question." As if that, which so many learned and able men have denied, were so evident as to require no proof. We have examined every one of his texts carefully, and in not one of them is there any clear ground for affirming that *faith* signifies *assurance*, much less *assurance of one's own justification.*

The Epistle to the Romans is supposed to furnish the most overwhelming evidence for the Protestant view. Let us take the three texts of that Epistle referred to by Dr. O'Brien himself: we give them, as also all the texts that follow, in the Protestant version, and with a portion of the context:—

Rom. iii. (21). "But now the righteousness of God without the law is manifested, being witnessed by the law and the prophets; (22) Even the righteousness of God [which is] by faith of Jesus Christ unto all and upon all them that believe: for there is no difference . . . . . (25) Whom [Christ Jesus] God hath set forth [to be] a propitiation through faith in his blood, to declare his righteousness for the remission of sins that are past, through the forbearance of God; (26) To declare [I say], at this time his righteousness: that he might be just, and the justifier of him who believeth in Jesus."

Rom. iv. (3). "For what saith the Scripture? 'Abraham believed God, and it was counted unto him for righteousness' [Gen. xv. 6]. (4) Now to him that worketh is the reward not reckoned of grace, but of debt. (5) But to him that worketh not, but believeth on him that justifieth the ungodly, his faith is counted for righteousness."

Now, in the first place, there is not one word in these texts to indicate that by *faith* is meant *confidence.* In the second place, the example of Abraham, the very example adduced by S. Paul, clearly overthrows any such interpretation. For, if we turn to the passage in Genesis from which the Apostle quotes, we see at once the true nature of Abraham's faith:—"And he [the Lord] brought him [Abraham] forth abroad, and said, Look now toward heaven, and tell the stars, if thou be able to number them. And he said unto him, So shall thy seed be. And he believed in the Lord; and he counted to him for righteousness." What was this faith of Abraham? A confidence in his own justification? A confidence in God's pardoning mercy in general? No such thing; but plainly a belief in what God had just *said*, a belief in the divine revelation just made of the countless multitude of his posterity: and so S. Paul clearly understands it, ibid. iv. 16-22.

But, it may be said, had not Abraham confidence in the mercy of God? Undoubtedly he had, and a firm and abiding confidence (habitual, as it would be called in the schools), as he had a strong and abiding fear of God and love of God, and no doubt made an act of adoration and love on this very

occasion; but these acts are not expressed by the word *believe.* It is plain from the Scripture narrative that Abraham, even at the period in question, was a very holy man and adorned with great virtues, growing out of that wonderful faith of his and strong with its strength; but these virtues are not *expressed* by the word *faith.*

Second Argument.—This argument we give in the author's own words, the italics also being all his own. "That *faith in* any being, or *in* any quality of any being, is *confidence* in him or it, can hardly, I suppose, be questioned by any one. *Faith in* a person (and the same is true also of *faith in* a thing) stands so naturally for *trust in* him, as the sure instrument by which something desirable or useful is secured to us, or *trust in* him, as the certain source from which such benefits are to flow, that reliance upon the procurer or the bestower of good would be by most persons, I presume, expressed indifferently by *faith in* him, or *trust in* him" (13). "The sense in which *faith* is used there [in the Bible] is, in no respect, different from that which it bears in the ordinary use of common language with reference to the affairs of this life. So that they who know what is meant by *faith* in a *promise* know what is meant by *faith* in the *Gospel;*—they who know what is meant by *faith* in a *remedy* know what is meant by *faith in the blood of the Redeemer;* they who know what is meant by *faith in a physician, faith in an advocate, faith in a friend,* know, too, what the Scriptures mean to express when they speak of *faith in the Lord Jesus Christ*" (53). "A profession of *faith* in any object, whether person or thing, is equivalent to a declaration of *trust* in the object, as the source of some good which we desire, or as the instrument in procuring it" (55).

Answer.—There are thousands of words in every language, especially in every copious and cultivated language, which have different meanings, ranging from two even to twenty and upwards. These meanings are often cognate; but they are often so widely different from each other, that the keenest etymologist is unable to trace them to a common stem. *Faith* is one of those many-meaning words; and its principal meanings are *assent, confidence, fidelity.* Now it is of the very essence of all such words that, taken purely by themselves and without any explanatory context whatever either of words or circumstances, their meaning is utterly indeterminable. Some kind of context is therefore absolutely necessary to fix some one meaning as the meaning at present intended; and it is by the context, and by that alone, the meaning can be determined.

If a man says, "I have faith in James," and we know no-

thing of his relations with James or of James's occupation, we cannot say what the man means, whether it be belief in James's veracity, confidence in his honesty, courage, &c. But if he says, "I have faith in Dr. James, my physician," we at once understand confidence in James's medical skill and diligence, confidence in him *as a physician*. If James has seen much of the world, and if, after hearing from his own lips an account of various events, which he assures us he himself witnessed, we say "we have faith in James," we simply mean that we believe his account to be true. It is the expression of mere assent, which if reasonable must rest on our knowledge of the narrator as a man of accurate observation, retentive memory, and strict veracity. Whether we have or have not confidence in him in any other respect, as to his learning, benevolence, prudence, &c., certainly such confidence is neither expressed nor implied in our present affirmation. So if, in speaking of English historians, we say "we have faith in Lingard but not in Hume," there is not only no expression of confidence, save that in the authority of the historian, but there is no room for such expression. Nay, the circumstances may be such as not only to exclude the idea of any other confidence, but to suggest feelings of a very opposite nature, fear, grief, indignation, &c., as would be the case in a man saying that he had faith in the bearer of some calamitous tidings. The proposition, therefore, which Dr. O'Brien lays down as a fundamental principle, and unquestionable too, is false, namely, that to have faith in any one is to have confidence in him as the sure source of some benefits accruing to the confider. A man using the phrase may intend to convey this meaning, but he conveys it not by these words, but by a context.

But, says Dr. O'Brien, the phrase "faith in Christ" necessarily signifies a confidence in Christ as the source of benefit to us, just as the phrase "faith in a physician, advocate, friend," expresses such confidence—Christ being our physician, advocate, friend.

Answer.—A physician, as such, has no other relation to his patient than that of healer. A physician is not called in to be trusted, has no claims to be trusted as a linguist, a lawyer, an astronomer. When, therefore, a man says that he has faith in his physician, the circumstances of the case, notorious to all, clearly indicate that there is only meant confidence in the physician's practical skill, prophylactic or therapeutic, or both; and this determination of meaning, so far as it is signified by the mere *words* used, is signified not by the word *faith*, but by the word *physician*.

But suppose a man to be eminent not only as a physician,

but as a classical scholar and as an astronomer—as great a Grecian as Porson, as great an astronomer as the two Herschels. Or suppose a man to be eminent not only as a medical *practitioner*, but also as a medical *writer* or lecturer. Then you have faith in such a man as a *teacher* of medicine (or Greek or astronomy), in a sense widely different from that in which you have faith in him, in his *diagnosis* of your own or any other person's particular complaint, and in his *prescription* for the same. In the former case you simply assent to or believe the series of propositions which he puts before you; in the latter case you trust in his practical knowledge and skill. The faith you have in a professor of theology lecturing in his pulpit, may be very different from that which you have in him as confessor in his confessional; in his former character your faith in him may be less than in his latter, or it may be the opposite. To take the two remaining of Dr. O'Brien's own examples, you may have strong faith in an advocate, *as an advocate*, that is, in his cleverness in gaining causes, though you may have weak faith in his general veracity or his profound knowledge of law. You may have great faith in a friend, *as a friend*, that, for example, he will help you in difficulties, though you may have little or no faith in him when he is telling a story.

Faith, therefore, in any person is not necessarily confidence in him, nor is confidence in him necessarily faith in him. Even where the two are combined together, and combined in one and the same material act, they are *morally* distinct, because the motives from which they spring and on which they rest are clearly and entirely distinct; the motive for either may exist where there is no motive or shadow of motive for the other. Thus, to take again Dr. O'Brien's own example of a friend, James is a sincere and warm friend of John's, but while John knows well that there is no truer man living in keeping promises made to friends, he knows just as well that in story-telling or narratives of any kind James is, where there is no danger of serious wrong, unmatched as a wholesale dealer in white lies. Peter, on the other hand, owes an old grudge to John, and would do John a mischief if he could; but he is at the same time just as well known for a man of tried veracity to all men and on all occasions. Now, if John get into any trouble and want assistance, he will trust in James for that, not in Peter; but if he be interested in having a true account of any event which both James and Peter profess to have witnessed, he will trust—that is, believe—the latter, not the former. How much, therefore, and how often soever these two acts of belief and confidence are combined together, they

are distinct acts resting on distinct motives (reasons, grounds); what these motives are in Christian belief and confidence we shall see presently.

The principles just laid down are founded not only on the laws of language, but on the nature of things: we now proceed to the application of them.

When our Lord came on earth, the whole human race, outside a chosen few, lay prostrate in cruel bondage to Satan. With two evils, as with two heavy chains, he held them bound down fast. One was the corruption of the will, whence welled out that noisome, endless poison-flood of sin; the other was the corruption of the intellect, with its thick, infolding cloud of ignorance and error. And these two fallen faculties acted one upon the other; from the depraved will steamed up a constant exhalation, increasing the darkness of the intellect; the blind intellect led the will farther and farther astray in the ways of iniquity and the region of death. The Redeemer descended to heal the double wound, to redeem us from ignorance as well as from sin—nay, first to redeem us from ignorance, without which redemption we cannot, in the order of His Providence, be redeemed from sin. He was to be not only the "Lamb of God . . . who taketh away the sins of the world," but "the true light which enlighteneth every man that cometh into this world" (John i. 9, 29), not only "to do," but "to teach" (Acts i. 1). Hence, He not only paid that ransom for our sins, by which souls were to be justified and perfected in justice, all days to the end of the world; but He also gave a revelation of heavenly truths, which was to remain in all its purity and integrity, all days to the end of the world; a revelation of truths that had been communicated to Adam in paradise, but long since lost to the mass of men, and a revelation of truths communicated now for the first time. His own divine mission to impart this revelation He demonstrated by signs and wonders, the record and force of which were also to remain to the end of the world. Now, in order that His atonement should take effect in washing out the sins of those who are capable of making an act of faith, that is, of all who have come to the use of reason, He has made it a first and indispensable condition that the sinner should receive His revelation as divine, and should believe, with true assent of mind, the truths contained therein (all implicitly, how much explicitly is beside the present question). This assent we call faith; and this faith, to be truly such, must rest on some sure motive. It is not enough to say, "I believe, because it serves my purpose to believe, or because it is my will and pleasure to believe;" it must be, "I believe because I have a reason, an

adequate reason, for believing." What is this reason? I see plainly that the revelation is from God; the motives of credibility (or evidences, as they are called) clearly demonstrate that. I have, then, the authority of God—the authority of Him who can neither be deceived nor deceive—for the truth of everything contained in it; and on this authority I believe in everything contained in it. The ultimate ground on which I believe in the doctrines of revelation is, therefore, the *authority* of the Divine revealer.

The motive of hope or trust is quite different from this. We know that God is omnipotent, and therefore can give us pardon and grace here and eternal glory hereafter. We know that He is of infinite goodness and mercy, and therefore may be willing to do so. But as God is entirely free in all His works *ad extra;* free in His works of mercy as well as of justice; as He might have created man for a purely natural end, and was in no way bound to confer on him any supernatural gift whatever, in this world or in the next; as He might have left fallen man, as He left the fallen angels, in his fallen state; hence, resting on the attributes of power and mercy alone, we could have no sure and infallible grounds of trust for the present or hope for the future, unless He had also decreed to exercise—to actuate—His mercy towards us, and had intimated this decree to us—that is, in other words, unless He had promised. Hence the motive of our trust and hope is in the power of God, the mercy of God, and the promise of God, especially in the promise. This promise He has made to us, and renewed over and over again a thousand different times and in various ways, in His revealed word. The grounds, therefore, of our hope, so far as God's will and promise are concerned, are infallibly sure and certain, as sure and certain as it is that God cannot break His promise; but as that promise is not absolute (otherwise all men would be saved, as God wills the salvation of all) but conditional; and as no man, without a special revelation, can have the certainty of faith that he has done all that was necessary; hence no man, without such revelation, can have the certainty of faith that he is now in a state of grace, much less that he will die in a state of grace. Our great anchor of both trust and hope is in God: we have no grounds of either in ourselves, except—and these are *in* ourselves and not *of* ourselves—in utterly mistrusting ourselves; in chastising the body and bringing it into subjection; in dreading tremblingly and resisting bravely that world accursed of God * with its maxims

* Matth. xviii. 7.

and its ways—maxims borrowed from the bible of hell, ways leading to its gates—maxims and ways in these our times flooding far and wide every region under the sun; and in prayer, earnest prayer, prayer without ceasing—prayer which partakes of the divine omnipotence and can do all things.

As our purpose is not to establish our own doctrine by direct arguments, but to examine the arguments advanced in support of the Protestant doctrine, we shall quote only one or two texts in favour of the Catholic idea, just explained, of justifying faith, as being clear, and requiring no elaborate discussion to show their true meaning and force.

"These are written, that ye might believe that Jesus is the Christ, the Son of God; and that believing ye might have life through his name." (John xx. 31.) The faith here spoken of is clearly justifying faith. For life, that is, the supernatural life of justification, is connected with it as effect with cause or condition. "That asking you may receive"—"that studying you may become learned"—"that eating your hunger may be appeased"—"that sleeping you may be refreshed"—these, and a thousand similar examples which might be adduced, demonstrate the universal law of language, by which the meaning of such phrases is determined. The faith of which S. John speaks is a faith that leads to justification, on which justification follows—how and on what terms we shall see in the second part of this article.

What then is the nature of this faith? Is it a personal confidence on the part of the believer that his sins are at the present moment forgiven him? No such thing. It is faith in Christ as the true Messiah, as the true God incarnate; and therefore—what is necessarily and directly involved in such faith—a faith in the infallible and divine truth of all things revealed by Him.

So in Mark xvi. 15, 16:—"Go ye into all the world, and preach the gospel to every creature. He that believeth and is baptized shall be saved; but he that believeth not shall be damned." Surely here there is question of that faith out of which justification springs, of that faith which, according to the strictly and purely Scriptural doctrine of the Council of Trent (S. 6, c. 8), "is the beginning of human salvation, the foundation and the root of all justification." Now this faith is manifestly not a confidence in one's own acceptance, or a general confidence in divine mercy. It is a belief in the gospel of Christ, a receiving and believing of the Christian religion by those to whom it is preached for the first time:—"Preach the *gospel*—he that *believeth*." Believeth what? Believeth that he is himself justified, or that God is merciful

to sinners? But the first is not contained in the Gospel at all, much less *is* it the Gospel. The second is only a single doctrine in that great body of revelation, and cannot be received as a truth from heaven, until that revelation, of which it is announced as a part, be received as a revelation from heaven. Plainly the first act in preaching a new revelation is to prove that it is of divine origin, to prove that its author or promulgator was divinely commissioned—selecting and adapting the evidences (motives of credibility) according to circumstances. It was thus S. Peter first preached the Gospel, on that great day of Pentecost, to the Jews assembled in Jerusalem; appealing to the prophecies, to the gift of tongues, which they had just witnessed, and to the resurrection of Christ (Acts ii. 14-36). It was thus that Philip preached the Gospel to the eunuch (most probably either a Jew or a Jewish proselyte), proving Christ to be the Messiah from prophecy—an argument which, especially at that time, appealed with peculiar vividness and force to the mind of a well-disposed Jew (Acts viii. 27-35). So in like manner S. Paul announces the new Gospel to the Jews (Acts xiii. 16, &c.). Again, it is the same Gospel which one man "believeth" and another "believeth not;" and this is evidently neither more nor less than the Christian religion in itself and as a whole. There is no question whatever of personal assurance or assurance of any kind.

We now return to Dr. O'Brien's arguments. The following are purely Scriptural, and are put forward as completely removing every doubt—if any doubt remained—as to the cogency of the preceding arguments. "But if there be a doubt about the meaning of a word used in Scripture, the question must be ultimately determined by an appeal to Scripture itself" (14). These are the words with which our author introduces this section of his proof. He concludes it with the following:—

I need hardly direct your attention to the importance of this example [Fifth Argument, below], as confirmatory of the conclusion which we drew from those which we looked at before [Third and Fourth Arguments]. These instances, rightly considered, seemed not only to fix the true nature of the principle, but sufficiently to overthrow both the erroneous notions of it. For we saw that, when the Lord reprehends the want of faith of those to whom he speaks, there is not anything in what draws forth his reproof which can be fairly described as a failure in obedience,* or a want of belief in any specific proposition proposed as the object of belief—or a want of belief, in any sense which does not *identify* belief with trust:—it is plainly want of

* By obedience as opposed to confidence the Evangelical school, it appears to us, understands other acts of the sinner, which, according to our doctrine, are necessary to justification, *e.g.*, sorrow for past sin, purpose of amendment, &c.

trust that he condemns. And you must see how strikingly this last example [Fifth Argument], which is of a different kind, confirms the conclusion as to the proper sense of the word, to which the former examples led. For here his emphatic commendation of faith is drawn forth by no signal act of obedience—by no act of obedience of any kind; and as little by any act of belief, as distinguished from trust (19).

We give Dr. O'Brien's texts in his own order, with as much of his commentary as is really necessary for the elucidation of his view of each text, in his own words and with his own italics.

Third Argument.—"When you find our Lord thus addressing his disciples, 'Wherefore, if God so clothe the grass of the field, which to-day is and to-morrow is cast into the oven, how much more shall he clothe you, O ye of little faith!'* you can have no doubt, I presume, of the sense in which he employs the word *faith*. No one can, I suppose, question that he means by it, that *confidence in God's protection*, which their observation of his care for the lowest parts of his creation ought to imprint on the hearts of his children . . . . A glance at the whole passage will show that it is designed to condemn, in God's children, all that unreasonable solicitude about life and its wants in which they are so prone to indulge . . . . [So far is our Lord from charging] those to whom he speaks with ignorance of God's providential care, or disbelief of it, that, on the contrary, the justice of his reproof of their want of *faith* rests chiefly upon the impossibility of their being ignorant of, or doubting, the facts upon which such confidence in God ought to be grounded" (15, 16).

Answer.—The argument so clearly and directly answers itself, that we are amazed the Doctor did not see this in first putting it on paper, and still more that it did not occur to him, or to some critic friend of his, in the long interval which elapsed between the first and subsequent editions. The text is altogether foreign to the question, has no more connection with it than has the first verse of Genesis.

1. The one question and the whole question here is about *justifying* faith. Now, in the text before us, or in the context, there is no question whatever of the means of attaining justification—no question of justification at all—no allusion to the subject. The whole drift of this section of our Lord's discourse is to warn against over anxiety about provision for the future in purely *temporal* affairs, in food and clothing; to exhort to a deeper trust in the providence of God, who, as He has so manifestly and so bountifully made provision for

* Matth. vi. 30; Luke xii. 28.

the natural exigencies of all his other creatures, will much more provide for the natural wants of man. What has this to do with justifying faith or trust? Most men are much too solicitous in providing for their future temporal wants. The true Christian should not act thus: he should turn his solicitude rather to higher concerns, trusting more for the supply of his lower wants in the goodness of that God, who feeds the birds of the air and clothes the flowers of the field; who surely, therefore, will not leave His creature, man, unprovided for. This is the sum of our Lord's words. *Ergo*, says Dr. O'Brien, the faith by which sinners are justified, is not a belief in God's revelation, but confidence in God's protection!

2. "Confidence in God's *protection*." This sounds very like our Catholic virtue of hope, which we require as a part preparation for justification. That God would protect us from sin now and hereafter, and from perils of sin, is an object of true Christian hope, and has an expression in the two last petitions of the Lord's prayer—"lead us not into temptation: but deliver us from evil." Is this the Protestant idea of the confidence which justifies the sinner? We think not. We have not found it elsewhere in Dr. O'Brien's book; nor have we found it in any of the Protestant authorities quoted in the long note already referred to. Perhaps our author means confidence in God's protection against the punishment due to sin, according to the genuine old Protestant doctrine, which affirmed that in justification the sin is not really washed out from the soul, but only not imputed, and not being imputed is not punished. But it is mere waste of time to speculate on the probable or possible meaning of the word in the mouth of a Protestant divine. The protection of which our Lord speaks is, as we have already stated, a protection in the purely natural and material order. We are exhorted to rely on the providence of God in supplying us with food and raiment: is this, according to Protestant doctrine, the confidence by which sinners are justified?

We must not omit to notice another misrepresentation of our Lord's words, where Dr. O'Brien makes him reprove his hearers for "want of faith." They are not charged with want of faith, but with want of that strong and lively faith which would influence the daily acts of life—"O ye of *little* faith," ολιγοπιστοι.

The same unaccountable blunder which lies at the bottom of the preceding, underlies also the rest of the Scripture arguments. Indeed, we might have despatched them all at a single blow, and roasted them together on the same spit;

but we thought it better, in our work of destruction, to follow Dr. O'Brien's method of construction.

Fourth Argument.—"Again, when the wild alarm to which they all gave way at the approach of danger draws from him the rebuke, 'Why are ye so *fearful*, O ye of *little faith?*'* or, 'Why are ye so fearful? how is it that ye have no faith?'† or, 'Where is your *faith?*'‡ you have plain instances of a similar use of the term. The rebuke is here addressed to all the Apostles; but, upon another occasion, there is recorded a touching reproof of one of them in particular . . . . [Peter's] confidence in his Lord's power and in his love was strong enough to make him dare peril, but too weak to make him tranquil when it came; 'and beginning to sink, he cried, saying, Lord, save me! And immediately Jesus stretched forth his hand, and caught him, and said unto him, O thou of *little faith*, wherefore didst thou *doubt?*' " (16, 17).

Answer.—Here again there is no question of justification, no reference or allusion of any kind to it. No doubt the Apostles and Peter, though still weak and but little enlightened, were, on the occasions referred to, justified: but whether then in a state of grace or not, the Scripture narrative represents them as simply afraid of being drowned. Their faith was weak, not in that they were not sufficiently assured of their own justification or did not sufficiently rely on God's mercy in the salvation of sinners, but in that they did not sufficiently trust in the power and will of Christ to save them from immediate death:—"Lord, save us: we perish." The faith which the Apostles should have had and had not, was firm and undoubting faith in Christ to save them from drowning, inasmuch as He was then actually in the ship and a sharer in the common peril. Peter should have had firm conviction that the Lord would not permit him to be drowned, inasmuch as he had left his ship at the Lord's command, and had actually walked unhurt on the water up to the moment when the strong wind arose. *Ergo*, the faith which justifies the sinner is firm assurance of his own justification, or firm trust in the mercy of God!

Fifth Argument.—The two preceding arguments furnished instances of the feebleness or want of faith. "Now, on the other hand, look at any of those instances of *faith* which draw forth the Lord's gracious approbation, and analyze the state of mind that he commends. Take, for example, the notable case of the Syrophenician woman, whose faith he seems to have regarded as especially worthy of remark,

* Matth. viii. 26. † Mark iv. 40. ‡ Matth. xiv. 25-31.

and see in what it consists.* Believing that he had come from God, and that he was invested with miraculous powers to execute God's gracious purposes, she had sought him out to engage his assistance on behalf of her child, whose disease was beyond all human aid . . . . [The woman, after having been three times repulsed by our Lord, still persevered in her humble and earnest prayer, and finally received what she asked for.] Is it not manifest that it is this humble and steadfast *confidence* in God—acquired under circumstances so untoward, and retained under a trial so severe—that moves the admiration and wonder (if we may so speak) which appear in the Lord's reply, 'O woman, great is thy faith!' " (17-19).

Answer.—Dr. O'Brien seems to take a special pride in this argument. He speaks of the "importance of this example," and thinks that it "strikingly confirms the conclusion as to the proper sense of the word" (faith), and "is as strong a confirmation as could be desired" (19) of that sense. Now, we are impressed with a conviction as to the force of this example diametrically opposite to that of the learned doctor: for of all the examples adduced by him this appears to us as decidedly and clearly the most irrelevant. Let us throw the elements or materials out of which the argument is formed into syllogistic form—he will not, we take for granted, object to a little whiff of Murray's Logic, the class-book of his own University:—The faith of the Syrophenician woman is a perfect example of justifying faith. But her faith was a confidence—not that she or any one else was justified in a general confidence in God's mercy, but—in the power and goodness of Christ that He would yield to her prayer, and cure her daughter. ("O woman, great is thy faith: be it unto thee even as thou wilt: and her daughter was made whole from that very hour.") Therefore the faith which justifies is a confidence—not in the mercy of God in pardoning sinners nor confidence of personal justification, but confidence—in the power and goodness of God to heal diseases humanly incurable. The first proposition is Dr. O'Brien's own; the second expresses the clear and obvious meaning of the Scripture passage; and the conclusion is inevitable. Nay more, if there be question in the text of justification and justifying faith, then was the daughter justified not by her own faith but by the faith of her mother!

But perhaps Dr. O'Brien may say that he cited the present and preceding texts only to show that the words *faith* and *believe* (πιστις, πιστευω) signify *confidence* and *to have confidence in.*

* Matth. xv. 21-28; Mark vii. 25-29.

Answer.—We have remarked, at the commencement of the present article, on the extreme looseness of language in which our author is apt to indulge. Indeed, we have not, for many years, we regret to say, fallen in with any book, written by a really able man, so lamentably deficient in precision as the volume before us. It occurred to us more than once, in reading the volume, that he felt the difficulties of his position, and, with a kind of unconscious instinct, worked out loop-holes to escape from them. We think we see something of this kind once or twice in the long Note B (255-274), which is appended to the very portion of the work now under examination, and is "Upon the Proof of the Scriptural Meaning of Faith." But it will not do.

1. If he means only to prove that *one* of the meanings of πιστις and πιστευω is *trust* and *to trust in*, surely this required no proof, for no one, as far as we know, has ever denied it. If he intended to prove that it is the meaning (the only meaning, or part of a compound meaning involving belief and trust) in every case, then he has utterly failed to show this. For he has only produced eight texts, four of them parallel. Of the word πιστευω there is not a single example among these eight texts, although that word occurs in the New Testament more than two hundred times. Of the word πιστις there are three examples * (whether clearly used in the alleged sense we shall see by-and-by), although that word also occurs in the New Testament upwards of two hundred times. There is, then, no other alternative but that of producing those texts as examples of *justifying* faith; and the argument from them for this purpose is, as we have seen, utterly and absolutely inconclusive.

2. The following passage, which forms the commencement of the Note alluded to, pretty clearly indicates that the texts there referred to (those that we have just been considering) are quoted as so many illustrations of *justifying* faith:—"No one can, I think, reasonably doubt that faith means in the Bible, as it does elsewhere, a state of mind;† and it seems evident that *the real question* to be determined here is this: when we are declared to be *justified before God by faith* [sic], does that term stand simply for the state of mind in which we believe the truths contained in the Word of God, or does it include, in addition, the trust or confidence in him which such belief ought to produce? It will be seen that the mode of deciding

* Mark iv.; Luke viii.; Matth. xiv. In four of the others the word used is ολιγοπιστος. In Mark vii. there is no mention of the woman's faith. A few additional texts are quoted in the Note.

† Habitual faith is a state or disposition of mind, not so actual faith.

this question in the Sermon is," &c. (255). He then refers in a summary way to the texts quoted above. So, farther on in the same Note:—"But while trust is an essential part of the meaning of faith, in the use of it in which we have been explaining and proving its meaning, that is *justifying faith*" [sic], &c. (272).

In discussing the preceding texts we omitted, as quite unnecessary for the decisive force of our line of argument, all inquiry into the meaning of the word *faith*, in the three of the cited texts in which it occurs. Granting that in these texts it signifies trust, still we have shown that the arguments grounded on them are thoroughly bad. But is this the true meaning of the word? and is it indisputably so? We answer both questions, especially the second, in the negative. Let us take our author's pet text, Matth. xv. There is nothing in the text or context to indicate this meaning. It is quite true that the woman felt the deepest confidence in our Lord. Not less profound was her spirit of humility and adoration. How do we know this? From the simple narrative itself. Does it therefore follow that all these virtues are expressed by the word *faith?* Surely not. Why, then, is her faith alone singled out for such high and special commendation? This question, in its general form, we will answer hereafter in the proper place.* Meantime, we remark briefly here, that hope and love too are strong in proportion to the strength and liveliness of that faith, out of which they grow, as the fruit grows out of the seed.

Sixth Argument.—"It [the noun πιστις] is never used [in the N. Testament,] so far as I know, to express *belief* simply, unless 2 Thess. ii. 13, be esteemed an instance, which is not worth discussing" (Note B, 265).

Answer.—We utterly deny this assertion. Dr. O'Brien himself offers no proof of it; and as we have not access to the old Protestant writers to whom he refers in an early part of the Note, we cannot say whether such proof has been attempted by any of them. But thus much we can say, that of the Protestant authorities which we have at hand, we have seen no such assertion in any one, much less a proof of it. On the contrary, we find them expressly stating that one of the New Testament meanings of πιστις is simply *belief*. We give some examples in the note below,† in which will be found references

* Pages 338–9, 362.

† Thus Schleusner (in voc.):—"(1) *Certa animi persuasio, certitudo opinionis et judicii de aliqua re,* maxime de eo quod licitum et illicitum est: Rom. xiv. 1, 22, 23 . . . (2) *Assensus qui rebus credendis tribuitur,* speciatim *assensus qui Religioni Christianæ tribuitur.* Luc. xviii. 8:—αρα ευρησει την πιστιν επι της γης; num homines habebit doctrinæ suæ assen-

to several texts where πιστις means simply *belief*. To these we might add many other examples, but we will go still farther. We have examined every single passage in the three first Gospels,* in the Acts and in Romans, in which the word occurs, and it occurs about eighty times. Now we affirm that, with the exception of not more than half a dozen places—and even these are far from being clear or indisputable exceptions—it is nowhere used to signify confidence. We affirm, moreover, that in the whole of the New Testament it is never, not even once, used to signify confidence in one's own justification as a means or condition of justification. We have already disposed of the texts brought forward by Dr. O'Brien to prove the opposite position.

The only rational account we can give of this perverse tendency to such wholesale misinterpretation is the following. True and genuine Christian faith, as we have already remarked, does of it own nature and, if we may so speak, by its intrinsic and energetic fertility, tend to produce not only Christian hope but every Christian virtue. It is for this reason that meditation or mental prayer is, as all who practise it can testify, so very efficacious in purifying the heart and enriching it with every high and solid virtue. For the first effect of meditation is to strengthen faith by realizing its object, almost as if that object were seen. The more received opinion among theologians is that the beatific vision, in those who enjoy it, is not only incompatible with sin (which is a defined Catholic doctrine), but is so by the very essence of that vision, from its intrinsic nature and influence. No contemplation of the eternal truths, however earnest and intense, can have this necessitating effect

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tientes? Act. xiii. 8:—ζητων αποστρεψαι τον ανθυπατον απο της πιστεως: avertere conabatur proconsulem ab assensu, quem præbebat doctrinæ Christianæ ab Apostolis traditæ, qui, 2 Thess. ii. 13, ἡ πιστις αληθειας dicitur. Hebr. iv. 2; xi. 3, πιστει, fide, quam habemus orationi Mosaicæ de creatione universi. Ibid. vers. 7, πιστει, fide, quam habebat oraculis et comminationibus divinis . . . Hinc (3) mox *nuda scientia et cognitio Religionis Christianæ*, mox *accessus et conversio ad Religionem Christianam, susceptio, professio externa Religionis Christianæ*, ob assensum qui ei tribuitur. Luc. xxii. 32; 1 Cor. ii. 5:—ἱνα ἡ πιστις ὑμων μη ἡ εν σοφια ανθρωπων, κ. τ. λ., ut omnes sponte intelligant vestram conversionem ad Religionem Christianam non eruditione et sapientia humana doctorum vestrorum effectam esse, sed opus esse vere divinum," &c. See also the New Testament Lexicons of Robinson (ed. London, 1850), Parkhurst (Rose's edit. with Wahl's note), &c.

We refer to these Protestant authorities, not that we by any means adopt their details of interpretation, but as all concurring in giving simple *belief* as one of the New Testament meanings of πιστις.

* The noun πιστις does not occur even once in S. John's Gospel, and only once in his Epistles. He uses the verb πιστευω, which occurs very often in the Gospel.

on us, who see them only "through a glass in a dark manner." But there can be no doubt that such contemplation exercises a most powerful influence in promoting the spiritual well-being of those who are much devoted to it: * while the habitual neglect of it is the source of every grievous sin, especially among true believers. Hence the saying of S. Teresa, adopted by S. Alphonsus Liguori, that "all sins had their origin in a want of faith." The saint does not mean an absolute want of faith, but of that strong and lively faith which meditation alone ordinarily produces.

Now among the usages of human speech there is none more common than that which ascribes to a single cause an effect which has been the result of several causes, when that single cause has had a prominent share in producing the effect, especially if it be the first in order among those causes, and more especially still if it be one from which the other concurring causes are more or less derived. Thus, if a holy parish-priest has reformed his parish, or a holy bishop has reformed his diocess, and if in accomplishing this work the laborious zeal of either was conspicuous, we would say that it was his zeal which effected it; if extraordinary meekness was his most remarkable quality, we would attribute all to this; so if his spirit of prayer or mortification, his persuasive and apostolic mode of preaching, his vigilance in finding out scandals and his courage in repressing them; and so forth; although it was not by any one of these qualities that he succeeded, or, indeed, could succeed, but by a union of many, if not all of them. Many things are necessary for a successful general, especially in a long and arduous campaign. Great courage alone will not suffice, nor will great military skill, nor disciplinarian strictness, nor an accurate knowledge of the country which is the scene of the campaign, nor caution, nor decision, nor many other things. But when the victory is complete, it will not be attributed to all these causes together, though they all really concurred in bringing it about, but to some one, or some one or two, which were pre-eminent above the rest, and gave to them direction and efficiency. A celebrated Roman general is known in history by the title of "Fabius the Fencer," † from the well-known system of strategy which he used against Hannibal, although this was far from being the only cause of his success. A young man enters on his politi-

* Suarez actually makes the comparison given in the text, and argues from it—though in an inverse order: "de Ultimo Fine Hominis," D. 10, S. 1, n. 16 (tom. iv. p. 120, ed. Vives).

† "Fabius Cunctator." Our translation is new and, we hope, preferable to the received ones.

cal career with high aspirations of success. He breaks down completely in his very first speech in parliament; he fails a second and a third time; but he perseveres undaunted, his strong self-reliance buoying him up and bearing him on. At length, after years of, at first checkered, then steadily increasing good fortune, he attains a high character as a debater and a high position as minister of state. Then every one exclaims that it was his confidence which achieved for him so signal a success. But mere confidence would have only developed him more and more every day into a fool and a laughing-stock. It was his native eloquence, tact, and other suitable endowments, combined perhaps with sterling honesty of purpose, perhaps with the unprincipled lubricity of a villain, called into activity by his confidence, that really made him what he is.

Now, though, while in marking out the more prominent or prolific element of success in the career of the aforesaid parish-priest, or commander, or statesman, you did not exclude, but tacitly included the other elements, no one would say that the word which *signified* that prominent element, *signified* the other elements, or any one of them. No one would say that the word *zeal*, in the case of the parish-priest, signified *meekness, sobriety, piety,* because the virtues signified by these words sprang out of the virtue signified by the word *zeal*, and co-operated with that virtue in producing the salutary effect. No one would say in the case of a general, whose caution mainly contributed to his success, that the word *caution* meant *courage, military skill,* &c. No one would say, in the case of the successful politician, that the word *confidence* meant *eloquence, tact,* &c.

This is exactly the mistake into which the Protestant divines of Dr. O'Brien's school have fallen in the matter before us. And we have dwelt all the more at length on the subject, inasmuch as, after having been engaged for more than a quarter of a century in the study of the Protestant controversy, we are clearly convinced that the main Scripture arguments in favour of the leading Protestant doctrines, both negative and positive, as decidedly and as grossly violate the fundamental laws of speech, as the doctrines themselves violate the teaching and tradition of the Church.* Even men who, like Dean Alford and the late Dr. Whately, have given special attention to the investigation and illustration of those laws, when they stretch out their hands to gather Protestantism out of the

* In no case is this more conspicuous than in the Protestant interpretation of the words used by our Lord in instituting the Sacrament of the Eucharist; as we hope to be able to demonstrate on some future occasion.

Bible, are struck suddenly blind, like Elymas the magician; a mist falls upon them, and they grope about in the dark.

To return to the present instance, we know from the very nature of the thing (as has been already explained) as well as from Scripture, that strong faith begets trust—that is, if the occasion be one to call for trust or to suggest it—or that trust accompanies such faith: therefore faith *signifies* trust. We have just shown the inconsequence of such a conclusion: but let us add a little more. Strong faith begets the fear of God and the love of God; for surely any one who makes an earnest act of faith in God as He really is, must be strongly moved to fear that infinite majesty and justice, to love that infinite beauty and goodness. For a similar reason strong faith begets a hatred of sin, and, in those especially who have sinned much, a sorrow for sin. The word *faith*, therefore, *signifies* not only trust, but fear and love of God, hatred of sin and sorrow for it! But enough of this.

Seventh Argument.—This, the last leading Scriptural argument in the first sermon, is founded on the eleventh chapter of the epistle to the Hebrews, especially on the opening verse of that chapter. The author recurs to it again in the commencement of the second sermon (29-30) and again in the course of the same (39-40), to say nothing of the elaborate and learned notes appended (274-290). He seems to think the passage (Heb. xi. 1) so decisive that it "seems to render the consideration of others superfluous" (20). We give the main points of the argument in his own words with his own italics.

> The Apostle there (Heb. xi. 1) describes it [faith] as "the substance of things hoped for; the evidence of things not seen." And though there may be felt to be, at first, a little obscurity in the word "substance," yet, I suppose most persons understand the sentence as conveying, that it is the character and property of *faith* to give to things future and hoped for all the reality of actual existence—all the effect upon the feelings and the conduct of *substantial realities*. And this is so easy a figure, and so fairly represents what is most important in the Apostle's meaning, that I do not know whether it be worth mentioning here, that the original probably expresses his meaning more directly. For while "substance" (taken in its common signification) is one of the primitive meanings of the Greek word, for which it stands in our translation, that word has, among its derived meanings, *confident expectation*; and is, in fact, used familiarly in that sense by sacred and profane writers. And when you recollect that, in this way of writing, the *things not seen*, in the second clause, of which faith is the evidence (or conviction), are the *things hoped for* in the first, you must see that this character of faith—which describes it as *the confident expectation of the things for which we hope*, and *a conviction that though unseen they are real and sure*,—

coincides with the account which I have attempted to give from other sources: and the entire of what follows falls in perfectly with this account, and strongly confirms it.

I do not mean to go through, in detail, all the instances of the force of *faith in God*, which the Apostle takes from the lives of Patriarchs and Prophets, and Martyrs, to illustrate his general account of the principle. But, by referring to the place, you will easily see that, in all these servants of God, the principle—though existing, doubtless, in different degrees—and though tried and exhibited in very different ways, and upon very different occasions, is everywhere the same: that it is *confidence in God*, grounded upon such a manifestation of his character as he saw fit to make;—a *reliance* so deep and sincere upon his power, his goodness, and his truth, as enable them to hope undoubtingly for all that he had promised, and in hope, to endure patiently all that he appointed, and to perform resolutely whatever he enjoined.

The Apostle points to Noah, for example, sustained by this principle amidst the scoffs of a faithless generation, in his patient preparation of the appointed refuge against the day of God's wrath:—to the severely-tried father of the faithful, in the strength of the same principle, raising his hand to slay his son—*his only son Isaac, whom he loved* (Gen. xxii. 2), at the command of him who had given him that son by a miracle, and in whom he trusted as able and true to restore him by a miracle again:—to Moses, in *faith* abandoning the luxuries of a sinful court; choosing rather to suffer affliction with the people of God, &c. (20-22).

Answer.—We hardly know how to set about unravelling this tangled web of words and loose assertions. I. In the first place, granting that the Greek word *ὑποστασις*, which, in the Protestant as well as Catholic version, is translated *substance*, really signifies, in this place, confidence; 1. it is so far from being clear that S. Paul intended to give a definition of faith, that Dr. O'Brien himself (in Note D, trying to get out of the perplexing difficulty against his view, drawn from verse 3) agrees "with Erasmus and Calvin, in thinking it unreasonable to treat it as a formal and complete definition of faith" (288-9). In truth, S. Paul's object was not to teach what faith *is*—which was well known to all for whom he wrote—but to show its great value and importance by pointing out what it *effects*, and this chiefly by illustrations of its mighty influence in those who were famed for possessing it in an eminent degree. Nothing is more common than this line of procedure in all ages and in every language. Thus, if a man wishes to exhort to the practice of virtue in general, or of any particular virtue,—for example, temperance,—he will not set out with a definition of virtue in general, or of temperance in particular, but he will expatiate on the happy fruits of a virtuous or temperate life. He will pursue the same course in

warning against sin in general, or against any particular sin. In this way S. Paul, in the well-known chapter of his first epistle to the Corinthians, describes charity, not by defining what it is in itself, but by enumerating its effects. We constantly, in writing and in speaking, recur to this mode of describing things, especially in recommending them, or cautioning against them. Thus we say of one kind of liquid that it is a refreshing drink, of another that it is wholesome, of another that it is unwholesome. It is in this way S. Paul describes faith, not as it is in itself, but from the effects it produces in the soul, realizing the future, and making it certain to us as if it were actually subsisting (substance), realizing the unseen as if it were actually visible (evidence). It is, therefore, quite immaterial to our present purpose how you translate ὑποστασις or ελεγχος (though the paraphrase we have just given exhibits, we think, the true meaning of the text): neither *is* faith, but they are both *effects* of faith.

2. Again, granting that *faith* here signifies *confidence* or *confident expectation*, most assuredly that faith is not *justifying* faith, in any sense of the phrase we have ever met with, in Dr. O'Brien or any other Protestant divine. For, firstly, almost all the examples enumerated by S. Paul were, at the time when they exercised those acts of faith (confidence) so highly lauded, persons not only eminently holy, but long trained in the way of holiness. They had been justified long before: the faith spoken is not the faith of sinners "convinced of sin," but of very saintly men. Secondly, in what was their confidence? Confidence in being themselves pardoned, or general confidence in the mercy of God in pardoning sinners? No such thing. The faith of Noah was a firm belief that God would execute the sentence He had pronounced on the wicked world:—"By faith Noah, being warned of God of things not seen as yet, moved with fear, prepared an ark to the saving of his house" (verse 8, Prot. vers.). So the faith ("confident expectation," if you will) of Abraham and Sara was a firm belief that God would fulfil the promises made to each respectively, as is plain from the words of the Apostle, vv. 8-12. Similar was the faith of Isaac, Jacob, Joseph, and the rest.

II. In the second place, does the word *faith* in this chapter signify *belief* or *confidence?* We answer without hesitation that the word signifies belief, and not confidence—though belief out of which grew not only confidence, in the Catholic sense of the term, but the deepest gratitude and the most ardent love. To prove our assertion we select two texts from the chapter itself.

The very first example the Apostle gives of the faith, which

he had described in the first verse, is contained in the third verse. It is by faith, he says, we know that the world was first created out of nothing and arrayed as we see it:—"Through faith we understand that the worlds were framed by the word of God, so that things which are seen were not made of things which do appear." Clearly faith here does not signify confidence or confident expectation, still less general confidence in the mercy of God, or particular confidence in one's own justification: for none of these sorts of confidence intimates to us anything about the creation of the world. No doubt God revealed the great fact of creation to Adam, which Moses embodied in inspired writing, in the first chapter of Genesis; and it is from belief in this revelation that we understand, with the certainty of faith, that the world was created by God.

After this general example, the Apostle proceeds to give individual examples. He first gives Abel (v. 4), then Henoch, of whom he thus writes (vv. 5, 6):—"By faith Enoch was translated . . . . for before his translation he had this testimony that he pleased God. But without faith it is impossible to please Him: for he that cometh to God must believe that He is, and that He is a rewarder of them that diligently seek Him." We are not writing a commentary, and we therefore confine ourselves to the following brief but decisive remarks. The faith of Henoch praised by S. Paul is manifestly the same as that praised in the examples preceding and following. This proposition is so evident that no writer, as far as we know, has ever raised a doubt upon it. Now the faith of Henoch here praised, was not confidence but belief. S. Paul reasons thus:—Henoch was translated on account of his faith; *for* we know (from Scripture, Gen. v. 22, 24) that he pleased God ("walked with God"); *but* no man can please God without faith; *for* every one, in order to approach God and therefore to please Him, must believe that there is a God, who rewards the good and (by implication) punishes the wicked. Surely to believe in the existence of God and of a future life of reward for a virtuous life here, does not signify confidence in God's mercy or confidence in one's own justification. There are millions of sinners, who, without renouncing sin, believe both.*

We have now gone through all Dr. O'Brien's proofs—at least all those which he puts forward as strong and leading proofs—for the Protestant doctrine on the nature of justifying faith. We have not omitted or enfeebled a single argument:

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* It is worth remarking, that the Protestant version, while it translates ὑπόστασις by *confidence* in Heb. iii. 14, gives, in Heb. xi. 1, *substance*.

we have met them, each directly, foot to foot and face to face: and now we proceed to the second part of our work.

SECOND QUESTION: *Does Faith alone justify?* Dr. O'Brien writes thus (we give his own italics and capitals):—"Having thus seen the nature of *faith* and *justification*, we are now to show their connection, by setting forth that which our Church truly styles 'a wholesome doctrine, and very full of comfort,' —the doctrine of JUSTIFICATION BY FAITH *only*; to show that in the office of justifying the believer, *faith* admits no fellowship—that none of his acts or qualities, none of his gifts or graces, none of his virtues or deservings, of whatever kind,—whether concomitants of *faith* or consequence of it,—share with it in this its office; but that it is by FAITH, and by it *only*, &c." (82). The eleventh of the Thirty-nine Articles, to which our author here alludes, is as follows:—"We are accounted righteous before God, only for the merit of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, by faith, and not for our own works or deservings. Wherefore, that we are justified by faith only is a most wholesome doctrine, and very full of comfort," &c.

In direct opposition to this, the Catholic doctrine affirms that faith alone will not justify, and that other dispositions are necessary, of which the crowning one is contrition, that is, according to the definition of the Council of Trent, a sincere sorrow and hatred for sin committed, together with a resolution of sinning no more. For our Catholic readers it were quite superfluous to remark that these dispositions, in themselves, and viewed simply as our acts, have no merit whatever. Their whole worth in reference to justification is derived from the merits of Christ; which are so great and so efficacious, as not only to suffice for the atonement of all the sins of the world, but to clothe works of ours, themselves valueless in the order of grace, with a supernatural beauty and excellence—as the sun not only expels the shades of night and gives the light of day, but makes warm and luminous objects in themselves cold and dark. So far, therefore, are the merits of Christ from being lowered or lessened by the value which they stamp on our works, that their glory and power are thereby exceedingly magnified—as in the order of creation the omnipotence of God, and His wisdom and goodness too, are surely more strikingly displayed in His having bestowed on man those divine endowments of soul, which lift up the lowly creature to His own image and likeness.

As in the former section, our business here is with Dr. O'Brien's proofs for the Protestant doctrine, not with our proofs for our own doctrine. These are well known, and may

be found in our ordinary treatises on Grace: some of them will turn up in the course of the investigation, to which we now address ourselves.

First Argument.—"As to *express* statements of the Doctrine [of justification by faith only], there would be no difficulty whatever in bringing forward many; but of all kinds of proofs for a doctrine, there seems least purpose in multiplying this kind. For a fair inquirer, one such unequivocal statement as that contained in my text ['Therefore we conclude that a man is justified by faith without the deeds of the law': Romans, iii. 28] would seem enough; and, on the other hand, the very *devices* by which one such statement is explained away would serve for a thousand. They who are able to find that when the Apostle says, 'that a man is justified by faith without the deeds of the law,' he really means that a man is justified *partly by faith* [sic], and *partly by the deeds of the law* [sic], must possess some principles of interpretation which would enable them to dispose as easily of any other statement or any number of statements on this subject, or any subject" (Sermon 4, 85).

Answer.—We fully agree in the principle enunciated in the second member of the first sentence of this paragraph, namely, that even one express statement in Scripture of any doctrine ought to be held as decisive—understanding by express statement one whose meaning is so clear and explicit as to be beyond all doubt or question. General propositions of this kind are, however, of no use whatever, unless the minor proposition—such or such a statement is express—be equally certain and clear. Now, Dr. O'Brien is far too learned a man not to know that there are texts not a few in Scripture which are held by learned Protestants as express statements of their doctrines, which Catholic theologians have shown to be no statements at all of those doctrines. Of this, if we are not greatly mistaken, we shall immediately present him with an example. As to the arguments by which the Catholic interpretation of the text before us is sustained, we take for granted that he knows what they are; for, as he calls them *devices*, he must have made such an examination of them as would, at least in his own mind, justify the use of such a term. It would have been much more satisfactory, if he had devoted a few pages to some attempts at refuting these arguments and exposing these devices, rather than thus to flout them off with a mere rattle of words. At any rate, we now proceed to supply him with materials for executing this task, if at any future period he should deem it expedient to engage in it.

In the first place, we have already shown (p. 323) that the

faith of which S. Paul here speaks is belief, and not confidence in one's own justification or confidence in the general mercy of God. Now this confidence is the main prop of the whole Lutheran or Evangelical system of justification; strike it out, and the fabric resting on it comes down with one crash. We are therefore not called on to proceed a single step farther, so far as the demolition of this the great Protestant argument is concerned: we will proceed, however.

S. Paul expressly excludes works from having any share in justification? Yes, decidedly; but perhaps he does not exclude all works, only a certain kind of works. But, you will say, he speaks of works simply, without any limiting phrase or word, and therefore means works in general, all works or any work. Now, what if it can be shown that he not only speaks of a particular kind of works, but actually specifies the particular kind, and this not merely by implication, but expressly and by name? This is a very serious question: let us sift it to the bottom, not by sophistical "devices," nor with clamorous assertions, but by careful and calm examination of Scripture itself.

There are many kinds of works. There are sinful works: there are works which, in themselves, are neither sinful nor virtuous, such as recreation, eating at meals: there are virtuous works of the natural order, works morally good, which, as such, may exist without either grace or faith; such as friendship, courage, love of parents, temperance, sympathy with suffering or poverty, love of country: there are works that proceed from grace, antecedent to faith—we are all along speaking of actual elevating grace, not of grace purely medicinal *—such are all acts proceeding from those illuminations of the minds of unbelievers, which they receive, from time to time, in various ways, before their final conversion. Finally, there are works proceeding from grace in those, who have already received the gift of faith; such as works of faith,

* By elevating grace is meant that which is given to raise man's work up from the natural to the supernatural order. But there are works ("opera ardua") which even as purely natural good works man is unable to perform by the natural strength which he actually has; for the performance of which he therefore needs help from without. This help may be given merely to enable him to do the work as a natural work, a purely morally good work; and being thus given only to assist, without elevating, is a grace purely medicinal. It relieves his present infirmity, but otherwise leaves him as he was —as if a rich man were to give money to a distressed person, for meeting his present necessities, not for elevating him to a higher rank in the social scale. We have tried to make ourselves understood by intelligent readers not overburdened with theological knowledge; but in discussions like the present, even clearness itself sometimes demands the employment of technical terms.

hope, charity, humility, justice, &c., in Catholics. This last kind of works may be performed by sinners, with or without reference to justification; or they may be performed after justification has been obtained, in a state of grace.

Of all these works there are examples to be found in Scripture. In examples of the first and last it abounds from beginning to end—in examples of sins of all kinds, in examples of works flowing from grace in believing sinners and in the just. Of works of the second class there are also innumerable examples; nor is it necessary to observe that such works, though in themselves neither morally good nor morally bad, are or may become good or bad, according to the good or bad intention of the doer and according to the circumstances. We have examples of the third kind—of works morally good done without faith or grace—in Ezechiel xxix. 18-20; 1 Machab. viii. and elsewhere. Of works proceeding from grace, antecedent to faith (the "initia fidei") we have an example in Acts xvi. 30, alluded to in the opening paragraph of this article.

Before closing in with Dr. O'Brien's argument, it is necessary to premise another remark. The Jews laboured under a strong superstitious delusion that, by virtue of their mere carnal descent from Abraham and of their circumcision, they enjoyed certain peculiar spiritual claims, from which the rest of mankind were excluded. To this fatal persuasion the Baptist alludes in the sharp rebuke which he administers to the Pharisees and Sadducees, Matth. iii. 8, 9:—"Bring forth therefore fruit worthy of penance: and think not to say within yourselves, we have Abraham for our father." So the text is understood by Protestant commentators, Rosenmüller, Kuinoel, Bloomfield, &c. Alford quotes a passage to this effect from S. Justin Martyr—who, by the way, speaks elsewhere more than once of this Jewish superstition. See also Whitby's note on Rom. ii. 13.

There can be no doubt that the main object of the first part (chapters i. to viii.) of this Epistle to the Romans was to eradicate this pernicious error out of the minds of the Jewish converts, and also to eradicate a corresponding error out of the minds of the gentile converts—for they too seem to have, after their own fashion, gloried in *their* works, their moral virtues, as having given them a peculiar claim to the call to the true faith and justification. Certain it is that S. Paul is chiefly engaged, through the early chapters, in affirming that the works of neither Jew nor gentile gave them any claim whatever to the grace of justification. Now, the great Protestant argument falls at once to the ground, if we make good our assertion, that S. Paul does not exclude all works, still less

works done through faith and actual grace exciting and co-operating, but works of an entirely different character, which works he specifies. This we now proceed to demonstrate.

The works which S. Paul opposes to faith, and which he excludes from any share in justification, are the works which the Romans trusted and gloried in as conducing to justification. But these works were not works performed in faith and from grace, but performed without grace or faith; nay, they were sinful.

The first proposition is plain from the whole tenour of the Apostle's reasoning. For he is manifestly combating some error which prevailed among the Romans, about the connection of works with justification. But if the works rejected by him were not those trusted in by them, but rejected by them, then he would have been combating a mere phantom, and beating the empty air; nay, he would have insinuated, or rather affirmed, that a certain erroneous doctrine existed where it did not exist.

But the proposition is not only implied in S. Paul's line of reproof and argument, it is distinctly affirmed by him:—"Behold, thou art called a Jew, and restest in the law, and makest thy boast of God . . . . And art confident that thou thyself art a guide of the blind, &c. . . . . Thou that makest thy boast of the law, through breaking the law dishonourest thou God?" (ii. 17, 19, 23). Again (iii. 27):—"Where is boasting then? It is excluded. By what law? of works? Nay; but by the law of faith." The works, then, which S. Paul rejected as worthless in reference to justification, were the very works of which the Romans boasted as having conduced thereto.

We come now to the proof of our second proposition, that the works boasted of by the converts, and excluded by the Apostle from all share in justification, are works done without faith or grace, merely natural works.

1. The Roman Christians consisted of both Jewish and gentile converts. The works of neither proceeded from faith or grace. Not those of the *gentile* converts: for their works were done while they were yet gentiles, before their conversion to the faith, before even the first dawning of the grace of faith began to illumine their minds. It is only of works done by them then there is or can be any question—for works done by them *after* they had received faith and baptism could not have been supposed to lead in any way to the first justification, which *preceded* these works. Besides, S. Paul settles the point by giving a pretty long catalogue of gentile works (ii. 18-32) as specimens of the works which he excludes in the gross. They are a heap of pagan errors and pagan abomina-

tions, which therefore all preceded their conversion to the faith. In truth, the gentiles received their vocation to faith and justice, not in consequence of their works, but in spite of them, through the pure unbounded mercy of God.

Not the works of the *Jewish* converts: for their works, too, done before their conversion, were, like those of the Gentiles, from neither faith nor assisting grace. Indeed, S. Paul affirms that their works were no better than those of the Gentiles, and the specimens he gives of them bear the same general character (ii. 1-3, 21-24). He uses the same language of condemnation, speaking of the works of Jew and Gentile together (iii. 9, &c.). S. Paul was himself a Jewish convert; a zealous Jew he had been, and of the strictest class (Acts xxvi. 4, &c.); but surely, though his ignorance, however vincible, made his sin less grievous (1 Tim. i. 13), the works he did sprang not from faith or grace. Besides, the Jews were, as we have seen, thoroughly penetrated with the erroneous belief that their works possessed a peculiar and intrinsic merit, in that they were the works of Jews, descendants of Abraham.

It is true that good and religious Jews had true and salutary faith in the coming of the Messiah, and were justified. This was so before the time of our Lord; but after He had appeared and revealed Himself as the true Messiah, the Jews, who refused to believe in Him, thereby lost faith and sanctifying grace; and to them the works of the law became, not only worthless and dead, but deadly.

II. But not merely by reasoning from the words of the Apostle and the circumstances of the case do we prove our proposition; S. Paul himself expressly tells us what are the works which he excludes from any share in producing justification, and to which he opposes faith. And he does this in the very text—not on which Dr. O'Brien founds his leading argument—but which he gives as being itself that leading argument: "Therefore we conclude that a man is justified by faith without the deeds *of the law*." Observe, he does not say "without *good* works" or "without *works*," but "without the works *of the law*." The Protestant doctrine is that faith alone justifies, that works in no way contribute or dispose to justification. S. Paul does not teach this doctrine; for he mentions only works of the law, and therefore teaches only that these works (and by implication all such-like works, all works coming under the same category) do not justify. Nay more, by mentioning only works of the law, he would thereby rather imply that there *are* works, but of a different class, which do contribute to justification. If he meant to exclude all works whatever, all works even of high Christian virtue, strong love of God,

strong hatred and sorrow for sin, why is it that he names only old Jewish works—works of a law always of itself barren, now dead and buried for ever? A man is justified by faith, without works done antecedent to faith and grace: therefore he is justified by faith alone, works springing from faith and grace contributing nothing thereto! A man can cross the Atlantic for fifty pounds of genuine English money, without the aid of American green-backs or French assignats: therefore he has but to pay that sum into the captain's hands, and in the twinkling of an eye he is landed at New York!

We have seen it affirmed in some Protestant writers, or rather insinuated (perhaps the assertion or insinuation may be found in several), that by the *law* in this verse is meant, not the Jewish law in particular, but any and every law coming from God; and that so far as the Jewish law is meant, the moral part of it only is referred to, not the ceremonial part.

Answer.—1. Be it so. But, whatever be the law referred to, most certainly it was not, nor did it include, the Christian law or dispensation. For the works on which the Romans, both Jew and Gentile, reposed their claim to justification, were, as we have seen, works done before their conversion to Christianity.

2. No doubt the works on which the Gentiles relied were not works of the Jewish law. But, so far as they were morally good works, they were works of another law, common to the whole human race, Jews and Gentiles, and written in the hearts of all (ii. 15); so far as they were morally bad, they were violations of that universal law The works of the Gentiles, though not works of the Jewish law, belong nevertheless to the same class, so far as the latter are contemplated by the Jews and by S. Paul. The good works of both were alike merely natural works, done without faith or elevating grace, and alike worthless in order to justification; the evil works were alike sins, and rendered their doers alike unworthy. The distinction which S. Paul makes between the two laws is clear and marked. In speaking of the gentile works, he not only carefully distinguishes the law to which they appertain from the Jewish law ("For as many [*i.e.* Gentiles] as have sinned without [the written or Jewish] law shall also perish without [being judged as transgressors of that] law: and as many [*i.e.* Jews] as have sinned in the [Jewish] law shall be judged by the [same Jewish] law," ii. 12); he moreover calls the former a "law written in their hearts."* But when he

* "The work of the law written in their hearts": το εργον του νομου γραπτον εν ταις καρδιαις αυτων. "Το εργον τ. ν. est cognitio liciti et illiciti."—

comes to speak of Jewish works, he uses words which clearly signify the Jewish law, the whole Jewish law, ceremonial as well as moral:—"Behold, thou art called a Jew, and restest in the law [especially the law of circumcision, as we saw above, and shall immediately see again] and makest thy boast of God, and knowest His will, and approvest the things that are more excellent, being instructed [concerning these more excellent things] out of the law" (ii. 17, 18).* After enumerating the evil deeds the Jews too were guilty of before their conversion to the faith, he adds:—"For *circumcision* verily profiteth, if thou keep the law," &c.† . . . . . What advantage then hath the Jew? or what profit is there of *circumcision?*" (ii. 25; iii. 1). From all this it is quite manifest that S. Paul is speaking of the Jewish law in particular, and especially of its ceremonial part, of which circumcision formed the primary and most distinctive feature.

3. The Church of Galatia consisted of Gentile converts. Some time after their conversion, certain Jew-Christians had persuaded them to adopt circumcision and other Jewish rites as obligatory. One main object of S. Paul's Epistle to the Galatians was to denounce and eradicate this pestilent error. Thus much is, we think, admitted on all sides; and is indeed very plain from the Epistle itself. So far, indeed, as many ancient and modern commentators have remarked, the object of the Epistles to the Hebrews and the Galatians was the same—to show the utter worthlessness of the works of the law; the accidental points of difference being, that, in the former, both Jews and Gentiles are addressed, and both Jewish and Gentile works reprobated.

In the Epistles to the Galatians, S. Paul manifestly rejects, as worthless, not the moral but the ceremonial Jewish law (iv. 9, 10; v. 1-11; vi. 12-15). The phrase "works of the law," therefore, in this Epistle indisputably means works of the Jewish ceremonial law. Now it is a very remarkable fact, that these two Epistles are the only books of the New Testament in which this phrase is found. S. James, in praising

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Rosenmüller. "*Opus legis*, legem ipsam cum sua activitate. Opponitur literæ, quæ est accidens."—Bengel.

* "Κατηχουμενος εκ του νομου: *being* (habitually, not in youth only) *instructed* (not merely catechetically, but didactically, in the synagogues, &c.) *out of the law* . . . the book of the law, the law itself, out of which the κατηχησις takes place."—Alford.

† "Inasmuch as circumcision was the especial sign of the covenant, and as such, a distinction on which the Jewish pride dwelt with peculiar satisfaction, the Apostle sets forth, &c. . . . . Περιτομη, chosen as an example in point, and as the most comprehensive and decisive example."—*Id.*

works, and in stating that Abraham was justified by works, uses only the word "works," never "works of the law."

We have more to say on this first and leading argument—the great leading argument not only of Dr. O'Brien, but of all Protestants of his denomination; but we have said enough. Our readers can now judge of the accuracy of Dr. O'Brien's statement regarding our way of interpreting the words of S. Paul, namely, that when he says "by faith without the deeds of the law," we make him mean partly by faith and partly by deeds of the law. We make him mean no such thing, but with him we utterly reject the deeds of the law, not only as not leading to justification, but as opposed to it.

Second Argument.—"Hear, however, another brief statement, containing a comprehensive, exact, and even a minute account of the whole proceeding. 'Now, unto him that worketh is the reward reckoned, not of grace, but of debt; but unto him that worketh not, but believeth upon Him that justifieth the ungodly, his faith is counted unto him for righteousness.'* This is language which I should feel myself idly employed in endeavouring to explain. It might be possible," &c. (85), and so on for a page and a half of declamation, without any attempt to work out an argument from the text.

Answer.—For a clear, full, and satisfactory elucidation of the whole of this passage in S. Paul, we must refer our learned readers to Suarez,† and at present content ourselves with *one* brief reply to Dr. O'Brien's view.

S. Paul, in the text quoted, is speaking especially in reference to the works of Abraham; he considers these works under the same aspect as the Jewish converts viewed them, as works of the law; and as such excludes them from all share in the justification of Abraham, stating the general proposition that all such works are irrelevant thereto. This interpretation (which, as we have insinuated, is not the only probable one) of the text, is confirmed by what the Apostle says a little farther on. "We say that faith was reckoned to Abraham for righteousness. How was it then reckoned? When he was in circumcision, or in uncircumcision? Not in *circumcision*, but in uncircumcision. . . . . The promise that he should be the heir of the world, was not to Abraham, or to his seed, *through the law*, but through the righteousness of faith" (9, 10, 13). Besides, S. Paul, in this part of the Epistle, in what precedes and follows the text, is engaged in combating the Jewish superstition about the peculiar merit of the law and its works.

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* Rom. iv. 4. † De Gratia, l. 8, c. 22.

Nor let it be said that S. Paul uses general terms, and does not mention the law. We admit that in the text quoted he does not expressly mention the law; but, as we have seen, it is of works of the law he is speaking in the whole passage. Now nothing is more common, nothing more in accordance with universal usage, whether in speaking or writing, than, when one uses a general term with an express qualification, to drop the qualification, and to go on using the general term without it. Thus, if one sets out to speak of American negroes, he would not repeat the word "American" every time he has occasion to repeat the word "negroes." So, in a discussion on the Established Church in Ireland, the speakers would not repeat over again the whole of this appellation, but say simply "the Irish Church," or some like brief phrase. S. Paul himself furnishes a clear example of this usage of speech in the very Epistle before us, in which he so often uses the word "law" to signify "the *old* law." In mentioning works in the text before us, he of course means the works of which alone he is here speaking.

In the pages following that in which the two texts now examined are given, Dr. O'Brien quotes a variety of texts in a very random-like manner, without any attempt at classification. Such of them as come under the same heads as those two,* are answered by the same principles of solution which we have applied to them. We therefore select only those texts which present a new and distinct difficulty.

Third Argument.—This argument is drawn out through several pages (87-92). We present it to our readers, in all its force, in less than so many lines. The justification of the sinner is in numerous parts of Scripture (O. and N. Testament) represented a free gift, a free grace of God. But such it would not be, if works were required as a disposition for obtaining it. As we admit, or rather ourselves maintain, the first proposition, we need not quote or refer to the well-known texts by which it is proved.

Answer.—1. This old Protestant argument is a mere barricade of words, and is completely demolished by the clear and simple paragraph in which the Council of Trent explains "in what manner it is to be understood, that the impious is justified by faith and gratuitously." "And whereas the Apostle saith, that man is justified by faith and freely, those words are to be understood in that sense which the perpetual consent of the Catholic Church hath held and expressed; to wit, that we are therefore said to be justified by *faith*, because

* Such, for example, are Rom. iv. 16; Galat. ii. 16.

faith is the beginning of human salvation, the foundation and the root of all justification, without which it is impossible to please God, and to come unto the fellowship of his sons: but we are therefore said to be justified *freely*, because that none of those things which precede justification, whether faith or works, merit the grace itself of justification. For, if it be a grace, it is not now by works; otherwise, as the same Apostle says, grace is no more grace." (Sess. 6, chap. viii.—Waterw.)

As a gift may be gratuitous in different senses and in different degrees, the whole question is, in what manner does the Scripture represent justification as gratuitous? We say, in the first place, that no work of ours, as merely ours; that is, no work of ours done without the inspiration and assistance of grace, can give us any claim whatever, can make us fit or worthy in any degree, for the grace of justification or for any grace. All such works, however excellent they may be deemed in their own order of merely natural works, are, in reference to the order of grace, simply of no value at all. This is the doctrine of S. Paul, which the Catholic Church has always taught, against the Pelagians and Semipelagians.

We say, in the second place, that even the works done through grace, faith, hope, sorrow for sin, &c., cannot properly be said to merit justification; as the words of the Council of Trent just quoted clearly signify.

But we say, in the third place, that God does not justify the sinner, except on condition of certain acts being done, the performance of which, though not strictly meriting, is yet a condition *sine quâ non*, or, as the Council calls it (chap. vii. and can. 9), a preparation or disposition for justification. Now to these acts God himself, freely and without any anticipation whatever on the part of the sinner, gives the first movement by His illuminating and exciting grace, and then by His continuous accompanying grace works them out to their due completeness, the sinner himself all the while "freely assenting to and co-operating with that said grace" (chap. v.). Thus is justification perfectly free and gratuitous; "for it is God who worketh" in us, from first to last, "both to will and to accomplish;" so that we are not "sufficient to think anything of ourselves, but our sufficiency is from God." If John has received a grievous injury from James, and fully pardons James, on condition that the latter will give a thousand pounds to a certain charity, and John gives him every farthing of this sum out of his own pocket, is not such a pardon really and truly gratuitous? Now, so far as divine operations can be compared with human, this is what God does in justifying the sinner.

II. But Dr. O'Brien himself holds conditional justification, for he holds an act of faith, that is, confidence, as a condition absolutely necessary. He labours at some length in trying to answer this difficulty (146-9, 433-6). The gist of his solution is contained in one line of his own and two lines of a passage from Melancthon :—"God, in annexing justification to faith . . . . was not *paying wages*, but making a *free donation*" (149): "Fides est opus, sed non sumus justi propter ipsius *operis dignitatem*, sed quia [opus] apprehendit misericordiam propter filium promissam" (434). Justification is not given as wages for the work of faith, nor on account of the excellence or worth of faith. Why, this is exactly what we say, and what the Council of Trent defines, of the works of sinners preparatory to justification. These works, therefore, no more affect the gratuitousness of justification conferred on condition of *them*, than the Protestant confidence affects the gratuitousness of justification conferred on condition of *it*.

But Dr. O'Brien may ask us, and reasonably ask us, do we not hold that there is an excellence in those works? Undoubtedly we do. They are not only good works, but they are supernaturally good and salutary. They proceed from grace, and are therefore God's work in us and by us; they, as we have said, prepare and dispose the soul for justification; but they give no claim of right, and the justification which follows is pure mercy.

Fourth Argument.—"And not rather (as we be slanderously reported, and as some affirm that we say) let us do evil that good may come." (Rom. iii. 8.) "What shall we say, then? Shall we continue in sin, that grace may abound? . . . . What then? shall we sin, because we are not under the law, but under grace? God forbid" (vi. 1, 15). From these words it appears that S. Paul's doctrine on justification was liable to be misrepresented, and was actually misrepresented, as favouring licentiousness, favouring the doctrine now called Antinomianism. If S. Paul taught that faith alone justifies, the objection, "unsound and wicked though it is, is at least *intelligible*. . . . . But it seems *utterly without meaning* if it is regarded as urged against the doctrine which represents us as reconciled to God by the course of obedience which he has appointed for us" (93-4).

Answer.—S. Paul, as we have seen, taught that faith justifies without natural works, whether works of the law or of any other kind; the authors of the "objection," as Dr. O'Brien very properly calls it (for as such S. Paul handles it) understood him, in the genuine Protestant sense of Luther and Calvin, as speaking of faith *alone*, to the exclusion of all works what-

soever, works done with the aid of grace as well as those done without it. Their Antinomial inference—that the moral law was not obligatory on Christians, and therefore that it mattered not whether one led a good or wicked life—as an inference, not from what S. Paul taught, but from what they erroneously thought he taught, was not only an intelligible, but even natural and obvious inference.

S. Augustine informs us* that, while the Apostles were yet living, there were parties who so misunderstood the language of S. Paul as to maintain that faith alone, without good works, sufficed for salvation, and that Saints Peter, John, James, and Jude, wrote in their Epistles against these sectaries. He moreover affirms that it was to those passages in S. Paul, in which that doctrine seemed to be taught, that S. Peter alluded, when he says (2 Pet. iii. 16), that in the writings of that Apostle there "are certain things hard to be understood, which the unlearned and unstable wrest, as they do also the other scriptures, to their own destruction." To Protestants of Dr. O'Brien's party, these "certain things" appear to be very plain, and quite easy to be understood.

But, says our author, the Antinomian objection is utterly meaningless if it be viewed as urged against our doctrine, which requires other supernatural works with faith as necessary to justification. Yes, *if* so viewed, and so urged; but the objectors neither viewed nor urged it against the doctrine we hold, and according to which we interpret S. Paul, but against his own doctrine and interpretation.

Perhaps Dr. O'Brien will say to us that, if our doctrine be that really taught by the Apostle, how did it happen that the objectors not only missed his meaning completely, but actually jumped to a conclusion diametrically the opposite of that meaning—a conclusion, as logicians would say, not merely contradictory but contrary. S. Paul, we say, teaches faith *and* good works; the objectors understood him to teach not only faith *without* good works, but faith and *sinful works*, faith as a substitute for good works. How can this be explained?

Answer.—We can give three explanations, any one of which is to our mind perfectly satisfactory and decisive. 1. There are numberless texts of Scripture, the meaning of which Dr. O'Brien thinks to be indisputable, and even clear and obvious—texts which he believes to contain the peculiar doctrines of his own Church; texts which contain doctrines common to

* "De Quæstionibus 83," q. 76, and "de Fide et Operibus," c. 14 (n. 21-23).

both Catholics and Protestants. How does he account for the fact that so many men of keen and cultivated minds have taken the very opposite meaning out of these same texts? How does he account for the Socinian and Monophysite interpretation of the first chapter of S. John's Gospel? Out of the hundreds of instances we might adduce in point, we will take one, *ad hominem*, from Dr. O'Brien himself. He, as we have seen, is so firmly persuaded that the doctrine of justification by faith only is not only contained, but manifestly contained, in Romans iii. 28, that he does not think it worth while either to reason that doctrine out of the text, or to notice, much less expose, the "devices" by which our theologians have worked out a different conclusion. How does he explain the fact that, for the last three hundred years—to go no farther back—so many hundreds upon hundreds of Catholic theologians and commentators have so interpreted the text as to come to that different conclusion? Who the Roman objectors were, or how many there were of them, we know not. That they were "unlearned and unstable," we gather from S. Peter: that they were impure we gather from S. Paul, for only impure men could profess the abominable solidifian tenets of which S. Paul makes mention. They were very bad interpreters of Scripture, and how or why they so wrested it to their own destruction, is no concern of ours.

2. We, indeed, hold as absolutely certain—not, as we shall presently see, that our doctrine *is* contained in the texts brought against us from Romans iii., &c., but that Dr. O'Brien's doctrine is *not* contained in them. We hold this as *certain* and demonstrable—we have tried to demonstrate it; we hold it as demonstrable by careful and sifting study of the whole matter and all that bears upon it, with the aid, too, of learned and sound commentaries. But we hold this to be far from *obvious* after an ordinary reading, or clear even after a diligent reading of the mere texts; nay, we go much farther, and say that an "unlearned and unstable" reader will be far more apt to take up Dr. O'Brien's interpretation. Our meaning—the true meaning—is not the easy meaning; it does not lie on the surface, to be picked up by any one passing by; it lies deep imbedded within, and must be dug for. In saying this, what else do we but echo the very words of S. Peter, that these passag of S. Paul are among the "certain things hard to be un ood"? We say nothing of what is nece y in (should be so drawn from Scri ure as ; surely Dr. O'I will whose true and

to a reader on a bare perusal of the texts themselves. To unlearned, unstable, and foul-minded men (such as we have shown the objectors to be), the words of S. Paul (v. 20)—"Where sin abounded, grace did much more abound, &c."—might easily suggest the inference to which he immediately alludes (vi. 1)—"What shall we say then? Shall we continue in sin, that grace may abound?"

3. But, as we hinted above, we do not say that our doctrine is contained in the texts from which the objectors drew their wicked inference: no Catholic theologian ever undertook to prove that doctrine from these texts. In them S. Paul is not engaged in giving a positive and complete statement of the true doctrine on the dispositions for justification, but in denouncing and refuting a certain false doctrine on that subject. For example, in the text just referred to, v. 20, his meaning is, that not only was grace not given for the previous naturally good works of the converts, but was given even after their bad works, and the abundance of it was greater even than the abundance of them. Our doctrine is not contained in these texts, but elsewhere. That the Antinomian inference drawn from these texts could not be drawn from our doctrine, is therefore simply a proof that the objectors did not understand these texts as conveying our doctrine: and in this they were perfectly right.

Fifth Argument.—In several parts of Scripture justification is ascribed to faith, without any mention of any other condition whatever, but simply and absolutely. "The righteousness of God, which is *by faith of Jesus Christ* unto all and upon all them that believe" (Rom. iii. 22). "Whom God hath set forth to be a propitiation *through faith in His blood*" (25). "The justifier of him *which believeth in Jesus*" (26). "By grace are ye saved *through faith*" (Ephes. ii. 8). We need not accumulate texts, as there is no dispute about this and similar forms of expression frequently occurring in the New Testament: other texts may be found in Dr. O'Brien, 88, &c.—we give his own italics in those quoted.

Answer.—This argument is as old as the doctrine it is advanced to support. It has been answered over and over again by our theologians greater and lesser. It is incredible that our author should be altogether ignorant of these answers; yet he takes no notice whatever of them. As a satisfactory reply to them would have done incalculable service to his cause, he will not be displeased with us for giving him a fresh opportunity of testing their force.

I. Though it is so often affirmed in the New Testament, that a man is justified by faith, it is nowhere affirmed, in any

way, whether expressly or by implication, that he is justified by faith *alone*. That is to say, the Protestant doctrine of justification by faith only, is in no way contained in Scripture. If *we* held the Protestant doctrine, we could at once and with perfect consistency meet the objection, by denying the hypothesis, that the written word necessarily contains all the Christian revelation, and thus transferring the controversy from the question of the sufficiency of faith to the question of the sufficiency of Scripture. But (supposing the above assertion true, of which presently) what is a Protestant to say, who holds with the sixth Article, that "Holy Scripture containeth all things necessary to salvation; so that whatever is not *read therein*, nor may be *proved thereby*, is not to be required of any man, that it should be believed as an article of faith, or be thought requisite or necessary to salvation"?

Nor will Dr. O'Brien be the man to pretend that the doctrine is not one to be believed as an article of faith or is not necessary to salvation. The famous saying of Luther, so oft repeated by his followers down to the present day, that justification by faith alone is the "articulus stantis vel cadentis ecclesiæ," has found no surer and more distinct echo than from our author's own lips, in the following words:—"Such is an imperfect sketch of the Scripture authority upon which this doctrine rests. And the authority *next* [!] in degree to Scriptural is no less express in its support. Whatever were the differences among the first Reformers upon other points, they were upon this agreed. All those venerable men to whom God assigned the glorious task of overthrowing false religion and establishing the true faith, have embodied this doctrine in the Confessions of the Churches, which they were the instruments of reforming; and by the prominence which they have given it therein, and by the zeal with which they maintained it in conferences, in debates, and in controversies, they sufficiently proved how deep their conviction was that, as the greatest of them emphatically declared, *if this Article be lost, all Christian doctrine is lost*" [*sic*] (94-5).

That justification by faith alone is nowhere *expressly* affirmed in Scripture, must be admitted by all. Nor is it affirmed therein *by implication*, or in any way so as to be "proved thereby." It could be impliedly contained in Scripture only in two ways—at least only in these two ways, so far as we know, has it ever been attempted to prove it from Scripture. First, if any of the inspired writers undertook to give a complete account of the way in which justification is obtained,

and named only faith as a disposition—*the* disposition—*omitting* all mention of any other; secondly, if he named faith, distinctly *excluding* any and every other disposition. In neither way is this doctrine affirmed in Scripture.

It is not affirmed in the first manner. It has never been shown, and never can be shown, that in any of the texts quoted for this purpose, the sacred writers intended to give a complete account of the process of justification, or enumeration of the means by which it is attained. Nay, from our second answer, to be given immediately, it follows directly and clearly that they intended *not* to give any such account or enumeration. Nor is there any proof to the contrary, from the fact that, in so many texts, faith only is mentioned as conducing to justification. We have already seen that, according to the universal usage of speech, nothing is more common, in certain circumstances, than to refer an end to one particular mean (effect to one cause, consequence to one antecedent), though other means have concurred in attaining it. In truth, in no place was the object of the sacred writers to give a complete exposition on this matter—such as might be expected from a larger catechism or a theological treatise: their object was, as we have already seen and shall see again by-and-by, quite other than this.

It is not affirmed in the second manner. It is a fact that, while faith as a mean to justification is spoken of as opposed to other things, and as excluding other things from the work of justification, it is never in any way opposed to, is never named as in any way excluding, what we call good works. In the Hebrews and Galatians it is, as we have seen, set down as excluding works of the law and other natural works: so it is in Acts xv. 9, 10. In John i. 12, 13, the supernatural birth through faith is opposed to the natural birth. In John iii. 36, faith is opposed to unbelief. But it is never said or implied that faith justifies, to the exclusion of hope, to the exclusion of the love or fear of God, to the exclusion of sorrow and hatred for sin, to the exclusion of a firm resolve to lead a new life. That justification therefore comes of faith alone, is not signified in this second way in Scripture.

II. On the contrary, other dispositions to justification are named in Scripture, sometimes conjointly with faith, sometimes without express mention of faith—that being understood. As already stated, we are not at present engaged in proving the Catholic doctrine, but merely in reviewing Dr. O'Brien's arguments in support of the Protestant doctrine: we therefore give a few texts, without further comment. "Though I have all faith, so that I could remove mountains,

and have not charity, I am nothing" (1 Cor. xiii. 2). "In Jesus Christ neither circumcision availeth anything, nor uncircumcision, but faith which worketh by love" (Galat. v. 6). "Charity shall cover a multitude of sins" (1 Pet. iv. 8). "We are saved by hope" (Rom. viii. 24). "Then hath God also to the Gentiles granted repentance unto life" (Acts xi. 18). "That they should repent and turn to God, and do works meet for repentance" (Acts xxvi. 20). From these texts, to which many others might be added, we see justification ascribed to charity, to hope, to repentance, just as much as it is anywhere ascribed to faith. But at present we have not room for the full development of the argument. For the same reason, we have omitted altogether the well-known text from S. James, as we could not introduce it without feeling ourselves bound to take to pieces the elaborate structure of sophistry by which Dr. O'Brien and others have tried to assail its true, clear, and decisive meaning. We do not want it here; and so we hasten to the last difficulty and our closing reply.

III. It may be very fairly asked, if faith alone does not justify, if other dispositions are equally necessary, nay if other dispositions more proximately concur, as Catholics say they do, in the work of justification; how is it accounted for that justification is so very much oftener, nay so constantly, ascribed to faith, without any mention of the other dispositions?

It may be very fairly *asked*, that is, it is a fair subject of inquiry, like a thousand other questions that not only may be raised, but that have been raised, on various things in Scripture; and some of which can be answered with certainty, some with more or less of probability, some not all, or only by mere conjecture. But if it be meant that it is a fatal objection to any doctrine, that it is not mentioned in this or that place where the mention of it would seem suitable or called for; or to any complex doctrine, that, when stated, it is not everywhere exhibited in Scripture with all its component parts—nay, that it is not anywhere so put forward, but one part mentioned here, another there, a third elsewhere; or that of such complex doctrine one part is mentioned far oftener than the others, and even with greater significance;—this, we say, is a fundamentally and utterly unsound principle of Scriptural interpretation. For all such things we are are quite sure there *is* a reason, a reason in the mind of the Holy Spirit, who is the author of the Scriptures. But are we sure that we can *find it out?* If He has revealed it—at least, if He has revealed it clearly—we may be pretty sure of finding it, that is, if we search in the right way; if He has not revealed it, clearly or obscurely, we dig and grope in vain.

We therefore are not called on to account for the fact objected to us. Nevertheless, we can account for it, and that in a way that seems to us quite satisfactory:—

I. The course of one of our arguments has already, contrary to our original intention, drawn us in to anticipate the primary and intrinsic reason of the Scriptural usage (pp. 338-9). Faith is not only the first in order of the dispositions for justification; it is that out of which all the others grow, and on which they rest. It is not only by faith we know what these dispositions are, their nature and necessity; but it is from the strength and intensity of faith that, as we have seen, they derive their own proper strength and intensity. Perfect faith, faith like that which the Saints had, not only floods the soul with the light of knowledge, but quickens it with the heat of life. To name, to extol, to commend such faith, is in reality to name, to extol, to commend Christian perfection, with all the virtues comprised therein. To name, to extol, to commend strong faith, though strong in a less perfect degree, is simply to name, to extol, to commend every Christian virtue, though in a less perfect degree—in that degree at least in which all are bound to possess them. Moreover, there is an immense difference between the man who has faith, though a languid and even dead faith, and him who has not faith. The former is in the way of salvation: he has the means of justification at hand, and has only to lay hold on them. To the latter, so long as he remains in that state (*in sensu composito*, as the scholastics would say), justification is simply impossible: he must first have faith before he can attain it; having that, he has the "root and foundation" of all he wants. These things being so, it is not strange that, according to the usage of speech already explained, faith should be so emphatically recommended in Scripture, so often recommended by itself, without any direct allusion to the other conditions of justification: strange, rather, it would be, if it were not so recommended. Have strong and lively faith—it is only such faith that is so praised in Scripture—and you have everything; have it not, and you have little indeed. By this faith are saved all who are saved, from the want of it are lost all who are lost.

II. The special praises of faith, declarations of its necessity and effects, exhortations regarding it, to attain it or to preserve it, are generally intended for those who either had not yet believed in Christ and become Christians—whether Jews or Gentiles—or who, having received the faith, were in peril of losing it or of having it corrupted by superstitious tenets, or weakened by want of due appreciation or otherwise. We

have two examples of the first class of persons in John iii. 15, 16, 18, in which our Lord affirms the necessity and efficacy of faith, addressing Nicodemus, and in 36, where John the Baptist affirms the same, addressing his own disciples and other Jews: "He that believeth in the Son, hath life everlasting: but he that believeth not the Son, shall not see life." To such persons the one thing necessary is faith. Why announce to them anything else? Why announce to them hope and love, when without faith they can have neither, nay, cannot understand what hope and love are, and with faith they have both—if they themselves will? It was thus, as we have seen (p. 330), that the Apostles preached to the unconverted—faith before all things, faith alone *for the present.* A sick man is labouring under a complication of disorders; but there is one master malady, on the removal of which the cure of the rest will follow easily and as a matter of course, but without that removal the cure of them is impossible; surely the wise physician will address himself first to the cure of this malady, leaving the rest until he has accomplished that. So in the case of those whose faith is endangered in its purity or its strength: they are threatened with a distemper, not only serious in itself, but sure to become the fruitful source of many others: of course the first thing to be done is to guard against it.

But we have said enough. In this second, as in the first, part of our article, we have not omitted or weakened a single leading argument of Dr. O'Brien's. If in both parts we have succeeded in utterly demolishing all these arguments, and beating them flat to the ground—and naturally enough we think we have so succeeded, otherwise these pages should never see the light—then it follows that the great fundamental doctrine of Protestantism, both Lutheran and Calvinistic, the doctrine "by which a Church is to stand or fall," is utterly devoid of any foundation in Scripture, is neither read therein nor can be proved thereby. For Dr. O'Brien, beside his own original remarks, has reproduced all the old arguments that were worth reproducing. Nor have they suffered in his hands: on the contrary, he has presented them in as plausible a dress as any preceding writer known to us, often more plausible than any of them. If he has failed completely from first to last, as we have shown he has, the failure is owing not to himself, but to his cause. That cause is an indefensible cause, a bad cause, thoroughly and essentially bad.

ART. II.—THE MASTER OF THE ROLLS' IRISH PUBLICATIONS.

Calendar of State Papers relating to Ireland preserved in Her Majesty's Public Record Office. Edited by HANS CLAUDE HAMILTON, Esq., F.S.A. Vols. i. and ii. London: Longmans.

Calendar of the Carew Papers preserved in Lambeth Library. Edited by J. S. BREWER, M.A., and WILLIAM BULLEN, Esq. Vols. i. and ii. London: Longmans.

THE Master of the Rolls is rapidly raising to himself a monument more noble than any in Westminster Abbey. The two collections of historical records, of which he commenced the publication in 1856 and 1858 respectively, will already bear comparison, if not in number, at all events in variety, and in value, with any similar collections known to our libraries. In instituting such a comparison, one naturally turns to the great French Collections, the *Collection de Documens Inédits sur l'Histoire de France, publiés par l'ordre du Roi, et par les soins du Ministre de l'Instruction Publique*, and the *Collection des Mémoires relatifs à l'Histoire de France, depuis la fondation de la Monarchie Française jusqu'au* 13^me^ *Siècle*, which M. Guizot, in his private capacity, had previously edited. The two series amount to some 150 volumes, and they contain many works of inestimable value. But fully half of M. Guizot's series consists of reprints of books by no means difficult of access, while the editors of the *Documens Inédits* rather oddly include several library catalogues and M. Wailly's certainly very valuable treatise on the *Élémens de Paléographie* among their splendid editions of ancient cartularies and mediæval archives. Many of the volumes are edited with unsurpassable acumen and erudition. But, taking the series as a whole, they do not compass the task of producing a library of the sources of French history in the same expansive and systematic style as the two English series may be expected to effect in the course of another ten years. Much indeed had already been done for the student of French history by private enterprise, by academies, by the monastic orders, and above all by the Benedictines. But, to take one special department of the English collection, there is no such series of Calendars of French State Papers as that which the Master of the Rolls has published, beginning as it does with the reign of Henry VIII., and, with gaps here and there, which are

rapidly closing, already extended halfway down the reign of Charles II. On the other hand, the Collections of the Correspondence of Henry IV., of Richelieu, and of Louis XIV. have no counterpart in the English series. The collection of Calendars now amounts to fifty-one portly volumes, while eight more are in the press, and three in progress. Of the Collections of Historical Memoirs, no less than eighty volumes have already appeared, while nineteen are announced as in the press, and five in progress. Yet it was only in 1856 that the Master of the Rolls obtained the consent of the Treasury to the undertaking of the first series, and nearly two years later of the second. The energy and zeal with which the work has since been advanced have hardly a precedent in literary annals, and in point even of scholarship, we believe the collection so constituted may be without disadvantage compared with any similar series, with the collections not merely of Guizot, but of Muratori, of Pertz, or of Navarrete. The *Italicarum Rerum Scriptores* and *Monumenta Germaniæ Historica* undoubtedly embrace a larger number of monastic and other early Latin annals, and some finer series of early laws and letters; but neither in variety nor in comprehensiveness, nor, above all, in practical historical utility, does either, in our opinion, surpass Lord Romilly's series; and that series, it must be remembered in any such comparison, is as yet only at its beginning.

When we examine a little more in detail the work that has been even already done, we are surprised at its magnitude and interest. What with the eleven quarto volumes of State Papers published by the Record Commissioners, and Professor Brewer's Calendar, of which three volumes have been published, and a fourth is in the press, all the domestic documentary evidence connected with the greater part of the reign of Henry VIII. may be now said to be easily accessible.

But the same reign is again illustrated from more or less external points of view in Mr. Hamilton's Calendar of the Irish State Papers, which commences with the first year of King Henry's reign, and has now come nearly to the end of Queen Elizabeth's; by the Carew Calendar, the first volume of which contains summaries of nearly two hundred very valuable Irish despatches and other documents between the years 1515 and 1545; by the Calendar of Scotch State Papers, the first volume of which embraces the reigns of Henry VIII., Edward VI., and Mary; and by the Calendars of Spanish and Venetian State Papers, the second volume of each of which series is occupied with the transactions of a part only of that momentous and unhappy time. Only the archives of the

Vatican can be supposed to contain any further evidence on this period that need be reckoned of serious historical importance; and that has already been made accessible by Mgr. Theiner's *Vetera Monumenta Hibernorum et Scotorum*, which includes an extensive correspondence touching the question of the divorce and the principal previous events of Henry's reign.*

Proceeding in chronological order, we have already, in the Master of the Rolls' series, complete Calendars of the Domestic and Foreign State Papers of the reigns of Edward VI. and Mary, the Foreign Papers edited with that scholarly skill and care which belonged to him, by the late Mr. Turnbull—whose treatment by the Treasury was a scandal on English liberty and learning. Mr. Turnbull's work has, however, been very ably continued by the Rev. Joseph Stephenson, of whose Calendar of the State Papers of Queen Elizabeth's reign, five volumes have been already published, and a sixth is in the press. Mrs. Everett Green, one of the most laborious and accurate of State Paper scholars, is at present engaged on the Domestic Papers of the reigns of Queen Elizabeth and Charles II. Of the first series, two volumes are completed and a third in the press; and of the second series, seven volumes have been published. Mrs. Green has besides completed in four volumes her Calendar of the Domestic State Papers of the reign of James I.; and through the important epoch of Charles I., abounding in events of a character which it was natural should be voluminously illustrated, Mr. Bruce is now steadily progressing. His Calendar of Charles I.'s reign already counts eleven volumes; and the eleventh volume, embracing the year 1637, just brings us within view of the Revolution. In that year, the English Liturgy was ordered to be enforced in Scotland; Hampden's ship-money suit came on for argument; Prynne's ears were cut off; and Prince Rupert first made his presence felt at the English court. Cromwell's name was yet hardly known out of Huntingdon; but the wild work which he was destined to complete had well begun. Every successive volume of Mr. Bruce's work may now be expected, therefore, to become of more and more intense interest.

In selecting the reign of Henry VIII. as the general point of departure for purposes of research among the Domestic series of State Papers, the Master of the Rolls, if indeed he be responsible, gave, we think, a certain Protestant bias, probably without intention, to the character of the whole col-

* *Vide* Dublin Review, April, 1865.

lection. Almost every editor, so far as his preface is concerned at least, seems in consequence to feel that he is bound to do something to sustain what Dr. Newman has called "the great Protestant tradition." Mr. Froude's work has been going on *pari passu* with their labours; and his love of the Tudors and his hatred of the Popes seem to have infected some of those estimable and laborious scholars. But we feel every confidence that their theories have not affected the fidelity with which they have transcribed or summarized the papers intrusted to them; and we can already see how powerfully their labours are calculated to redound to the glory of the Catholic Church in England. It is a pity, we submit, in a great national undertaking like this, to produce unnecessarily what we may call a solution of continuity in the history of the kingdom. Excepting always the baleful effects of the heresy into which the country fell, the England of Henry VIII. is only the natural continuation and development of the England of Henry VII. It is, probably, more difficult to understand the reign of Henry VIII. without a clear comprehension of, and close reference to the reign of Henry VII., than it is to master the system of any other two reigns in the list of English sovereigns. If it was impossible—and we can conceive no reason why it should be—to calendar the Domestic State Papers, as some foreign ones have been calendared, from earliest time, it would have been better, we submit, to have started from the commencment of the Tudor dynasty. In the Venetian and Spanish papers, which run back to 1202 and 1485 respectively, we see externally the gradual growth and stretch of the policy of the one reign into the other. It is the same England in almost all its public aspects and relations, and one period only interprets the other. So it was with the Norman Conquest. Englishmen, though always professing the greatest possible pride in their Saxon ancestors, nevertheless, as a matter of fact, habitually date their history from the invasion of William, and catalogue their kings as if the Saxon sovereigns were only barbarians or mythical personages. But William himself only pretended to inherit the throne of Edward the Confessor, and the English nation only regarded the Conquest as a change of dynasty—if it were even so much,—not a change of constitution, polity, or laws. As Mr. Freeman, in the introduction to his masterly History,* says: "William, king of the English, claimed to reign as the lawful successor of the kings of the English who reigned before him. He claimed to inherit their rights, and he professed to govern

* History of the Norman Conquest, vol. i. p. 2.

according to their laws." It was only as England grew ripe for the Reformation that she rejected her earlier and purely Catholic history, the period of her greatest sanctity as well as that which produced her peculiar organic laws, and all her principal institutions and establishments. But surely if the right of William to be regarded as the first of English kings is questionable, it is little less than absurd to see the figure of Henry VIII. set in the front of our modern history. As an English sovereign, we repeat it, he simply continued and extended the policy of his father; and to begin a special epoch with his name is like commencing the era of the Cæsars with, we will not say Nero or Heliogabalus, but even with Augustus. We do not overlook the fact that many of the State Papers of the reign of Henry VII., as well as of earlier reigns, are included in the collection of Chronicles and Memorials; but we adhere to the opinion that for all purposes of investigation, for exact study of the true sequence and development of English history, it would have been better in every way to have calendared the State Papers of, if not all the English sovereigns, at least all the Tudor sovereigns together.

We do not at all urge this objection, however, against the system on which the Irish State Papers have been calendared. The study of the history of Ireland for a great portion of the connection of the two countries is little affected by the character of the sovereign—as little as the character of the sovereign at present affects or has ever affected the government of India. The personal abilities of the Viceroy now, the relations of the great ruling families again, affect the course of Irish history far more than the impulse of the imperial authority; and, just as the government of India will naturally be considered in history under the general division of the period of the government of the Company and the period of the government of the Crown, so, in the history of the early relations of England and Ireland, two great historic periods naturally suggest themselves—the first period when English authority was really circumscribed by the Pale, and when the relations of the Viceroy with the native princes were somewhat like those which Sir John Lawrence now entertains with Holkar or the Nizam; and the second period when the English sovereign assumed the title of king, made the principal chieftains peers, and asserted the extension of his jurisdiction to the limits of the island.

This remarkable transition occurred in the reign of Henry VIII. Mr. Hamilton seems to have altogether overlooked its importance. In his Introductory Memoir he hardly alludes to the Irish events of the reign of Henry, but con-

centrates his whole attention on the reign of Elizabeth. The Irish policy of Elizabeth however was simply inherited from her father; and on the whole it cannot be said that it was pursued with such skill or success. Even in matters of religion, Henry VIII. had for a time very much his own way with the Irish chieftains. O'Neill, O'Conor, O'Donnell, O'Moore and O'Brien, MacMahon, Magennis, MacDonnell, and O'Rourke, Desmond, Barry the Great, Barry Oge and Barry Roe, Roche Fermoy, MacCarthy More, and MacCarthy Reagh, MacCormack of Muskerry, the O'Sullivan Bearre, the O'Callaghan, the O'Donoghue, all solemnly and severally covenanted to renounce, relinquish, and even "annihilate, the usurped authority of the Bishop of Rome." So far as the consent of their chieftains could bind them, the Irish people seemed to be more easily committed to the Reformation than the English or Scotch. But happily it did not bind them; and the temporary apostasy of the chieftains was in several cases nobly expiated afterwards. But for the time, the temptation of a peerage proved too much for the highest heads among them; and in the late years of his reign, Henry VIII. had better reason than any of his immediate predecessors or successors to think that the conquest of Ireland was practically complete.

"The most judicious act of the English Government during Sentleger's administration," says Mr. Brewer, in his powerfully written introduction to the second volume of the Carew Papers, "was the proclamation of Henry's title as king of Ireland in 1541. As the Irish Council wrote to the king on 30th December, 1540:—'It were good that your Majesty were called from henceforth King of Ireland; whereunto we think that, in effect, all the nobility and other inhabitants of this your land would thereunto agree; and we think that they that be of the Irishry would more gladder obey your highness by name king of this your land than by the name of lord thereof; having had heretofore a foolish opinion among them that the Bishop of Rome should be king of the same.'

"The administration of Sentleger, notwithstanding Allen's assertion, was not so wholly ineffectual as he wished to make it appear; that is if the submission of the Irish chieftains may be considered as a satisfactory proof. In 1541, James Earl of Desmond submitted and renounced the Pope. His example was followed by O'Conor, O'Neil, O'Dyn, and others. In 1542, O'Neil became Earl of Tyrone; in 1543, O'Byrne * Earl of Thomond, and Ulick Burke Earl of Clanrickard. And thus the foundation was laid of a great Anglo-Irish aristocracy, depending for favours and advancement on the smiles of an English sovereign, less purely national than before, bound less closely than before in tastes, habits, and sympathy to the native Irish population."

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* O'Brien, Mr. Brewer means; O'Byrne is a very different name.

The foundation so laid, however, stood very imperfectly. Henry was proclaimed king of Ireland in 1541, and died in 1547. In 1545 the great Northern chieftains, O'Neill, O'Donnell, and O'Dogherty, had already commenced that series of wars against the new religion and the new authority, which, with various intervals and vicissitudes, may be said to have lasted for the next hundred years. In that year they invited the king of France, Francis I., to assist them in an insurrection, and promised to become his subjects in case he should obtain the Pope's gift of Ireland. The Earl of Desmond had previously entered into treaty with the Emperor Charles to the same effect. In 1546, the Geraldines had recovered strength sufficiently to rise again against the English, and O'Conor of Offaley and O'Moore of Leix followed suit. These attempts were, however, very sternly and speedily suppressed; and, at the time of Henry's death, the English authority was more firmly established in Ireland than it had been at any time since Strongbow's landing. As the Four Masters say, "the English power was at this time very great in Ireland; and it is doubtful if the people of the south of Ireland were ever in such bondage before that time."

The Calendar of Mr. Hamilton and the Calendar of Professor Brewer and Mr. Bullen traverse precisely the same period and the same ground; but they are works of a very different order and character. Mr. Hamilton's work has, we hope and believe, all the merits of a good index; but that is the highest praise that can be assigned to it. Certainly he may have had to deal with more difficult materials than his colleagues. The Record Office contains the whole mass of correspondence, small and great, relating to the details of the Irish Government. The Carew Papers were, on the other hand, only a selection from the documents of the same period, and a selection of the more important and interesting documents. Mr. Hamilton, therefore, felt obliged to compress his analysis of the papers at his command into very brief space; but in a large number of cases he has done so in such a way that it is difficult to arrive at any clear comprehension of their gist. Take, for example, his summary of one of the despatches addressed by the Deputy and Council to Henry VIII. at the date that the Irish Chiefs were "submitting" to be made peers, and to renounce the Pope. It was a transaction evidently of the highest political importance; but its real meaning does not seem to have occurred to Mr. Hamilton's mind. This is his summary of one, evidently, from the date and the names named, a very important paper:—

Lord Deputy and Council to King. O'Donnell submits. They endeavour to win O'Neill. Parliament. Desmond. O'Conor. MacWilliam. O'Donnell. Lord Slane.

Could Mr. Hamilton himself, a week after he summarized this doubtless important paper in this crude fashion, give more than a vague guess at its purport? Mr. Hamilton is, we presume, an Irish Protestant; but had Mr. Turnbull, or any other Catholic, edited these documents, he would inevitably have been suspected of deliberately screening the historical evidence of the fact that, for a time at least, the heads of all the great Irish houses renounced the Holy See for English titles. It is only just to admit, however, that Mr. Hamilton's hand improves as he proceeds. The reign of Henry VIII. in Ireland does not seem, judging from his introductions, to have had anything like the same interest for him as that of Elizabeth. His summaries of the documents of the former period are very curt and vague; but in the latter, they are generally of the character of a clear, if cold and dry, syllabus of contents.

The Carew Papers, on the other hand, are as readable to those who have the taste as any volume of Napoleon's Correspondence, or the Duke of Wellington's Despatches. The more important documents are printed in full. The most striking passages of the documents which it was only necessary to summarize are given in the exact words of the original. Thus their quaint native force makes its full impression on the student's mind. Where documents are summarized, a clear view of their contents is invariably given. It only remains to be said, in comparing the two series, that if Mr. Hamilton had given the same proportionate space to the Papers in the Record Office that Messrs. Brewer and Bullen have given to those of Lambeth Library, Mr. Hamilton's series would by this time in all probability have attained its twentieth volume.

Some of the papers in the Carew Collection, such, for example, as Sir Henry Sidney's account of his own services in Ireland, the different indentures or treaties between the native princes and the Crown, the letters relating to cabals in the Privy Council, and those relating to foreign intrigues in Ireland, are of quite inestimable historical value. They enable any one who is possessed of a little insight and acquaintance with the native side of the story, some knowledge of the nomenclature of the clans and topography of the country, to form a tolerably complete mental picture of the period. But the ordinary student will be much baffled by the very varying spelling of Irish names, and it would have been a great ad-

vantage to this edition if some Irish scholar had been employed to identify the various persons or places in foot-notes or on the margin. To some extent this is done in the very ample and careful index—so far, that is to say, as printing the various forms of spelling Irish proper names, or persons, or places, together. But Mr. Brewer's confusion of the O'Byrnes with the O'Briens in his Introduction, and his mention in the same connection with O'Conor and O'Neil of another powerful chieftain called the "O'Dyn," shows that an accurate knowledge of Irish nomenclature or of the relative rank of the great Celtic houses is not one of his many accomplishments. The O'Dyn was, we presume, the O'Dunne, and not the Scandinavian war-god; but to place him on the same level with O'Conor and O'Neil is a blunder as great as if, in speaking of the great native potentates of India nowadays, one were to name some Parsee pickle-merchant of Bombay on the same plane with Scindiah and the Guicowar of Baroda.

One of the great personages of the period of Elizabeth, whose fame had been supposed to be mainly legendary, is very vividly presented to us in a description exactly tallying with that assigned to her in tale and ballad. We mean, of course, no other than *Grana Uaile*, the great lady admiral of Connaught, to whom Mr. Ferguson's fine lines are dedicated—

> But no: 'twas not for sordid spoil
> Of barque or sea-board borough,
> She ploughed with unfatiguing toil
> The fluent-rolling furrow;
> Delighting on the broad-backed deep
> To feel the quivering galley,
> Strain up the opposing hill, and sweep
> Down the withdrawing valley.

Here is the lady, as Sir Henry Sidney saw her at Galway, sometime in the spring of the year 1578:—

> There came to me also a most famous feminine sea-captain, called Grany Mallye, and offered her service unto me, with three galleys and 200 fighting men either in Ireland or Scotland; she brought with her her husband, for she was as well by sea as by land more than Mrs. Mate with him; he was of the nether Burkes, and now as I hear MacWilliam Euter, and called by nickname Richard in Iron. This was a notorious woman in all the coast of Ireland.

Naturally! But it will surprise the patriotic to find Grana Uaile offering the use of her fleet to the Lord-Lieutenant. Like Kildare, however, who pleaded that he had set fire to the cathedral of Cashel because he thought the Archbishop was

inside, she had her logical excuse. Sidney's hand was very heavy on her husband's family at the time. He had just taken Clanricarde prisoner and proclaimed his sons traitors and rebels; and throughout Tirawley it was a bad time for all the clan of MacWilliam. But a year or so afterwards, when this little family matter was settled, she ran up the green flag again, and was taken prisoner by Desmond, then for a time loyal, who kept her for twelve months in prison at Limerick, and thence sent her on in durance to Dublin Castle—"where she is yet remaining," writes Lord Justice Drury on the 20th November, 1578, "a woman famous for her stoutness of courage and person, and for sundry exploits done by her by sea."

In addition to these invaluable Calendars, Irish scholars are indebted to the Master of the Rolls for the publication of several works which we cannot even cursorily notice on this occasion: Dr. Todd's learnedly edited text of the History of the Irish Invasions, Mr. Hennessy's Chronicon Scotorum, and a complete collection of the works of Giraldus Cambrensis. On the list of books in progress we find also an edition of the Roll of the Irish Privy Council, 16 Richard II., by a very accomplished antiquary, the Rev. Richard Graves of Kilkenny; an edition by Mr. Hennessy of the Annals of Loch Cè; and a collection by Mr. Dasent of the Sagas bearing on the Northern settlements in these islands. Irish historical literature is the more indebted to the Master of the Rolls for this impulse, that for some years past the several Societies who devoted themselves to the archæology of that country, for a time with such splendid results, seem to have altogether lost enterprise.

Nor should we close this article without expressing our sense of what is due from the world of letters to the Deputy Keeper of the Records, Mr. Duffus Hardy, to whom is so largely attributable the enlightened conduct and gradual development of this great enterprise; whose valuable Reports have again and again opened fresh fields for its extension; and in particular, whose "Descriptive Catalogue of Manuscripts relating to the History of Great Britain and Ireland" may be regarded as an elaborate survey of what labours yet remain unachieved—a book which only great learning and astonishing industry, aided by his unique opportunities, could produce, and which is of inestimable value to all historical students.

ART. III.—CARTWRIGHT ON CONCLAVES.

On Papal Conclaves. By W. C. CARTWRIGHT. Edinburgh: Edmonston & Douglas. 1868.

THE nations and kingdoms which three hundred years ago refused to serve God any more have never attained, up to this day, to the possession of that perfect peace which they then promised themselves; the minds of men turn back to the old times and to the ancient institutions with feelings not of curiosity only but of terror, which sometimes drive them to madness, for, after all, they have, somehow or other, no respect whatever for those idols which they set up in the place of the old tradition. They hate the Pope, no doubt, but they also fear him; and they are more curious about him and his ways than they are about any of the kings or great men of the earth. They know that, measured by mere physical power, he is not strong, for he has no fleet, and his army is small; they see too that he can be mocked and insulted and even robbed and cheated, for a time, with a certain kind of impunity; but for all this they do not believe themselves safe; there is much misgiving and anxious doubting, and a conviction deep and distressing, that all is not as it should be; the Pharisees are ever running to Pilate for a guard; for "that seducer" may rise again to disturb them. And so they go about writing books and making laws to prove and protect what must one day be found out to be a lie, in spite of all they can do. In one sense it is well that men should thus be curious about the acts of the Supreme Pontiff; but they are nevertheless subject thereby to some grievous disadvantages, for the meaning of those acts is apparently beyond the reach of a heretical understanding. There is therefore a perpetual stream of misrepresentation and lies, and these by constant repetition come to form the substance of the world's knowledge. Among the innumerable books and pamphlets written by heretics against the Church, has anybody found one that did not on some point or other give a false account of Catholic belief, or of practice, or of both? The writers in other respects may be honest men, and even resolved to be just in their account of these matters, and would be very much surprised if their bitterest enemy told them, and that truly, that they had committed faults of misrepresentation. Yet so it is. Such men cannot tell the truth, because it is not in them, and because they cannot understand

it; and their description of the Catholic rites, usages, laws, and belief is always tainted with serious error. It would be well if people left us alone, and ceased to offer this particular tribute to the father of lies.

At first sight the relations of the Pope with the Cardinals seem to be matters with which "aliens" could hardly be tempted to meddle. But this is the very question which has exercised the mind of Mr. Cartwright, and led him on to the history of Papal elections, the supposed intrigues of Conclaves, and Papal dispensations.

"The circumstance which specially prompted me," he says, in the very beginning of his preface in the first instance, "to begin the inquiries which have led to this treatise was the case of Cardinal Andrea [*sic*]. When the intention was announced of proceeding against this dignitary in a mode, as to the legality of which there arose discussion, I sought to satisfy myself about precedents and canon law on this head; and this inquiry quickly led me beyond the merely special point I had originally in view."

The Cardinal Bishop of Sabina found one sincere, though misguided, friend in Mr. Cartwright. If he was persecuted, here was a man who would investigate, at least, the legal rights of the oppressor. If the Emperor of the French were to cashier one of the marshals of France, we doubt whether a Briton could be found who would take the trouble to write a book on the dignity of a marshal. But people in spite of themselves take some interest in the Sovereign Pontiff, and in the Cardinals whose rank is so high.

"The first popular misrepresentation in regard to these dignitaries," says Mr. Cartwright, "is that their rank is an ecclesiastical one. The Cardinalitial title, properly speaking, is not a grade in the Church, but merely a dignity in the court of Rome" (p. 118).

The author's study of "Canon law" seems to have been very barren, if he failed to learn that the rank of a cardinal is simply ecclesiastical. No doubt there is some confusion here, and probably too the word is used in a new sense; for it seems impossible for any man, however slightly acquainted with sacred things, to dispute the ecclesiastical dignity of the Cardinals. So again, when he confines the dignity to the "Court of Rome," and denies it to be "a grade in the Church," we are persuaded that there is some strange use of terms such as we cannot find out. By "grade" he cannot mean order, because a little further on he says "there is no specific ordination" for a cardinal; by which phrase we understand him to mean that cardinals are not made cardinals through the sacrament of Orders; and in that he is perfectly accurate.

The "lengthened residence in Rome," as well as the "inquiry," seem to have been of but little service, if the result is the singular discovery that cardinals are dignitaries "in the Court of Rome," and "not a grade in the Church," when it is a notorious fact that cardinals are received throughout the civilized world as dignitaries of the Church, and sit in general councils above archbishops and patriarchs. The common account of them is that they are the highest dignitaries *in the Church* next to the Pope. It is true "there is no specific ordination" for them, and that they are "simply created by the sovereign" (p. 119). That makes no difference, because there is no "specific ordination" for an archbishop or a patriarch. The Pope himself is Pope in virtue of his election consented to by himself, and not in virtue of his orders; for he may conceivably be in minor orders, or even a layman, and he has been a simple deacon, as Adrian V., who never, during his Pontificate, received the episcopal consecration or even the order of Priesthood; nevertheless he was the Supreme Pontiff, invested with plenary power of ruling and teaching the faithful as the Vicar of Christ.

If Mr. Cartwright thus breaks down on the threshold of the great question he took upon himself to discuss, we naturally expect to find other mistakes; nor are we disappointed. In fact it could not be otherwise, for the author tells us, at least by implication, that he has not had any training or instruction whereby he might have been prepared for the work he has set his hand to; and all men of special learning or professions know what self-taught doctors are worth. Mr. Cartwright, as an alien from the household of the faithful, sympathized with the late unhappy Cardinal d'Andrea in his disobedience; though the Cardinal was breaking the law, the outraged Pontiff was expected by Mr. Cartwright to keep within the letter of it; his sovereign rights are measured by another standard than that by which the acts of the rebellious Cardinal are measured. We need not follow him in his history of the Cardinals throughout, but only so far as he touches on the right of the Pope to deprive a cardinal of his rank. He gives us the history of the Colonna cardinals under Boniface VIII. in language that requires some correction.

On the 10th of May, 1297, Boniface VIII., blinded by furious passion against the house of Colonna, excommunicated and *degraded* from their rank the Cardinals James and Peter Colonna, declaring them stripped of every privilege appertaining to their dignity. The extraordinary severity of a sentence, manifestly imposed by the bitter hatred of family feuds, because not justified at the moment of promulgation by adequate canonical delinquencies, on the part of these prelates, produced a profound sensation. It

was evidently a point of principle with Boniface VIII. to wield his power for extermination of the Colonna influence, if not for the actual extinction of the race (p. 132).

Boniface VIII. was more than eighty years old at this time, and "furious passion" is not generally to be found in men of that age. Besides, the Pope had been a great lawyer, and lawyers generally are not in the habit of giving way to their fury, for nobody knows half so well as they do that nothing is more fatal to a cause than passion. Mr. Cartwright says the sentence of degradation "was not justified at the moment of promulgation by adequate canonical delinquencies." Herein he must be playing on the presumed ignorance or indifference of his readers. Now the Colonna cardinals, and indeed the whole family, owed everything to the Popes; and if they were rebellious, they were also necessarily ungrateful. It may not have been convenient for Mr. Cartwright, as the defender of Cardinal d'Andrea, to tell the whole truth about the Colonna cardinals; but it is not inconvenient for us, and so we shall tell the story as the two rebellious cardinals told it themselves in authentic form before a notary, on the very 10th of May, 1297, when the sun had not yet risen, and before the Pope had published the sentence of that day. This is their story—

On Saturday, the 4th of May of this present year of our Lord, 1297, about nine o'clock in the morning, Benedict Gaetani, who calls himself the Roman Pontiff, moved by an evil spirit, did suddenly, rashly, hastily, and wrongfully summon us, if the word may be used, to appear personally before him to hear his commands and to answer the question whether he was Pope or not, that very day in the evening at S. Peter's.

This is the first grievance of which the Cardinals complain: namely, that they, Cardinals of Holy Church and known throughout Rome to be not only disaffected but actually rebellious—for they pretended to consider the resignation of S. Peter Celestine as null, and the election of Boniface VIII. as invalid,—were summoned to acknowledge the reigning Pontiff. The Pope could not allow two of the cardinals to remain in this state of notorious schism without making some attempt to put matters straight; he therefore, by one of his chamberlains, summoned them in due form to present themselves before him. They were summoned in the presence of many witnesses, and told at the same time that disobedience would be followed by the loss of their rank; they were fairly warned, and the whole consequence of their disobedience plainly set before them. They disregarded the summons, pretending that it would not be safe for them to appear

personally before the Pope; but they sent their attorneys—though they were not bound, so they said, to make any answer at all to the summons of the Sovereign Pontiff—to make excuses for them, and further to insult the Pope by telling him that they did not believe their persons in surety if they entered the Apostolic palace.

The Colonna cardinals thereupon fled from Rome, and would neither appear before the Pope, nor acknowledge him. They were simply rebels, and the Pope, after waiting six days, deprived them of the dignity of cardinal; and he had the right and the power to do so. Nobody has ever denied it.

Mr. Cartwright says the sentence was not "justified at the moment of promulgation by adequate canonical delinquencies;" but assuredly, he must be speaking without reason. The Cardinals had fled from Rome rather than acknowledge Boniface VIII. as Pope, they had denied the lawfulness of his election, and maintained that he had usurped the Holy See, and yet Mr. Cartwright says that crimes of this character did not deserve the punishment that was meted out for them.

Boniface VIII. is generally considered a fair mark for everybody's abuse, and Mr. Cartwright sees no danger in attacking an old man who went to his eternal rest five centuries and a half ago. Judas and Pontius Pilate are in modern books treated with more respect than the Vicars of Him whom those miserable men insulted and betrayed. Let us have some proof of the "furious passion," of the "headstrong passions" and "personal hatreds" (p. 133) which are so easily attributed, but for which no proof is offered. If the language of legal documents be appealed to, which is certainly no proof, let us be just, and from henceforth let us attribute passion and hatred to the judges who sentence criminals, in very strong language, either to penal servitude or to death. The language of the Colonna cardinals themselves is not different from that of Boniface VIII., though they, being subjects, had no right to use it, and yet they are not blamed for "furious passion" and "personal hatred," rebels and traitors as they were, in league with the Pope's enemies, and resolved, if they could succeed, to persuade the world that he was not the lawful successor of S. Peter. They certainly, if any, did hate Boniface VIII.

Mr. Cartwright's language is curious, and as a curiosity we communicate it to our readers. He seems to have thought that the act of Boniface VIII. was something to be guarded against in future, not so much by the observance of law on the part of all cardinals, as by rendering it impossible for the Pope to repeat it, whatever the cardinals might do.

A sense of the danger to be apprehended from the recurrence of arbitrary acts of the same nature was awakened. It was felt that a Pope of headstrong passions like Boniface VIII. must absolutely be precluded from exposing the Church again to grave peril for the sake of purely personal hatreds and ambitions. Accordingly, just thirteen years after the memorable degradation of the Colonna cardinals, a Bull in reference to papal elections was issued by Clement V. in which the following most remarkable clause was inserted.

It is not necessary to recite the whole clause, for the following words of it are enough to show what it means: we use Mr. Cartwright's translation.

We decree that no cardinal may be expelled [*repelli*, not fairly rendered by expelled] from the said elections on the ground of any excommunication, suspension, or interdict whatsoever (pp. 133, 134).

But how does this decree affect the question? It does not touch it even remotely. Boniface VIII. degraded the Colonna cardinals, that is, he took away from them their rank in the Church, and reduced them to the state they were in before they were made cardinals. Does Mr. Cartwright seriously mean to say that a cardinal degraded from his rank derives any benefit whatever from this decree of Clement V.? A cardinal may be excommunicated, or suspended, or interdicted, without losing his dignity; that is, it is conceivable that the Pope might so punish him and yet not deprive him; in that case he is a cardinal, and as much a cardinal as the rest of his brethren in the Sacred College. All that Clement V. meant was that a cardinal, not degraded, but lying under these three censures, or any one of them, should not on that account be shut out from the Conclave during a Papal election. He did not touch upon the question Mr. Cartwright is discussing,—the unknown rights of a degraded cardinal, and that for good reasons; for a cardinal degraded ceases to be a cardinal, as if he were naturally dead; and it is not likely that the Pope should contemplate the possibility of a man in that miserable condition offering to enter a conclave. The act of Boniface VIII. was necessary, just, and legal, arrived at in a legal way, respected by the Cardinals, and even by the Colonna themselves, for they prayed that it might be set aside, and themselves restored to the rank they had forfeited.

Mr. Cartwright persists in confounding degradation with the other censures of the Church, and will have it that at present even a degraded cardinal would be admitted to the Conclave. If he would reflect for a moment, he would see that a cardinal once degraded is not a cardinal at all, while a cardinal suspended, excommunicated, interdicted, or even

imprisoned, is a cardinal still; but somehow or other he has either failed to make the reflection, or having made it, has failed to understand the language of the law. His chief anxiety seems to be to show that the Sovereign Pontiff now reigning has been tyrannical and unjust in his dealings with Cardinal d'Andrea, who broke the law when he left Rome without the Papal permission; in fact, he went away, knowing that it had been refused, and that it could not be granted to him. The Pope suspended the cardinal, therefore, from the privileges of his rank, and from the use of the outward signs of his dignity. The cardinal submitted when matters had proceeded so far, and it was therefore unnecessary to proceed further.

These proceedings are very coolly said to be of an "anomalous nature" (p. 225), though nothing is shown as having been done either against, or beside, the perfectly known forms by which refractory cardinals—and they have been very few—may be coerced. The point which Mr. Cartwright clings to is a peculiar notion of his own, that a cardinal remains a cardinal after he has been deprived of his rank, and that such a person has a right to enter, and would be admitted, if he offered himself, into the Conclave; a notion supremely absurd, but somehow or other necessary for this attack on the Pope. It is difficult to find out what moved Mr. Cartwright to take so strange a notion into his head, and cling to it with a pertinacity which again amazes us. Surely he can have no interest in the privileges of cardinals, and the whole world would readily forgive him if he left them to the justice of the Pope, who alone can create them.

He returns to the subject in an Appendix, repeating his former charge, that the sentence of Boniface VIII. was "subsequently so clearly condemned and reversed," when it is notorious now, as it always has been, that the sentence was just, and, under like circumstances, would be repeated, for the principle of it is part of the law of the Church. These are his words:—

> The penalties reserved by Innocent X. for cardinals who desert the Papal States and disobey the Pope's summons to return, comprise loss of temporalities, and a *general deprivation* of the Cardinalitian dignity; but in the whole of this very detailed statute of pains and penalties there is not a word implying the forfeiture of franchise (p. 214).

The Italics are not ours, and they show how much the writer relied on the boldness with which he made a statement in one language which is contradicted in another, which he exhibits in the next page. The words of Innocent X., given

by Mr. Cartwright, are *usque ad pœnam privationis dignitatis Cardinalatûs inclusive.* Nothing surely can be clearer; but for all that, Mr. Cartwright maintains that a cardinal deprived of his dignity has a right to vote in the Conclave. It seems that it has never occurred to him to ask himself how such a person could enter the Conclave at all; and that is the more remarkable, because he tells us how the cardinals refused to allow Antici to enter; he having resigned or abandoned his dignity during the madness of the French revolution. We cannot make out what he means by a "general deprivation" of the dignity, if that deprivation does not reduce a cardinal to the condition he was in before his creation. So he repeats it in another place, and actually calls it "a point of law"—

> that a Pope, though perfectly empowered to interdict, excommunicate, degrade, and even send to the scaffold a cardinal, was absolutely debarred from depriving him of his prerogative to vote at a Papal election (p. 146).

The whole matter is this: Mr. Cartwright sees that a cardinal suspended from the use of the privileges and prerogatives of his rank, remains a cardinal still, and does not see that a cardinal degraded or deprived is no cardinal at all. He says of the Pope that, in dealing with the unhappy Cardinal d'Andrea, he went "against not only historical precedent, but the explicit ruling of predecessors" (p. 148). That is an assertion not merely without evidence, but against evidence; and moreover Mr. Cartwright furnishes that evidence himself in the very book before us; but alas, he does not understand it. He must, somehow or other, and in spite of himself, have possessed himself of the notion that the cardinalate is a sacrament,—probably the sacrament of Orders,—and that it has an indelible character, which, like that of Holy Orders, is ineffaceable by degradation.

Pass we now to another question, by which the mind of our author has been very sorely exercised. He seems surprised at the fact that cardinals have become married men, but is doubtless relieved in some measure after reflection, for he can give the Pope another blow:—"In every such case well-defined political influences appear to have been the predominating cause that induced the Pope to concede the favour" (p. 120). Cardinals in minor orders, with the leave of the Pope, have in times past resigned their dignity and returned to the world and married. There is nothing wonderful in this; we may be sorry for the cardinals, who having put their hands to the plough drew back, but how can it be the fault of the Pope? Was he to compel them against their will to become deacons and priests?

In a note, p. 123, there is matter for complaint. Mr. Cartwright speaks of "the abduction of the daughter and the wife, Stephania, of Pope Adrian in 868," as if the Pope were actually living with his wife. We think that the reader would receive such an impression, and that is at least unfair. Pope Adrian was a man held in the greatest reverence in Rome, and had refused the Popedom twice before his election in 867; so that he was really elected three times; firstly after the death of Leo IV., then of Benedict III., and lastly of Nicholas I., when he accepted the election. He was at that time seventy-six years of age, and in all probability had been for some years separated from his wife, for in the Chronicle, or rather Annals, to which Mr Cartwright refers, she is described as formerly the wife of the Pontiff,—*olim uxorem ipsius Pontificis*. Anyhow, he was not in orders when he married, nor indeed for many years afterwards, nor has it ever been insinuated that he lived as a married man after his ordination.

In this country, where the bond of matrimony is so easily broken, and where the law enables a man to marry as often as he can, without waiting for the death of his wife, are people quite serious when they find fault with what they call Papal dispensations, enabling a man to do what the English law allows? There is no cry of shame heard here when the judge of the Divorce Court dissolves a valid marriage. English fathers, sons, and brothers, in both houses of Parliament, concurred with alarming readiness to make polygamy lawful in England. Yet they can be very eloquent on the wickedness of the Pope, whom they accuse of the very sins which they have enabled any one to commit in England without fear or danger of any penalties in this life. Let us now listen to Mr. Cartwright, who has discovered one of the most perfect mare's nests in all history :—

> A yet more singular example of the length to which a Pope may venture on stretching his assumed authority to dispense from the observance of the fundamental rules of morality would seem to be furnished by Spanish history (p. 122, note).

We interrupt the quotation for the purpose of calling attention to the words "fundamental rules of morality," used so quietly in a country where civil divorces have been common for more than two hundred years, and now more easily and more frequently obtained by means of a court of law founded for that very end. Still more, this book before us is published in Edinburgh, the chief city of Scotland, in which country divorces—that is, dissolution of the bonds of matrimony, for

very ordinary reasons—have always been, and are still, granted by the legal tribunals. We now resume our quotation.

> Henry IV. of Castile had no children by his wife Dona Blanca, of Arragon, sister to Ferdinand the Catholic. Being desirous of having offspring, he sought the Pope's dispensation to marry another wife, and obtained it; but with the extraordinary condition that if no children were born from her within a fixed term, then King Henry must separate from his second spouse and return to the original one. The appointed term passed without any offspring having been actually born; but shortly after there came into the world a girl (p. 122, note).

For this curious history we are referred to Mr. Bergenroth's Calendar of State Papers, and to him therefore we betake ourselves, hoping to find, if not the "dispensation," at least a clear reference to the place where such an instrument may be found. The wise reader, accustomed to these surprises in history, has already anticipated our account, and laughs at our disappointment. Mr. Bergenroth has never seen the dispensation, or, if he has, he has kept silence on the matter, and he does not even tell us who has seen it; indeed, he abstains from giving us even the name of the Pope who thus dispensed with "the observance of the fundamental rules of morality."

This dispensation, supposing it to have existed, must have been granted not later than the year 1455, when Henry of Castile pretended to marry the Infanta of Portugal. That sovereign's first marriage was dissolved in 1453, having continued in force about sixteen years. In the first place, it is clear that these things could not be done in secret. The divorce and remarriage of a king are public matters, and concern not his subjects only, but also the families of the two wives. The ambassadors would hear of the matter, explain it at their several courts, and people generally, at least ecclesiastics and lawyers, would not only discuss it among themselves, but also perpetuate the memory of it for future use, because kings and great men, as well as poor men, are found from time to time who wish to get rid of their wives and induct others into their places. Copies of the dispensation would be made, for it was a matter of the exterior forum, and the remembrance of the fact would last at least a hundred years, even if nobody followed the precedent thus set. Besides, the dispensation was in itself so strange that it must have struck everybody who heard of it, because it was a dispensation to enable the king to contract not a permanent marriage lasting until death, but a temporary marriage to last only for a certain number of years. We are not told how many the years were,

but it is to be inferred that they were not more than seven, for the child that was born "came into the world" in the seventh year, and was pronounced illegitimate because not born within the "fixed term," or, to use the words of Mr. Bergenroth, from whom the modern world has heard the story,—

> As the period fixed in the Bull of dispensation passed, and the second queen had no child, her marriage with King Henry of Castile became *ipso facto* invalid (ii. p. cxxvii.).

Certainly we think a marriage of this kind, by dispensation of the Pope, would be a marriage not likely to be forgotten. Every sinner in Europe would have an interest in it, and the licentious sovereigns would most assuredly press it on the Pontiff as a safe and complete precedent in their own cases. Nevertheless the dispensation was completely forgotten, and about sixty years after the birth of the strange child, and probably while she was still living, all the world had lost the memory of the dispensation. The English lawyers of Henry VIII. in England would have exulted if they had lighted upon it; Henry himself would have had it copied out in golden letters, and Cardinal Wolsey would have felt safe in his perilous assault on the unstained shield of the Roman faith. In the year 1539 the Landgrave of Hesse would have embraced that Bull with reverence, and perhaps preferred a dispensation from Rome to a dispensation from Luther. But somehow or other the memory of so notable a fact had perished from among men. Nobody knew of it when it was most wanted.

When Henry VIII. consulted the foreign Universities, and spent so much money in paying for the opinions of the learned doctors who adorned them, he was simply cheated. Those solemn professors kept back from him the only point which could be of service to him—that is, if they knew of it. But then what are we to think of their learning if they had never heard of the famous dispensation by which Henry of Castile took a wife for seven years? We fall into a deeper abyss of wonder the more we consider the matter; the lawyers of Spain held their tongues and their pens during the great dispute between Henry VIII. and Katherine, and kept the secret to themselves. There was not throughout the whole of Spain and Portugal one discontented lawyer or ambitious jurist to tell the English king how he could beat the Emperor and the Pope himself.

The complete oblivion into which the dispensation fell is the more marvellous, for the question raised in Castile and solved

so satisfactorily for the king of that country, cropped up in England, and for a moment filled the mind of Henry VIII. with unblessed hopes of a like solution, provided the Pope could be persuaded to admit the force of the new reasoning. Henry VIII. and Henry IV. saw but one way out of their difficulties, and that they discovered apparently by the light of their corrupt nature. How far Henry IV. followed that lurid light is not known, but more is known of his successor, for the agents of the latter were instructed to consult "the principal canonists" in Rome, and obtain, probably also, if possible, a favourable answer to the following questions:—

> Whether the evangelical law, in some cases, would not admit of two wives, as there were many instances of such an indulgence in the old law? Again, whether in case a dispensation was granted for the king and queen both to make religious vows, the king might not afterwards be favoured with a second dispensation from his religious vow, and permitted to marry; the queen still remaining under the obligation of her religious vow? (*Tierney's Dodd*, vol. i. p. 185).

It is a pity Henry VIII. never heard of his elder brother in sin, and we marvel at the ignorance of his lawyers, for such questions as these would never have been placed before the principal canonists, if the Castile precedent ever existed. The Spanish ambassador, De Puebla, was himself a lawyer, and it is singular that during his long residence here he never once divulged the great case of Castile in his many conversations with the learned men of England.

Is there any evidence of the existence of that dispensation at all? The answer is, absolutely none. Mr. Bergenroth offers no proof, not even the shadow of a proof. The whole story at present rests on his authority, and Mr. Cartwright is very much inclined to give it up, though he clings to it nevertheless, and in one place says that the story is found in the archives of Simancas. That must be a slip, for the story is derived from a paper which Mr. Bergenroth does not describe as an original. But if it be a copy, he thinks the copy was made in the year 1522. He gives us a summary of that strange paper, found, not in the archives of Simancas, and therefore not necessarily a state paper at all, but in the library of a gentleman in Madrid, who is a diligent collector of books and papers. It is said to have been addressed to the Privy Council of Castile. That may be true; but then the address does not make it authentic, or the Privy Council responsible for it. Who wrote it? to whom? when? where? who ever saw it before Mr. Bergenroth, or its owner? Nobody knows. Perhaps some clue to its value may be found in this

statement, which it makes quite seriously and calmly. When the unhappy child was born of that temporary marriage, but not within the "fixed term," the writer of the paper says that "certain taps were administered to her on the nose in order to give it the form of the nose of Henry IV." The "taps" did not answer the purpose of the administrators thereof, it seems, for an attempt was made to exchange the wretched girl for a boy born on the same day in the same place. But the mother of the boy, to say nothing of maternal feelings, naturally refused to give her own baby, probably not in the least degree disfigured by ill-usage, for a repudiated infant on whose nose "certain taps were administered," very likely even before it was baptized.

If the Privy Councillors of Castile ever listened to this paper, they must have been men of a like mind with those agents of Henry VIII.—but there is no proof of it—who proposed the toleration of polygamy to the Roman canonists. If this precious paper had been found in the archives of Simancas, we should still have to seek for an explanation of it. There is no Pope mentioned in it, nor anything to show that the writer of it knew more of the matter than we do at this day. He is utterly ignorant, as it seems, of the real reasons alleged for the dissolution of Henry's first marriage, and of the fact itself; for he refers only to a popular rumour on the subject; and it is scarcely credible that a member of the Privy Council would not have ascertained his facts, and not entertained his brother councillors with the gossip of the market-place. The matter comes, in a word, to this, and this only—show us the dispensation. Until it is produced, the story is worth nothing but evidence of somebody's ignorance or malice.

When Mr. Cartwright saw his finished book clean from the printer's hands, a certain misgiving seems to have crept into and over his mind about this story; and accordingly we find an Appendix beginning thus:—

> It may perhaps be thought by some that Mr. Bergenroth has been hasty in giving credence to the existence of so astounding a dispensation, on the mere testimony of a posterior Spanish state paper [is it a state paper?] however grave its nature may be.

Mr. Cartwright is apparently inclined to suspend his belief in this particular story, though not very willingly; but, if so, he indemnifies himself for his self-restraint, by excessive indulgence in another form. He continues as follows, thinking he has now caught the Pope:—

> But in a collection of documents drawn from the Vatican records by their

keeper, Father Theiner, and issued with the *imprimatur* of the Court of Rome, we possess irrefragable evidence of two Papal utterances in the matter of marriages, which certainly fall very little short of this dispensation in laxness of morality. They are to be found in the *Vetera Monumenta Poloniæ*, 4 vols. folio. Rome, 1864.

It is to be wished that Mr. Cartwright had yielded with a good grace to the doubts that arose in his mind, when he saw that he had no proof whatever that the Pope had failed in "the observance of the fundamental rules of morality." He yields, it is true, but very much like a man who having accused his neighbour of burglary, and on being challenged to prove his charge abandons it, and accuses him of highway robbery instead. The King of Castile is given up, but the King of Poland takes his place. Somebody must have the whipping, and if the unnamed Pope who gave the undiscovered dispensation to Henry IV. to contract a temporary marriage cannot be chastised, Urban V. must suffer for him. This is the story: Casimir, King of Poland, in the lifetime of his wife Adelaide of Hesse, took his cousin Hedwig, and "went through a marriage ceremony with her." That, unhappily, is not a very rare occurrence even among people who have renounced the "corruptions of Rome." Casimir, not renouncing those "corruptions," applied to the Pope, according to Mr. Cartwright, for a dispensation; but "Urban V. would not hear thereof." So far it is to the credit of the Pope; but this is mentioned only for the sake of bringing out more clearly how the Sovereign Pontiffs dispose of "the fundamental rules of morality." These are our author's words:—

> What argument induced him [Urban V.] to yield in the end is unknown; but that the marriage between Casimir and Hedwig came to be recognized by him as valid, during Adelaide's lifetime, is now proved by a brief from Urban V. to Casimir, certifying that the charge brought against the latter of having forged the dispensation for his marriage was unfounded, and which brief is printed in *Vet. Mon. Pol.*, vol. i. p. 649 (p. 208).

Mr. Cartwright admits that at first Urban V. would not dispense with Casimir; and then he adds that Urban V. changed his mind and recognized as valid the illegal fact. It seems then that it was Urban himself who did really dispense; for if Casimir applied to him for a dispensation, and was refused at first, and if at a later time Urban speaks of a dispensation said to have been forged, that dispensation, forged or not, must have gone forth in Urban's name. Mr. Cartwright will not agree with us; but we say that Urban V., if he had granted the dispensation, would never have shuffled about it. The charge of forgery could have been met in Poland by producing

the brief; the bishops and the lawyers in that country would have been fair judges of the question, forgery or no forgery. Casimir could have traced the brief back to its source without much trouble if it was genuine; and if it was not, he could probably have laid his hand on the forger whenever he pleased. Instead of that he applies to the Pope, and the object of his application is not to obtain a declaration of the authenticity of the brief, but the wiping away from himself of a legal disability, that of *infamia*, which attached to him because he was commonly believed to have forged the letters himself. The quotation from the real brief of Urban, given by Mr. Cartwright, is plain enough, and overthrows the little story which the latter had constructed to supply the place of that of Henry IV. of Castile.

It seems from the brief that Apostolic letters were produced in Poland to justify the immoral habits of the king, and the result was that the forgery became known; and Casimir, as the forger of Apostolic letters, incurred, among other penalties, that of legal infamy, whereby he forfeited his right to be heard in courts of law. He very likely did not forge them, in fact we may be sure of that; but as he profited by them, and probably encouraged, if he did not set the forger to do the work, he was at once infamous. He no doubt denied his share therein, and the Pope believed him; that is the whole meaning of the brief which gives Mr. Cartwright so much pleasure. *Omnem infamiam abolemus* is the substance of it, and Casimir knew very well that only the Pope could remove that disability from him.*

The Brief of the Pope may be thus summed up:—As We have heard that people erroneously maintain that certain Apostolic letters, in which you were said to be dispensed with so as to enable you to contract marriage with Hedwig, were forged by you or in your name, we, to preserve your reputation, by these letters wipe away the infamy, so that henceforth no objection shall be made to you on that account in suits at law or otherwise. Mr. Cartwright says that the use of the word marriage "is conclusive of the light in which the tie between Casimir and Hedwig was considered by the Pope." And he makes the further inconceivable assertion that the Pope "certifies" the "authenticity" of the dispensation, but "guards himself against expressing approval" of it. This is simply marvellous; the letters, supposing them genuine, must

* Barbos. de Off. et Pot. Episcopi, ii., all. 43, n. 30. Advertendum quod in infamia juris, et in irregularitate quæ ex ipsa procedit, solus Papa dispensat.

have been issued by the very Pope who approves of the marriage, but who at the same time will not commit himself to approve the letters which made the marriage itself! The fact is, the quotation made by Mr. Cartwright is clear enough. The Pope merely recites the substance of the forged letters—the word marriage occurs in that recital—and then removes the penalty which those letters had brought on Casimir. If the Pope had granted the dispensation, he would have said so, and Casimir would never have admitted that he had become "infamous" for making use of it. But Mr. Cartwright is blind and does not see the evident purpose of Urban V., who is pronouncing neither on the validity of the marriage, nor even on the authenticity or non-authenticity of the letters in question, but rehabilitating Casimir, who had made himself "infamous." Casimir, the patron of the Jews, was not very likely to send the dispensation to be examined in Avignon.

The other example of Roman disregard of the "fundamental rules of morality" is a mistake of Mr. Cartwright, for surely even he can see nothing in it. It is this: the Duke of Lithuania married a heretic, after promising on oath that he would never disturb her in her heresy. He kept his promise for five years, and his wife remained obstinate. He then puts the case before the Pope, Alexander VI., who condemning his promise as immoral, releases him from it, precisely as an English judge does in like circumstances; but he urges him to try once more the effect of kindness on his wife, and then, if that should fail, to apply to the Bishop of Wilna, who will grant him a divorce in legal form.

In due time the bishop separated husband and wife, but the duke, for political reasons, was afraid of sending his wife back to her father. The Pope allowed him to retain her, because there was imminent risk of war and bloodshed if he sent her home. Mr. Cartwright thinks this very bad, and the Papal letter which allowed the duke to keep his divorced wife in his palace, "is the most astonishing Papal document" he knows. It is very probable that he considers this divorce to have been a dissolution of the marriage; if so, some excuse must be made for his feelings, but none for his mistake. There was no question here of setting aside the marriage, nor of marrying again! It was simply a divorce *a mensâ et thoro*, or, as the phrase is now, a judicial separation, not infrequent in England.

There was, we verily believe, some lurking doubt still in our author's mind; for he closes the question with these words: "It would be desirable, however, to see the original text of the dispensations in the cases of Henry of Castile and

Casimir of Poland" (p. 211). Well, we think so too; but where are we to look for what does not exist, never has existed, and never can exist? Documents of this kind are not likely to be forgotten or lost. They would pass out of the hands of the lawyers into the hands of theologians; they would constitute precedents and decisions of doctrine, which every writer *de matrimonio* would be sure to possess and discuss. The Universities of Europe would have had copies of them, and the schools would hear of them; it would be as impossible to bury them in oblivion as it would be to bury the Encyclical *Quantâ curâ*. Who saw them? Who saw anybody that saw them? They do not exist, there is not a particle of evidence that anybody even said he had seen them; and yet to the persons most concerned they were most important. Their good name and the legitimacy of their children depended upon them. Instead of producing the documents, Mr. Cartwright assumes their existence, and then charges the Popes with "laxness of morality," though the acts alleged are legal acts in England and in Scotland. Mr. Cartwright seems to be perfectly blind to the hideous inroads of Lord Palmerston's legislation on the morals of his countrymen, and wastes his indignation on two problematical sins—they are problematical on his own showing—which were committed in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Of course they were never committed at all: they are due to the imagination of somebody.

The Sovereign Pontiffs from time to time have had much to suffer, because great men wanted to get rid of their wives; they would have been spared many an insult and many a wrong if they had granted these pleasant dispensations. It might have saved England, perhaps, from becoming Protestant, if Henry VIII. had been dealt with as Henry IV. of Castile is said to have been dealt with. Pius VII. might, perhaps, have suffered less, if, at the request, or rather insolent dictation of General Bonaparte, he had dissolved the marriage of Jerome with Miss Patterson. He might also have been better treated if he had sanctioned the marriage of the Emperor with Maria Louisa of Austria, and the cardinals would not have refused to be present at the pretended marriage—for pretended it was—if the Pope had not then, as always, maintained the indissolubility of the bond of matrimony. One of the most fruitful sources of trouble to the Holy See has been the desire of kings and great men to marry two wives. If the Pope had yielded to the wishes of any on that subject, he yielded probably to those of the Emperors of Germany, the French or the English kings.

Henry II. of England wanted a divorce; the French kings and the emperors were often in the same case, but nobody has found out that any one of these powerful and dangerous sovereigns obtained any such dispensations from the Pope. Is it probable then that Henry of Castile, or Casimir before him, men who had no power of doing any harm to the persons of the Pontiffs, could have obtained what the Emperors of Germany had to go without? There are other instances of forged dispensations, or rather of assertions that dispensations had been granted, and the stories of Henry of Castile and of Casimir of Poland are not strange,—they are a part of the lying of the day, do their work for a time, and then are thrown aside. They have given some importance to Mr. Cartwright's book, and have occasioned people to express their horror of the wickedness of the Popes. Protestants believe these stories as an act of duty, and more prudent people are staggered by the positive and confident manner in which they are told. They will be repeated again and again, for that is the fate of lies against the Popes; and moreover they are the only weapons that can be used against the Vicars of Christ. If persons outside the Church could—we admit it is impossible—confine themselves to telling nothing but the truth about the Sovereign Pontiffs, the literature of the day would be more innocent; but then, as regards the said Pontiffs, there would be very little of it.

Art. IV.—THE PRESENT AND FUTURE OF OXFORD UNIVERSITY.

Suggestions on Academical Organization, with especial reference to Oxford. By Mark Pattison, B.D., Rector of Lincoln College, Oxford. Edinburgh: Edmonston & Douglas. 1868.

The Reorganization of the University of Oxford. By Goldwin Smith. Oxford and London: James Parker & Co. 1868.

ENGLAND is notoriously passing through a most momentous crisis. On the Continent, the clearest proof of this would be held to be Mr. Gladstone's measure with regard to the Irish Establishment. We, who view the course of events nearer home, see that Mr. Coleridge's University Tests Bill is a much more pregnant proof of it. True, it has not yet become law. But that does not lessen the importance of its having been received and supported as it has. The disestablishment of the Anglican sect in Ireland is avowedly

demanded on the principle that the internal affairs of Ireland ought to be managed as is desired by the Irish people: that is, that the British Empire ought to be governed, not as a single whole with one national existence and will, but as a federation, for all external and many domestic relations, of several nations, each of which still retains its own national conscience, and its right to have its internal affairs administered in conformity with it. That Scotland has been so administered ever since the Union all the world knows. The only reason why the same rule has never yet been applied to Ireland is because the mass of Protestant politicians have hated "Popery" too much to be able to apply to a Catholic nation the reasoning which they felt to be just and sound, and which they were quite ready to apply to any other case. But among educated men the no-Popery frenzy has long been cooling down; and the state of feeling of the Irish in America, and their political influence, has convinced all who are capable of thought and conviction, that Ireland must, somehow or other, be satisfied. These reasons are so strong, that the abolition of the Irish Establishment is urged by the one man among our statesmen who cares most about the Anglican Communion, and would be carried even if that Communion exercised at this moment as strong an influence as on any one day since it issued, armed, from the brain of Queen Elizabeth.

But Mr. Coleridge's measure, which has been accepted by a large majority of the House of Commons, and excites no repugnance in the nation, implies a much more important change. Its practical result will be, before long, to admit to all situations in Oxford all men otherwise qualified, who may publicly profess themselves sceptics, Deists, or Atheists. Now what is really important is, that this is not, and is not even regarded as, a hostile attack upon the universities from without. They have, before now, been the object of many such attacks. Oxford, as the great embodiment of the mediæval system of education, has been chiefly exposed to them. It has always been felt, and is still felt, that the fate of Cambridge may be taken for granted if any victory is gained over Oxford. To Oxford therefore the disputants on both sides seem almost to confine their attention; and in this article we shall follow their example.

More than half a century ago, Oxford was fiercely assailed by the *Edinburgh Review*, and defended by the late Bishop Copleston. It is impossible to read, in our days, either the attack or the defence without musing upon the changefulness of human affairs. It is not merely that the defenders of old

institutions in our day would have been deemed rabid revolutionists under George III. It is that what would then have been considered the most violent assault upon the University is now made by men who hold posts of the greatest influence within her; who are unquestionably her intellectual teachers; and who, if they do not yet wield an actual majority, are pretty sure before long to carry whatever they propose. The University of Oxford, indeed, has petitioned against Mr. Coleridge's Bill: but that petition has been adopted by a body which, the most active resident members of the University loudly complain, does not in any sense represent it, because it admits the votes of non-resident graduates, chiefly country clergy. A counter petition in favour of the Bill has been presented, which has been signed by a large majority of the Tutors in most of the colleges, including those colleges which exercise the chief influence, and by a large minority even in the others. It is impossible therefore to regard the controversy as in any degree between the opponents and the supporters of the University. So far as there is a controversy at all, it is within the University itself. It is that the most influential party among its resident members are anxious to get rid of everything that can be called religious in the Oxford system. The attempt is opposed in Oxford itself chiefly by men of by-gone times, who dislike sweeping change for its own sake, from long habit and the associations of many years; and who are seconded, in this instance, by the school of which Dr. Pusey may be considered the representative: a school which a few years ago they regarded with more suspicion, dislike, and fear than they did any one other set of living men.

Even if the University were to be left to itself untouched from without, we can hardly doubt which of these two parties would prevail. Time is evidently working on the side of the school, which only a few years ago could hardly be said to exist, which is now all but a majority, and which numbers among its members the great majority of those likely to influence the rising generation. Some forty or fifty years ago all men calculated on the speedy removal of the penal laws against Catholics, because the question was disputed between statesmen who were going off the stage and those who were coming on it. The questions now in debate in Oxford are being carried on under much the same circumstances; and if Oxford were left to itself could hardly fail of the same result.

But, in fact, there is no chance that Oxford will be left to itself. Parliament has already decided the question that the University, the separate colleges, and their endowments are to

be regarded,—not as private establishments or charities, with which the State claims no right to interfere except by such appeals to the law as may be necessary for preventing abuses and securing the fulfilment of the designs of the founder,—but as national institutions, which the nation has the unquestioned right to remodel from time to time as it may deem best. In fact, it is simply laughable that any Anglican party should gravely question the right of Parliament to do what it deems best in this matter. That right is implied in the first principles of the Anglican communion. Before the reign of Henry VIII. the Church, represented by the Successor of S. Peter, had an authoritative voice in the matter. What the common sense of the English people now feels was expressed a short time ago by the *Pall Mall Gazette*:—

> The notion of an alliance between the Church and State as two independent powers, the Church being the Church of England as by law established, is merely silly. After the Pope had been finally cast off and the Royal supremacy fairly established in the reigns of Henry VIII. and Elizabeth, who were the two independent powers which made a solemn covenant, and what was the solemn covenant which they made? The Pope, no doubt, was independent of the kings of England; and in so far as the English clergy recognized him as their sovereign and formed a society under his headship, there might be ground for talking of an alliance between the Church and State: but such a relation becomes a mere figment and juggle of words as soon as the doctrine of the Royal supremacy is fairly established. Under that system the clergy became a body of men in and forming a branch of the State, or the officers of a voluntary association permitted and protected by it. Unless they are independent they cannot be allies. Warburton's famous attempt to define the alliance in question will prove to any one who comes to examine it, that nothing but his arrogant love of paradoxes and delight in that intricacy of speculation, which in his case was the result of perverted and distorted vigour could have enabled him to profess such a theory.

To this *argumentum ad hominem*, appealing as it does to the fundamental principle of the Anglican communion, it is obvious that no answer can be made. But apart from that, the public interest demands that a great institution like the University of Oxford should be subject to some external control, of some kind and invested in some hands. A great corporation made up of twenty-four lesser bodies, which between them hold in perpetuity landed property of amount unknown, but estimated by those best able to judge as between £200,000 and £400,000 per annum, would be most mischievous if it fell into bad hands and were ill administered. The only question is to whom its holders shall be responsible, and by whom abuses shall be reformed. This question the English nation long ago

settled for itself, when (like the Children of Israel, who cried out for a king, "when the Lord their God was their king") it threw off the control of the Vicar of Jesus Christ, and substituted for his rule that of the civil government. One thing only could be needed to remove from the mind of a British public and Parliament any remaining fear that to interfere with university or college property might be revolutionary. This one thing was precedent, and precedent is not wanting. In the course of the events commonly grouped together under the name of "the Reformation," Parliament transferred that property from the adherents of the old to those of the new religion, and made other important changes. Since that time it has interfered sometimes in detail (as in setting aside the express deliberate provision of the founder, by which the Warden of Wadham College was bound to celibacy), and, as lately as 1854, by a number of wholesale changes. The Rector of Lincoln College truly says:—

> The cry that the colleges are not national property, and the universities not national institutions, loud enough in 1852, has been sensibly enfeebled since. It will hardly be found again in the mouths of any public men, who have any claim to statesmanlike capacity, or who aim to argue the question on broad grounds of public welfare. It will, no doubt, reappear from time to time, and be made to do duty as a party weapon. But the legislature of this country is now fairly in presence of the much more serious question, *what* shall it do with its seminaries of the higher education (p. 18).

That Mr. Coleridge's Bill should ever have been proposed by a man of his position, antecedents, connections, and character, and still more that it should have been received as it has, is, even at first sight, an important indication of the answer which will be given to this last question. It is, however, really an indication much more important than it appears at first sight; for we should greatly deceive ourselves if we considered it merely a concession to religionists who have *bonâ-fide* conscientious objections to this or that doctrine or practice of the Established Church. The truth is that at no one period since Protestantism was invented has the religious influence of non-conforming Protestantism been so small as it is now. In the reign of Elizabeth, men fully equal in talents, education, and learning to her highest ecclesiastics, really zealous about religion, and heartily desirous to be members of the Establishment, had religious scruples about wearing the surplice, the sign of the cross in baptism, and the like, which made them first discontented members of the Establishment, and ultimately founders of separate sects. This state of things is utterly unlike anything in our day. We can hardly

imagine a man nominated to and accepting an episcopal see, but scrupling to submit to Protestant consecration, and actually allowing himself to be committed to prison rather than wear during the ceremony the robes which the law prescribed. Or again, a Dean of Christ Church and a President of Magdalen College cited before the Queen's Ecclesiastical Courts for refusing to wear the square cap and surplice, and the dean actually holding out in his refusal and being, on no other ground, deprived of his deanery and thrown into prison; or again, a Lady Margaret Professor of Divinity deprived and imprisoned rather than cease to write and lecture against episcopacy. In our day it is certainly not uncharitable to say that the Protestant bishops, with few exceptions, regard consecration itself as a decent ceremony without any particular meaning, and would wear any habit which the authorities might require (even if they took the liberty of laughing at it in private as a "mummery") rather than lose a very slight degree of favour at Court, not to speak of things so substantial as an episcopal palace and revenues. As for the Dissenters, we suppose nobody thinks that any alteration in the practices of the Establishment, or in the doctrinal statements of the Prayer-book or the Thirty-nine Articles, would bring a dozen of them into the Established Church. The real causes of the distinction between Churchmen and Dissenters are now rather social than theological. Dissenting ministers spring from classes which cannot afford an education at Oxford and Cambridge. Their congregations, with few exceptions, like ministers of their own social position; they prefer a service shorter and freer than that of the Establishment, and places of meeting into the less honourable parts of which they are not liable to be pushed by the squire and his family. We may be sure, then, that the theoretical exclusion of Dissenters from the University does not really shut out any number large enough to admit of calculation who would come in if they might come as Dissenters. In fact, when a Presbyterian has the opportunity of getting an Oxford education without cost to his parents, it is never found that any liking for Presbyterianism, either in them or in himself, prevents his taking a degree, being ordained and consecrated, and making himself highly comfortable in Fulham Palace and the Bishops' Bench of the House of Lords. In our day therefore, the hope of attracting into the Establishment or retaining in it men whose consciences are too scrupulous to allow them to enjoy its benefices is no longer any real motive for relaxing the required subscriptions. If it were really an object to win over Dissenting ministers to the Established Church, it might be done by making good livings attainable

by men without interest with patrons, and without the social position which is now practically a condition *sine quâ non.*

Why then, at such a moment, should the connection between the universities and the Established Church for the first time be broken? Clearly not for the sake of the Dissenters, but of the universities themselves. We may very safely say that the real demand for Mr. Coleridge's Bill would not be in any degree lessened if there was not a single conscientious Dissenter in England. It is demanded, not because men unjustly excluded from the Universities are clamouring for admission, but because men already enjoying academical dignities and revenues, feel it a restraint and a burden to be compelled to profess Anglicanism. The proposed change then, demanded and conceded under such circumstances, will consecrate the emancipation, not of Christianity from the bonds of Anglicanism, but of University education from the restraints of Christianity.

Nothing less than this is the real meaning of the revolution now in rapid progress at Oxford. Until our own day, although miserably sullied by the change of religion, it had on the whole retained the great outlines of the mediæval Universities, such as they had gradually become under the influence of the Church. It was still made up of four-and-twenty colleges, in each of which a number of youths, all professing the same faith, lived, studied, and worshipped together, under a discipline which (however decayed in practice) was in theory strict in its moral and religious, as well as its academical bearing. The revolution, which is already more than half-completed, the completion of which those who lead the mind of the day in Oxford consciously contemplate, and in which Mr. Coleridge's Bill is only one step, is nothing less than the displacing of this system by that of a modern German Protestant university. In such a university the students live where they will, with whom they will, and as they will; and study what they will, as they will, and under whom they will:—the university only taking care to provide the most able, learned, and attractive professors to lecture upon all subjects; who are free indeed to teach what they please, but whose especial function is much more to make discoveries in religion, morals, philosophy, history, science, and all other subjects of human knowledge, and to publish books which will raise their own credit and that of the university,—than to teach anything. How seriously this change is intended, we may see in the works of Mr. Goldwin Smith and of the Rector of Lincoln College.

Mr. Goldwin Smith says that, "as Oxford is a university of

colleges, a university of colleges it will remain." He proposes that the fellowships should be divided into two classes. One of these classes, called "Prize Fellows," are to be awarded by examination, and to be in fact mere pensions for a certain number of years, the holders of which should be allowed to marry, but not to have any voice in college matters. The other class, "Teacher Fellows," to be chosen not by examination, but by "educational qualifications," without limit as to age; to be allowed to marry, and to be, of course, of any or no religion. They are to lecture, "not to the college, but to the University." Some of them, not lecturers, are to act as tutors; their duties are not fully explained, but they are, it seems, to help the students in preparing for lectures. Thus what are called college tutors would really be a species of lower university professors; and those who bear that name would be a higher class, "dedicated as much to research as to teaching."

The Rector of Lincoln College gives in a good deal of detail a plan, which differs from this in many respects, but on the whole agrees with it in doing away with the *quasi*-domestic character which colleges wore in old times. Both he and Mr. Goldwin Smith are strongly for "restoring the faculties"—that is, that Oxford should once more be a place of especial study for law, physic, and divinity. The Rector wishes that separate colleges should be devoted to each of these faculties. It is plain enough that this plan, perhaps even more than the other, would imply the total abolition of the old Oxford system: a system, which did good service even during a century of extreme intellectual and moral torpor, and under which, we may say, the men whose names really recommend Oxford to the affections of thoughtful Protestants, not to say of Catholics, were formed.

One curious difficulty arises from the proposal to "restore the faculties." What is to be done about theology? She was called in old times "the queen of sciences," and it would be too much to propose that she should be wholly banished from the University. But if not, what is to be taught? Mr. Goldwin Smith observes (in a passage we have already quoted) that after the Reformation not only "the faculties of law and medicine dwindled into shadow, the substance departing to the Inns of Court and the London hospitals," but that "even the faculty of theology itself became almost a name, the Anglican Church having developed no scientific theology to replace that of the middle ages." Elsewhere he says,—

To revive the faculty of theology, though of the utmost importance in what may be truly called a fearful crisis of religious faith, would at the same

time be most difficult. Anglicanism, as I have said before, has developed no theology in the proper sense of the term, what is taught under that name being merely Anglican exegesis, Anglican apologies, and ecclesiastical history treated upon the Anglo-Episcopal hypothesis. The difficulty would cease if either the world would consent to receive back the authoritative theology of Suarez and the other Catholic doctors, or decide that theological inquiry should be free. The very aspect of freedom, however, has been enough to frighten the Anglican clergy into diocesan colleges, and to defeat the attempt which was being made at lavish cost to prolong their professional education here.

That is, he proposes at present no renewal of theology as a study; but saying, very truly, that the root of Anglicanism is dead, he is for leaving the college chapels as they are, like a dead branch not worth lopping off, separating them wholly from the system of education.

The relation of the University to the Established Church must be settled in the councils of the nation; it would be a mockery to put to the clerical Convocation of Oxford the question whether the clergy shall retain the exclusive control of the national Universities. Every instinct of class, every prompting of a conscience formed under sectional influences, leads them to struggle as a body against the removal of the tests. No statesman can doubt that the Tudor polity, in which the absolute identity of Church and State was assumed, and no one but a member of the State Church was allowed to be capable of the privileges of a citizen, is numbered with the past. It has been entirely swept away as regards political franchises, and as regards admission to the national places of education its hour is manifestly come. Probably few men who have watched the course of religious movements with open minds entertain much doubt that the root of the Tudor faith itself is dead, and that the persistent imposition of the tests of that faith upon the consciences of all the divergent schools of thought must lead to moral and intellectual evil. Under these circumstances the aim of the statesman will be to throw open the Universities, to introduce united education among the upper classes, and to relieve conscience from oppression, as rapidly and completely as is consistent with the preservation of the religious character which the mass of those who resort to the Universities desire that education should retain.

Mr. Goldwin Smith, then, would simply suspend all theological study in the University. The Rector of Lincoln proposes to adopt the system of a German university (Berlin seems to be his favourite model), and to have numerous professors, free to teach each what he pleases, to lecture upon innumerable subjects. He says,—

The present memoir being confined to university objects, I am glad to be dispensed from entering into further detail by finding myself on ground which is not purely academical. I will only add here a list of the courses

which are given in this faculty, in one semester, in the University of Berlin, where the number of students is somewhat over 2,000.

There are thirty-eight courses on all manner of different subjects. The matter is not purely academical: because "Oxford is at present a seminary for the professional education of the clergy," and "it is of the highest consequence to the welfare of society that the clergy should receive their education in common with the rest of the community, and not in clerical seminaries apart."

The truth of what Mr. Goldwin Smith says is self-evident. Catholic theology is a science. Protestantism (being merely the denial of Catholic theology) can never be a science. Unless Oxford consents once more to learn the old theology of the Church, her only alternative is either to banish theology altogether (as he proposes, at least for the present), or else, as Mr. Pattison proposes, and as Mr. Goldwin Smith evidently prefers, to allow each professor to teach anything he pleases, with the understood condition, we imagine, that it must not be Catholic. If the professors are ingenious and learned men, this last plan will secure a succession of theories upon sacred subjects more or less sensible or wild according to the taste of the nation and of the day. Unquestionably it will not lead to the teaching of any one system. We incline, therefore, to think that the best chance for the Anglican sect is that things should remain, in this respect, as they have been ever since the so-called Reformation; and that the clergy, alone of all men devoted to a special profession, should receive for it no professional education at all. This has notoriously been the case in times past. In the days when every member of the University who cared at all for religion, or wished to know anything about it, was learning it by attending Dr. Newman's parochial sermons, the professedly "professional education of the clergy" consisted merely of attendance during Lent term upon the lectures of Dr. Burton. These were, in fact, a course of twelve sermons, in which the professor gave a short account of the "evidences of Christianity," and the outlines of the system laid down in the Thirty-nine Articles. The number of young men attending them was so great (a certificate of attendance was a *sine quâ non* of ordination) that the professor could not possibly notice the absence of any who did not like the trouble of attending. Before the first lecture those who professed to attend put down their names, and after the last a certificate of attendance was given to all of them. In the first lecture the amiable professor made an appeal to his hearers to attend regularly, and not to obtain from him a false certificate. Whether all were scrupulous in

obeying this appeal may be guessed. If they were, they received their "professional education" in hearing these twelve sermons; if not, it consisted merely in their attending to obtain a false certificate of having heard them. Such was "the professional education of the clergy" at Oxford in 1831. We have no reason to believe that it is now materially different.

We believe indeed that, in addition to this public course of twelve sermons, the Regius Professor now gives private lectures; and that many, perhaps all, the Protestant bishops in England require candidates for ordination, who have graduated at Oxford, to produce a certificate of having attended them. But what we have heard induces us to suppose that this is nearly as much a form as was the attendance at the public lectures. Some bishops have tried to supply theological education by founding diocesan theological colleges. But the same difficulty meets them here. The more earnest students, if they are taught any scientific theology at all, are pretty sure to become Catholics, and thus some of these diocesan colleges have already been among the most valuable feeders of the Catholic Church. On the other hand it is hard to confine what is called a theological college merely to "Anglican exegesis, Anglican apologies, and ecclesiastical history treated upon the Anglo-Episcopal hypothesis." On the whole, we venture to think the experiment rash; and that the old system of not teaching theology at all is, as Mr. Goldwin Smith thinks, essential to the maintenance of the Anglican Church.

The Rector of Lincoln himself, in his youth a disciple of the illustrious school of Dr. Newman, fully adopts Mr. Goldwin Smith's estimate of Oxford theology. He would wish, if possible, to adopt the system which alone enables a Protestant university to have a real school of theology—that of the Protestant universities of Germany. He gives a sketch of Oxford studies as he proposes they should be remodelled, and then adds (p. 319),—

> The faculty of theology must be considered in abeyance for the purposes of education at present. There is, indeed, a scientific theology, and in the Christian records of the early and later ages the amplest material for various learning and critical investigation. But theology has not yet begun to exist as a science among us. In the present state of the public mind in this country it is hopeless to propose to assign to it the place and rank which is its due. I must be content with having marked this place, as being side by side with the other schools which entitle, each of them, to a degree, and which have a defined course of studies leading up to that degree. But I cannot venture to propose what is obviously impossible. Theology will, I fear,

in practice, continue to occupy its present degraded position of an extraneous appendage tacked on to the fag-end of every examination on every other subject. In this respect the academical traditions of the sixteenth century, when all education was theological, have been continued unto our day, partly from mere habit, partly with the idea that by thrusting in theology into every examination, we were making education religious, as the Puritans of a former age imagined that by the employment of Scripture phraseology they sanctified common conversation.

Practically, then, University reformers seem to be at present of one mind as to the future. They propose to make Oxford education, as much as possible, like that of a Protestant German university; to apply the rich endowments given to colleges by our Catholic forefathers to develop and maintain a set of able and learned professors and lecturers; practically to abolish the system of collegiate residence and discipline; and, for the present, to leave the faculty of theology quite out of the system. Meanwhile they are waiting till the time shall have come, to which they look forward as not distant, when public feeling will allow the University to authorize and pay learned men to examine and criticise the Holy Scriptures, and to teach the history of dogma and of ecclesiastical controversies, leaving each of them absolutely free to inculcate upon their pupils any opinion he may prefer upon every question which emerges,—for instance, whether any and what books of Scripture are genuine; whether the life, death, and resurrection of our Divine Lord are historical facts or mere myths,—and, of course, upon all dogmas that are, or ever were, taught or held. Less than this most assuredly Mr. Goldwin Smith does not mean when he says, with great truth, that if we are to have a theology at all, the only alternative is, on the one hand the authoritative theology of Suarez and the other Catholic doctors; or else, on the other, "free theological inquiry." The Rector of Lincoln College speaks rather less plainly, but evidently means (as we shall have occasion to show) the same thing. Indeed the degree of difference between the tone of these two able writers upon that subject is a curious illustration how far, in the present state of public opinion, the subscription to Anglican formularies still required of the clergy and the University authorities acts as a real restraint upon them. There are other shades of difference upon which we need not at present enlarge. Mr. Pattison, for instance, protests against the modern notion that the revenues of Oxford were intended to maintain a sort of superior school. He argues, and we think truly, that fellowships were intended, not as mere pensions to reward early studies, but to enable those who held them to reside in the

University for years after taking their degrees in arts, devoting themselves to the study of the faculties, and chiefly to theology. He claims these revenues therefore for the support of learned men, who have completed what is now generally meant by their college career, rather than for the education of youths. Mr. Goldwin Smith does not seem very materially to differ in his practical conclusion; because he is for giving, out of the college property, a liberal endowment to married professors and lecturers. But he claims the whole for education, not believing in the salutary effects of endowments for the support of learned men.

One important change advocated by both the writers before us is the abolition of what are called in Oxford "pass examinations." The Rector of Lincoln College complains that fully 70 per cent. of the so-called "students" at Oxford are in no sense, even in profession, students at all. For the last sixty years every man who has resided three years at Oxford has been expected to undergo an examination, and obtain a certificate, on presenting which he is entitled to his degree of B.A. All degrees after that have long been a mere form, granted to all who keep the required residence and pay the fees. Those who present themselves for this examination, without aiming at what are called honours, are known in Oxford as "pass-men." The writers before us agree that "this pass-examination, with its attendant pluckings, and the whole system of drilling men to 'get through,' ought to be put an end to." The University will then give no degree, except to those who would now be called "honour-men." On what grounds this recommendation is founded we shall see.

We have sketched very shortly what is demanded as university reform by those whose opinions may be taken as the best indication of the immediate future of Oxford. Instead of the old system of residence in college, under discipline more or less strict, and an education given by tutors who were, or at least were bound to be, personally acquainted with their pupils, and able to control as well as assist and stimulate their studies,—it would substitute a totally different class; it would substitute a set of men, learned and ingenious, whose business it would be to lecture upon all subjects of interest (excepting only for the present those connected with theology), to a multitude of young men, who need not be even nominally connected with any college at all. Whether anything might yet survive of the *genius loci* which would in any degree impress upon future generations of Oxonians any remnant of that peculiar character, which Oxford even in the most torpid age left upon her sons, it might as yet be rash to decide. But we

can hardly err in saying that if anything of the kind there were, it would but be like the twilight of summer nights; for which the mere lapse of time, with the changes which necessarily accompany it, will very soon substitute thick darkness. Catholics will not fail to observe that it is proposed to sweep away exactly those things which for many years have in some degree assimilated the training of a well-ordered Oxford college, under a religious and conscientious tutor, to that of a Catholic college; and to develop into full and exclusive possession all those things, which have caused only too sad a contrast between them.

There is only one question to which we have not yet referred. How far is this change a matter merely of the immediate future, or how far has it already taken place? will the demanded University reform overthrow the old system and substitute another in its place, or has the old system already died out? This question is most important: because those who know what Oxford was rather than what it is, may naturally think of it as the school which produced such men as the Archbishop of Westminster, Father Newman, the late Archdeacon Wilberforce, Canon Oakeley, and many others; or (to confine ourselves to laymen) Mr. Hope Scott and Mr. Badeley: not to mention the far greater number who, though remaining outside the Church, may be regarded as the best specimens of the Protestant English gentleman.

Unhappily there is next to nothing in common between the Oxford which produced those men and the Oxford of the present day. In truth, from the admitted fact that the system of forty years back trained a type of men markedly distinct from those sent out by other Protestant universities, we might more reasonably infer that the present system will produce men of the ordinary Protestant type, than that it will have the same effects as a system diametrically opposed to it.

First, we ought to mention that many important changes have already been made, even in the legal character of the University. The Oxford University Bill of 1854 did not indeed do all that the modern "reformers" desired; but it went a great way towards it. We have hitherto said nothing about it, because the system established by that Act is, and is admitted by all parties to be, merely a state of transition. It would be absurd to separate it from Mr. Coleridge's Bill now before Parliament, or from the Oxford Reform Bills which already loom not in the distant but in the immediate future.

But what gives this Reform Act of 1854 its chief importance is that it enables us in some degree to measure the change of tone and feeling which has taken place in Oxford

itself during the last fourteen years. The Rector of Lincoln points out that Parliament itself then felt the greatest reluctance to meddle at all with the property of the colleges. In Oxford the proposal to touch it produced a loud cry of confiscation. This feeling, he adds, even in Oxford itself has since been "sensibly enfeebled"; there is hardly any one point upon which he demands change, with regard to which he does not expressly say, that the feeling in Oxford is now quite changed from that which existed in 1854.

It may seem a small thing, and yet we cannot think it without importance, that just at the time of that last "reform," the members of the University left off wearing their academical dress, at least in the streets. We are assured by men who cannot be mistaken that the way this change was brought about was, that as soon as the Commissioners, appointed by Government to report upon Oxford with a view to legislation, began their investigations, the undergraduate students took it into their heads that the authority of the rulers of the University (called in Oxford, Dons) was at an end; and that they therefore resolved not any longer to wear the academical habit. The "Dons," it seems, were chicken-hearted. There was no probability that a Commission of men so highly respectable, and many of whom, to say the least, had prepossessions so strong in favour of authority in general and of the authorities of Oxford in particular, would have failed to give them any support in their power in enforcing the existing statutes on this subject. But no such attempt was made. The precedent was set. The undergraduate cap and gown disappeared from the streets of Oxford; and the authorities, instead of checking their pupils, had the vile taste to follow their example. So far has the abandonment of the academical costume been carried, that on a late occasion, when two or three undergraduates were made members of a charitable committee, which met in the house of the Vice-Chancellor, and included himself and other high dignitaries, both old and young wore the dress of fashionable men in London at the moment. In itself this is not without importance, if it were only because a distinctive habit made the police of the streets much more easy. But what is involved in it goes far beyond that. It implies, at least, that the existing members of the University have lost the *esprit de corps* which of old made them feel it their highest honour to have a right to wear the distinctive habit of an ancient university. It was one of the most fatal marks of the degeneracy of the Roman people when they ceased to be proud of the toga.

A fact far more momentous, which the present controversy

has brought to light, is the actual state of religious teaching and moral practice in the University. Men are apt to imagine that whenever the religious teaching of Oxford differs from the general tone of religious belief and opinion in the Established Church, it retains far more of the old Catholic traditions. Thinking men of all opinions no doubt have long felt that in Protestant divines a high tone of authority is absurd and inconsistent. Such theologians boast, like the Hindoos, that the world stands firm supported on an elephant, and the elephant on a tortoise; but what sustains the tortoise they cannot say. No doubt at last the authoritative system of Oxford theology always rested upon air. But the teaching of the Oxford divines of the old school, so far as it was in any sense positive at all, consisted of fragments, precious though shattered, of Catholic theology. And experience proves what might reasonably have been expected, that some at least of the pupils, fed from their boyhood on this stolen diet, have sought its fulness in the true Bethlehem, "the house of bread," whose sons feast upon it daily, and without adulteration; and that many more have been the very best imitations of real Catholics which the Protestant world has produced. Thus the general opinion was confirmed, that theology stands at a much higher level in Oxford, than in the Church of England *diffusa per insulam*.

Such indeed was once the case; but it is so no more. So much is the change felt in Oxford itself, that the great object of the able and active men who desire to liberalize the University, and wholly to get rid of dogmatic teaching, is to deprive of all voice in the government of the University those graduates who no longer reside. Dr. Pusey and others of his school, they say, can at any time call up to vote a multitude of country clergy; and to prevent this they consider it almost the most important and essential measure of University Reform to vest the election of Chancellor, Proctors, Professors, Tutors, &c. &c., and the whole regulation of discipline and education, solely in the resident Professors, Tutors, &c., to the exclusion of the non-resident graduates, and especially of the clergy. This is demanded, expressly and avowedly on the ground, that the votes of "Convocation" (the body in which the non-resident graduates now vote) are influenced by "party spirit," i.e. High Church feeling. Time was when that feeling had its head-quarters in Oxford. Now, on the contrary, the tone of doctrine in the Church of England at large is felt to be a fetter and restraint upon the religious liberalism of Oxford. Upon this point the complaints both of the Rector of Lincoln and Mr. Goldwin Smith are loud. The election of men to professorial chairs when made by Convocation, depends, they

complain, "not on their fitness for the office, their reputation, or their past services, but on the support or opposition of the great theological party which knows of no merits but adhesion to its ranks." Both declare, with one voice, that if the government of the University were only confined to the existing Professors, College Tutors, &c., there would be no danger of "party spirit;" i. e., the fact of a man's rejecting any doctrines whatever, would not be considered by them as in any degree lessening his claim to any office whatever in the University.

This, be it observed, is the estimate formed by two very able and experienced men, both for many years resident is Oxford, and both strongly pronounced liberals in theology, as to the theological character, not of the race of teachers who may be expected to grow up in Oxford under the system which they wish to establish; but of those by whom the minds of the present generation of Oxford students are at this moment being formed and trained.

Nothing could more strongly mark the change which has passed upon Oxford since the period, comparatively very recent, when Dr. Newman's was the leading mind in Oxford, and when sober-minded members of the Establishment were afraid to trust their sons in the University lest they should imbibe views and tones of mind which might incline them towards the Catholic Church. Those sober-minded men themselves are suspected by the men whose minds chiefly sway the Oxford of our day. And as we shall see, they are suspected, not as having any idea of submitting to the Catholic Church, but merely as desiring to limit the range of free inquiry, and as maintaining that there are certain principles revealed and certain. Thirty years ago, the resident authorities in Oxford were too Catholic for the country clergy: the country clergy are now too Christian for the resident authorities in Oxford.

That the tone of Oxford had undergone this change, we might have inferred from what we have already seen. The men of the greatest intellectual influence in Oxford are, it appears, bent upon removing all theological restrictions upon those who are appointed to academical offices; although they are well aware that the removal of these restrictions implies that in many instances the most important offices will be held by avowed Atheists. Before such a state of things could be seriously contemplated,—not by external assailants of the University, but by men of great influence within her walls,—the battle must in fact have been gained by the party opposed to religious Faith.

The testimony of the writers before us to the actual state of

Oxford, is as strong as possible. We take first the Rector of Lincoln College.

His estimate of the condition, both moral and intellectual, of the great mass of the undergraduate students is as low as it can well be. We have already seen that he purposes wholly to abolish "the pass examination with its attendant pluckings, and the whole occupation of drilling men to 'get through.'" This class of men he estimates at 70 per cent. of those who obtain degrees at Oxford. The degrees gained by these, he says, "it is well understood, denote no grade of intellectual cultivation, but have a merely social value. They are an evidence that a youth has been able to afford not only the money, but, what is impossible to so many, the time to live three years among gentlemen, doing nothing, as a gentleman should" (p. 236). He proposes in future, while still inviting such men to the University, and opening to them lectures, libraries, and voluntary examinations, not to compel them to seek a degree, "under peril of disgrace if they do not obtain it;" and practically he would grant no degree to any men who would not now obtain honours. To the objection that this would make the "pass men" more idle than they are, he replies—

> that experience has sufficiently refuted the hypothesis that compulsory examinations produce habits of industry. The preparation for them takes up time; but the total habit of idleness is not thereby lessened. A distaste is engendered for books and reading them, and the youth compensates himself for the hateful hours spent upon his "grind," by taking all the rest of his time to "himself." This temper is not generated at the University, but is already formed in the boy before he appears as a man. It is chiefly characteristic of one or two great schools, but seems to have been propagated to others, which are not known as "public schools." Spoiled by the luxury of home, and early habits of indulgence, the young aristocrat has lost the power of commanding the attention, and is not only indisposed for, but incapable of, work. *Profound idleness and luxuriousness have corrupted his nature.** He is no longer capable of being attuned to anything. He is either the foppish exquisite of the drawing-room, or the barbarized athlete of the arena; and beyond these spheres, all life is to him a blank. Congregated mostly in one college, they maintain in it a tone of contempt for study, and a taste for boyish extravagance and dissipation, which infects the moral atmosphere far beyond their own circle. As they lead the fashion, and are conscious of their right to do so, in dress and manners, this social superiority gives weight and currency to their notions and opinions on moral conduct. From this source are propagated through

* The italics are ours.

the place ideas of style and expenditure incompatible with the means and future position of the general body of the young men" (p. 240).

Men must be taken as they are; and Mr. Pattison's testimony to the actual state of Oxford is so momentous that we must not stop to blame what it is impossible not to regret. But it is observable that in speaking of "morals" he seems, as a matter of course, to take for granted that bad morals are an evil, only when they lead to habits which will interfere with a young man's worldly career. A person with such a standard cannot be expected to measure, as we should wish, the tendency of the social condition of Oxford in 1868 to foster vices which, though they may not prevent success in a profession, will assuredly pollute the soul and alienate it from God. He gives us glimpses, however, as to this part of the subject. For instance, he is in favour of allowing students to lodge where they please, instead of obliging them to live within the walls of a college. His argument is that "the 1,350 medical students in London live where they like and select their own lodgings according to their means, tastes, or notions of convenience. When the student has entered them, his landlady is the only person who can place any restriction on his choice of company:" yet, he says, "the orderliness, industry, professional zeal, and serious deportment of the medical students, is sufficiently attested by those who know them;" and he draws a favourable comparison of them with "the wealthy, luxurious, indolent, and uninterested tenant of college rooms." When the medical students in London are set before us as a model which Oxford students ought to imitate, we are compelled to remember what we have heard of the gross impurity prevalent among them. This Mr. Pattison does not deny; but he asks "where is the college in the Universities which has not also its percentage of youthful sots and beardless boys with shattered nerves?" In a word, he does not estimate lower than others the prevalence of sins of impurity among medical students; but he is sure from his own experience that they are not less prevalent among the young men now residing within the college walls. Again, if we understand him, he considers such sins to be dreaded, only when so far indulged as to impair the bodily health.

Mr. Goldwin Smith's tone is slightly lower. If we understand him, he thinks impurity will be more prevalent when the young men lodge where they will, but that the evil of it is exaggerated by the Puseyite party. The only real moral evils, he seems to consider, are "idleness, expensiveness,

and luxury" (unquestionably very great ones); and he seems to think that, as far as these can be guarded against, even by the want of money to indulge in them, other vices may harmlessly take their chance.

The moral objections to the lodging-house system are of course entitled to respectful consideration: though they come to us in a rather questionable form; being evidently connected with the tendency to spread moral alarm as the precursor of the confessional.

The presumption is that lodger students will for the most part be poor, and therefore unable to indulge in expensive vices, as well as isolated from social temptations. Those who dwell so much on these questions of academical morality are apt to confine their view to one particular vice; but selfish luxury, abject indolence, gambling, gluttony, and drunkenness, from which dwellers in colleges enjoy no exemption, may surely defile the character as deeply as that to which, in the peculiar code of ecclesiastical ethics, the name of impurity is technically applied.

Events in our day move quickly. The controversy whether students are to be allowed to live outside the college walls has been settled, since the greater part of this article was written, by a vote repealing the Statute of Laud, by which every member of the University was obliged to belong to a college. Any man may now enjoy all the University has to give, without having at any time any connection with any college. The *Spectator* of June 20th truly says, that although the Church papers, the *Guardian* included, have not noticed this measure, "the change thus silently effected is the most important one (with the single exception of the establishment of an examination system seventy years ago) which has ever been carried out,—we may almost say, which has been proposed even in Oxford,—since the evil Laudian epoch."

Both the writers before us are examples of one great distinction which we have often observed between Protestants and Catholics. Catholics consider a good school or college chiefly as a place where the moral and religious character is formed better than it is likely to be, to say the least, in any average home. Protestants, we may say universally, consider it a place to which a boy must go, because if he was educated at home he would not be prepared to meet the difficulties of life and make his way in the world; but they always assume it as a matter of course that it is a place of great danger to the moral and religious character. We sincerely believe both estimates are well founded: the former, of course, applying to Catholic, the latter to Protestant, places of education. In this spirit Mr. Pattison, while contending against the proposal of giving degrees to persons who pass an examination without

requiring residence in Oxford, admits that this solution, to which he rightly objects on other grounds, "saves expense and time, and preserves from danger and social contamination."

Mr. Pattison confirms all other accounts in saying that one great change has passed upon Oxford of late years.

> If any proof could convince the advocates of intramural residence of the futility of "college discipline," such a proof might be found in the mastery which the athletic furor has established over all minds in this place. So entirely are the tutors beaten by it, that, to cover the disgrace of defeat, they are obliged to affect to patronize and encourage the evil. I know, therefore, that on this head I must look for no sympathy from college tutors. I appeal from the tutors to parents and schoolmasters. Can parents and schoolmasters possibly go on any longer pretending to think that cricket, boating, and athletics, as now conducted, are merely recreations, are only the proper and necessary relaxation, which fills up the intervals of lecture and private study? It is quite time that this delusion should be dispelled. They have ceased to be amusements: they are organized into a system of serious occupation. What we call incapacity in young men is often no more than an incapacity of attention to learning, because the mind is preoccupied with a more urgent and all-absorbing call upon its energies. As soon as the summer weather sets in, the colleges are disorganized; study, even the pretence of it, is at an end. Play is thenceforward the only thought. They are playing all day, preparing for it, or refreshing themselves after its fatigues. There is a hot breakfast and lounge from 9 to 10 a.m.; this is called training. At 12 the drag which is to carry them out to the cricket-ground begins its rounds, and the work of the day is over. I have called the academical year, under the existing arrangement, a year of 168 days. It is actually not so long. Some five or six weeks must be deducted from the summer term, and charged to the vacation side of the account (p. 316).

He proposes, as the only way of meeting this evil, that term should end on the 1st of June.

Upon this subject we may extract a testimony from a recent number of the *Spectator*. This is a paper which, though honourably distinguished from most of the organs of the English Protestant press by earnestness about religious interests as it understands them, yet is effectually secured from any suspicion of sympathy with Catholics, by a hatred almost fanatical of the very idea of a Christian priesthood; and which could not fail to sympathize with the school of "muscular Christianity." It said (August 29, 1868):—

> Not a few of those who, for the last ten years, have been asserting most vehemently that play should hold equal rank with work in the system of education, are dismayed at the success which their gospel has achieved.

Then, after complaining of the exclusive pursuit of "Athletics," it says:—

Any one who compares the Oxford of to-day with the Oxford of twenty years ago, will observe that one of the most offensive features of the place is at least less prominent than it was. The idlers who, after a morning spent over ponderous breakfasts and in billiard-rooms, made their elaborate toilette and lounged forth half tipsy "to do the High," have many of them found occupations more healthful, if not more congenial to the objects of a university. Practising the "long jump" or the "quarter of a mile" is not an academical pursuit; but it is at least better than ogling servant-maids or talking with hostlers. As long as the University consents to receive youths who are students only in name, who come to it corrupted by the associations of wealthy uncultured homes and aristocratic schools, she must be content to welcome any influence which will counteract the evils they introduce. The barbarized athlete of the arena is at least a more desirable inmate than the fop and the profligate.

It is to this state of things that Mr. Pattison refers when he says, as we have seen, that with regard to 70 per cent. of those who take degrees at Oxford, the only alternative is between being "either the foppish exquisite of the drawing-room, or the barbarized athlete of the arena." Of the remaining 30 per cent., he says, they "receive here an education which benefits them in intellect and character," and that "as this result represents the total product of the University as it is at present constituted, it is natural and desirable that it should be closely scanned and criticised." In another place he says, "We must not shut our eyes to the fact that the honour-students are the only students who are undergoing any educational process which it can be considered as a function of a university either to impart or to exact" (p. 230). The present state of their studies and the reforms which he wishes to introduce into them, Mr. Pattison discusses at length.

We need hardly say that as an accomplished scholar he by no means joins in the vulgar cry against classical scholarship. He understands and recognises the fact that culture and general training, as well as the communication of knowledge, are important parts of university education. We must pass over all he says on this subject and on the "revival of the faculties," and call attention to his remarks on the present state and effect of the examination in the schools of "Litteræ Humaniores." He lays it down as his first principle that "the old double-first, with its merits and its defects, is now a thing of the past" (p. 260). The really important part of the present examination, he says, is "the examination in philosophy." His remarks upon this deserve much attention. He says, "What must excite our wonder is the boundless space over which it ranges. There seems to be scarcely any of the debateable questions of politics,

morals, and metaphysics, on which the candidate may not be asked to give his views. The horizon of the examination is as wide as that of philosophical literature." As for the answers to these questions—

> The quantity of original writing produced in the time [three hours] is of itself surprising. But the quality is still more so. The best papers are no mere schoolboy's themes spun out with hackneyed commonplaces, but full of life and thought, abounding with all the ideas with which modern society and its best current literature are charged. So totally false are those platform denunciations of the Oxford classical system, which assume that it lands its alumni in old-world notions, and occupies him with matters remote from modern interests! I do not believe that there exists at this moment in Europe any public institution for education, where what are called "the results of modern thought" on all political and speculative subjects—the philosophy of religion, perhaps, alone excepted—are so entirely at home, as they are in our Honour examinations in the school of "Litteræ Humaniores," the examination, be it observed, not as prescribed by statute, but as actually worked (p. 291).

He thinks, however, that this part of the system "has done its work," and cannot be continued on its present system.

> It appears to me to be a fatal objection to our "philosophical" cause, that it encourages speculation not based upon knowledge. The fluent deductions and wealth of "thought" which the best candidates have at command, overpower and dazzle us, till we ask ourselves the question, By what mental process were these brilliant speculations arrived at and appropriated? (p. 292).

We must cut short remarks which well deserve attention. Mr. Pattison's conclusion is, that this system is "enervating and inefficient," because it gives "the net result of inquiry without the inquiry which leads to it."

> As mental training, it is surely most unsound. It cannot be called "philosophical." It is "rhetoric expended upon philosophical subjects." It is the reappearance in education of the σοφιστική of the schools of Greece condemned by all the wise. Its highest outcome is the "able editor" who, under protection of the anonymous press, instructs the public upon all that concerns their highest interests, with a dogmatism and an assurance proportioned to his utter ignorance of the subject he is assuming to teach. In the schools of Oxford is now taught in perfection the art of writing "leading articles" (p. 295).

However, while thus in some respects criticising the "philosophical element in the school of Litteræ Humaniores," he is anxious to defend it from the attack of a formidable enemy. This enemy is "the Anglican party in the National Church," who have denounced the system of training in that school

as "dangerous to faith." One of them, he adds (referring to the DUBLIN REVIEW for October, 1867), is quoted as having said "education in Oxford is infidel to the core;" and he mentions that Catholics feel the same fear.

For my own part, I think the fears of the Catholic party, whether within or without the National Establishment, are *substantially* well founded. With one qualification, however. Dr. Pusey, living on the spot, can discriminate between the "pass" and the "class" curriculum. There is, he is well aware, no danger incurred by a candidate for a pass degree. The Roman Catholic authorities may be relieved from any apprehension as to the "faith" of the students of their Church, provided they confine their studies to what is required for the degree. There is no danger to principles or faith in a "pass" course, because such a course is not "education." It does not reach the intellect and the soul. I appeal to any of the Catholic students, who have taken the ordinary degree since 1854, to say if anything has been taught them officially which has been calculated to interfere with their religious belief. Nor even in the honour curriculum for the other schools is danger supposed to lurk. It is the school of classics (Litterae Humaniores) only, and specifically the philosophical subjects which have developed themselves within that school, which alarm the Church party. This the party must either conquer, or be content to see all the minds that come under the influence of that training—that is, all the minds of any promise that pass through Oxford—hopelessly lost to them. They are beginning to turn their efforts to overhaul and remodel the method and subjects of this school. Such is the ascendancy of the party at this moment in the councils* of the University that it is probable they will be successful (p. 298).

Mr. Pattison goes on to disclaim any wish "to see any part of our training either maintained or changed for any such reason as that it is hostile or favourable to the aims of any

* As Mr. Pattison has already explained, not as among the resident authorities by whom the actual teaching is carried on, for both he and Mr. Goldwin Smith have over and over again assured us that among *them* there is not the least danger of what they are pleased to call "party spirit." He is referring (1) to the country clergy non-resident in the University, who, under the "reform" of 1854, retain their votes in its councils, i.e. in Convocation; and (2) to the parochial clergy of Oxford and the immediate neighbourhood, who retain votes in the other academical council, called Congregation, which is confined to residents. It is to get rid of the influence of the "Church party" that both Mr. Pattison and Mr. Goldwin Smith are urging that Parliament should deprive non-residents, and residents unconnected with the teaching of the University, of their votes. They agree that were this done, the "liberal" party would be absolute masters of the University. The fear expressed by Mr. Pattison in the text does not mean that he expects that "the Church or Catholicising party" actually will obtain its object by excluding sceptical teaching from the honour examinations, but that it will obtain it if Parliament does not interfere. It is to prevent its obtaining that object, to retain the present sceptical character of the University, and to develop it still farther in the same direction, that the interference of Parliament is now called for.

party in Church or State." There is, he says, "a principle at stake."

We would earnestly beg every reader who feels any interest in this momentous subject to read carefully the pages in which Mr. Pattison develops this "principle," and which our space compels us to condense as fairly as we can. They would serve our purpose much better than any condensation of them can do. He lays it down as a fundamental principle of academical education (as contrasted with that of "the nursery, the home, and the school") that the student should come to it, regarding no one proposition, "social, moral, metaphysical, or physical," as "settled," before education commences. Mr. Pattison's position as a clergyman is obviously his reason for not adding the word "religious;" * but no one who reads the context can doubt that he includes "religious" under "social, moral, and metaphysical." He means, in fact (what his argument clearly requires), that there can be no academical education, unless the youth who is subjected to it begins studies by resolving that he will consider no proposition of any sort upon any subject as settled, until it has been proved by "an investigation based upon an exhaustive knowledge of the phenomena in each case: in ascertaining the relations of which phenomena, all the powers of reason have been employed." His objection to the present philosophical teaching of Oxford is that it does teach some propositions as "settled." These propositions indeed, he says, "differ widely from those taught in the Catholic schools," but in the principle of regarding any proposition as settled the two are agreed. "To the Catholic youth the conclusions he is taught come recommended by the 'authority' of the teachers and of the Church. To our students, the conclusions taught come recommended for adoption by the authority of fashion, or the current turn of thinking of living philosophical minds, and of the prevailing philosophical literature."

These last words show what the Oxford schools now teach—i.e., "the propositions recommended by the current tone of philosophical literature." Mr. Pattison's only objection is that they do not sufficiently require of the student to place himself in a position of absolute scepticism about everything. As the examination now is, however, he strongly urges it must come into conflict with any system which proposes to provide *à priori*

* It is to one or two omissions of this sort that we have already referred as marking exactly the degree of effect produced by the subscriptions still required at Oxford. They prevent some men from speaking quite as plainly as others.

conclusions in any branch of knowledge relating to nature, man, and society. Any system or corporation which supposes itself to be in possession of such propositions may propose them to its pupils as true, and require their acceptance on the authority of the teacher. The Roman Catholic Church does suppose and profess this (p. 300).

On this ground he denies that such a thing as a Catholic university or Catholic university education can possibly exist. "It may comprise mathematics, mechanics, the rules and graces of composition and style, taste, and literature and art. It cannot really embrace science and philosophy."—"The Catholic authorities, therefore, cannot allow their youth to share our universities. They desire a separate university, not that they may conduct education in it, but that they may stop education at a certain state"—i.e., that they conduct education on the assumption that there are some truths revealed by God, and which are not therefore to be approached by every student in a spirit of entire scepticism. And now for the Puseyites:—

This position of the Roman Catholic body towards the Universities of Great Britain and Ireland must be also the position of any other party which conceives itself to be in possession of any important moral, social, metaphysical, or physical truth, which has been arrived at in any other way than by an exhaustive investigation of the pertinent facts. Such a party must necessarily be made uneasy *by the present state of the Oxford schools.* It cannot consistently with its principles rest till it has either introduced into our system the teaching of propositions in moral and social science on authority as true, or has eliminated science altogether.

Plain-spoken as this is, it is clear enough that there is still a degree of reserve. We are not told exactly what is now taught in Oxford as "the current turn of thinking of living philosophical minds." What we are told is, that it is utterly and hopelessly in conflict with the belief of any man or body of men who hold that there are any moral or social or metaphysical truths which may be taught by authority as true—i.e., as revealed. It is on this ground that Mr. Pattison strongly lays it down that neither Catholics nor Puseyites can pass through the honour schools in Oxford, even as they now are, without being hopelessly lost to the Catholic Church or to the Puseyite party respectively. We may hope that in this he goes too far, and that some may escape without final ruin of their faith; but beyond all question he proves that no Catholic can be subjected to that examination or prepared for it without the most imminent danger of permanently losing his faith.

Such then is the distinct testimony of both our authors. Under existing circumstances, every Oxford student either receives there no education at all, or receives there an education destructive of all belief in revealed dogma.

On one point only, it seems to us, Mr. Pattison very materially undervalues the danger to a Catholic student at Oxford. He considers his faith in no danger, unless he becomes a candidate for the honours examination. The opinion, if deliberate, betrays a wonderful ignorance of human nature. The subjects of his examination, and of his studies in preparation for it, do not directly touch the Faith; and so far it is true that "what has been taught him officially has not been calculated to interfere with his religious belief." But can Mr. Pattison really doubt, that a youth of eighteen, even though not himself specially given to intellectual pursuits, must by degrees be influenced by living continually in a society in which every man at all respected for intellect, whether among the teachers or the pupils, assumes as a first principle that the Catholic doctrine on faith is intellectually below contempt? Or, again, can any one doubt that the student residing in a society, the moral tone of which is merely to amuse oneself and gain a social position, without even the protection of being at work, can, without a most special grace, escape the imminent danger of moral pollution? We need hardly tell Catholics that not unfrequently it is through moral pollution that faith itself is endangered and lost.

The picture of Oxford given by Mr. Pattison is but too strongly verified by all the indications given us in other quarters. For instance, Mr. Goldwin Smith (whose nerves we imagine are not likely to be very easily shaken by such a phenomenon) speaks of the present state of Oxford as "what may truly be called a fearful crisis of religious faith" (p. 29).

Mr. Coleridge's Bill has led to a discussion of the actual state of things, which has overflowed into the columns of the *Guardian*. Week by week, for several months, letters appeared there which we may be sure, from the cautious character of that paper, gave only a very imperfect glimpse of the real state of things. But even the glimpse thus given was truly portentous. Specially important were a series of letters, written with his name by Mr. Liddon; a man whose position and character carry great weight. To gain the full impression from his letters, they should be read through in order. We can here quote only a few detached passages. He declares, "When the existing moral restraints (i.e., the subscriptions) have been altogether removed, we must, I fear, expect an outbreak of cultured scepticism, for which

our past experience affords no parallel."—"What we have chiefly to fear is the maintenance of State connection till the period when a secularized State education shall have sapped all faith at either extremity of society."—"Should Mr. Coleridge's Bill become law, a majority of our professors will still in all probability be Christians, or at least indisposed to attack Christianity. But it is also reasonable to suppose that there will be some professors among us of a very different kind. Considering the rapid advances of Positivism, more or less disguised, within the last three or four years, it may fairly be said that a Comtist," i.e. Atheist, "professor of history, for example, is by no means an improbable personage in the 'free' Oxford of the future."

In his next letter, Mr. Liddon, after speaking of Mr. Coleridge's Bill as "rendering legal and moral the position of fellows who entirely reject Christianity," goes on, "It may be said that the dreaded evil already exists." He admits this: but pleads that the subscriptions required by law make it "comparatively harmless;" and thus goes on. "That the removal of subscription will lead to an immediate conviction of the truth of Christianity on the part of all persons who are teachers or professors, appears to me at least too sanguine an anticipation." In answer to this, the Hon. and Rev. W. H. Lyttelton, Rector of Hagley, writes thus, "Mr. Liddon holds *in terrorem* over us the vision of Positivist," i.e. Atheist, "professors delivering lectures in our universities. But is there not another view of the case not sufficiently considered? The *Positivist opinions are already held, and most effectively propagated* (as who shall deny they are?) by conversation, by books, through innumerable channels in the universities. Is it not far better and safer in the end that they should be advocated openly, that we may be able to deal with them equally openly?" "I cannot but believe that a very large portion of the scepticism and unbelief *which is now poisoning the minds of our youths* would vanish before a more believing policy." Mr. Liddon again writes: "It has been hinted that my argument proceeds upon an exaggerated estimate of the prevalence of earnest anti-Christian and anti-theistic convictions within the University. Upon so painful and invidious a question it is impossible to enter into detail; but even a non-resident, like my old friend Mr. Lake, is well aware of the real state of the case." He then quotes an expression of Mr. Goldwin Smith to the same effect. Mr. Lake, a distinguished man of what was considered in Oxford five-and-twenty years ago the liberal school, and a favourite pupil of Dr. Arnold, had written (a week earlier) that he understands why, in speaking of Oxford, "religious men should shrink

from acknowledging a state of things, which they hope to be only transitory, and from which they are unwilling to draw the veil." The real evil, he says, is not the presence of religious dissenters; it is, "*that which already exists increases, and is not likely to be diminished*—an utterly unsettled, not to say *anti-Christian, religious teaching*. No one who knows anything of Oxford can have much doubt on this point." He, like Mr. Goldwin Smith, hopes that the passing of Mr. Coleridge's Bill may lead to a "restoration of belief." "There would perhaps in many colleges be an active believing party and an active unbelieving one. But though this is not a pleasing state of things to contemplate, I would ask Mr. Liddon whether *something very like it does not exist already*." Mr. Liddon replies that he is "no prophet," that he does not anticipate "revival of belief" from the passing of Mr. Coleridge's Bill. "On the contrary, I expect a great increase of unbelief. As matters stand at present, the absence of a moral right to teach unbelief does practically lessen the influence of such teaching very considerably. The new Bill will confer this moral right on unbelieving," i.e. Atheist, "teachers." And he anticipates philosophical language in the lecture-room, which of itself suggests that the religious proceedings in the chapel are an antiquated absurdity, "postulating a theory of existence which science condemns." What is curious, both he and Mr. Lake, and others, consider that things are likely to mend after a few years "if things are left as they are." Thus Mr. Hadden thinks that the current forms of scepticism are temporary things; and that perhaps "the present phase of opinion, as far as Oxford is concerned, may or may not continue even for another half-dozen years." This expectation is apparently founded, on some notion that there is at present in Oxford an overwhelming flood of unbelief, which must in the nature of things lead to some reaction. We should have mentioned that Mr. Liddon proposes, as a "sop to Cerberus," to give up some colleges to dissenters instead of allowing the whole to be secularized.

We might considerably add to these quotations: but we will conclude with one from a letter by "An Oxford Undergraduate." He writes, "I have seen in your late numbers several letters about 'letting in Goliath'* into the Universities, and making undergraduates spectators of perpetual

* This phrase had been used by a former writer to express his opinion that the atheistic teachers will be less dangerous when their position is legalized. We may observe here, that although the Undergraduate's letter is necessarily anonymous, we have the guarantee of the editor to the fact of its being written by a *bonâ-fide* resident undergraduate.

contests between the champions of truth and heresy. As one of those for whose benefit the exhibition is proposed, I cannot refrain from venturing a few remarks. . . . While the champions are fighting, the two hosts [i.e., the undergraduates] will not stand by to see the battle, but all will be fighting among themselves. The encounters among the professors will create factions among undergraduates. The line will be strongly marked between Churchmen and freethinkers; the academical successes of each side will be contrasted; and the more numerous and successful will gain more adherents. Now, we have quite enough of this already, at least in Oxford. *No undergraduate* who mixes at all in the society of the cleverer men of his year *can fail to have a good deal of real hard fighting for his principles, if he has any. He has to face freethinking* in the form in which it comes home to him with most power; and is, of course, often unable successfully to rebut attacks upon what he believes to be true. This, no doubt, is a good trial. I would not shrink from it, but to increase it would be to *overtax strength already fully tried.* I can assure you that Oxford is not now, for an undergraduate, one of those 'quiet places' and 'undisturbed sanctuaries' of which Mr. Gregory [in a letter a fortnight before] speaks. There is no fear of a thinking man having only one side presented to him; and most heartily will many of us thank all those who try to avert from us any addition to our difficulties. *We are unskilled in the defences of the faith, which are not so easily learnt as the cant of infidelity.* If we study theology much, we must abandon all hope of distinction and give more colour to the notion that a Churchman seldom gets a first. In short, I venture to think that those who wish to give us more intellectual fighting do not know how much we have got already."

In concluding these quotations, we cannot help saying a few words to Catholic parents who are hesitating whether or not to send sons to Oxford, and much more to those who are sending them. Considering indeed that these latter persons go directly counter to the emphatic warning of the Holy See and of the English Episcopate, they are not likely to be influenced by any appeal to their Catholic principle. Yet we will ask them this simple question: "Do they really wish and intend that their sons, in the first opening of manhood, should be plunged by their act in a society such as that described in the last letter we have quoted?"

What we have quoted from the work of the Rector of Lincoln College seems to us to dispose of another proposal lately made, that in order to obtain for Catholic youths the

benefits of Oxford and Cambridge without the dangers of residence, we should agitate for the admission of non-resident candidates to Oxford and Cambridge degree examinations. Now under any circumstances such a proposal would be most objectionable on the grounds stated by Monsignore Woodlock in his valuable pamphlet on "Catholic University Education in Ireland." See our last number, pp. 235–237. The Rector of the Catholic University objects most justly to a certain scheme, according to which a mixed university board would prescribe to a Catholic college the curriculum of its studies. But let it be remembered that, according to that very plan which he opposes, the university board *would* be *mixed*, and Catholic bishops would have a potential voice in influencing its decisions: whereas if Oxford or Cambridge were the seat of examination, the higher education of Catholics would be subject to the absolute control of a non-Catholic body. Far better, we are convinced, that they should continue to receive no higher education at all,—serious as that calamity would be,—than that they should receive an education of which non-Catholics prescribe every detail.

On some future occasion we shall probably revert to this argument at greater length: for few things constitute a more anxious fact of the times, than the blindness of many Catholics to the fearful evil which would inevitably result, from connecting our higher education in any manner or degree whatsoever with non-Catholic bodies. But really, as regards our immediate purpose, there is no necessity for dwelling on this principle. We have the highest authority, as the reader has seen, for saying that the honour examination in Oxford is now directly and even confessedly infidel; that it takes for granted infidel premises; and requires any candidate to steep his mind with, and adopt as his own, directly infidel arguments and principles. This is the statement not of its opponents, but of its admirers and supporters. We can but profoundly pity those Catholic parents who, having sons of real intellectual power, choose (in the teeth of authority) to expose them to this blighting influence.

Our lot is cast in times when in this matter of the education of their children, and in many other matters, those who prefer the City of God to the city of this world have to make sacrifices for their choice. Was there ever a time (even among those to which at first sight such a description would seem least applicable) to which something of the kind did not apply? At any rate, the descendants and representatives of those who for the sake of the Faith suffered, generation after generation, for themselves and their children all the injustice of the penal laws;

exclusion from every career which promised emolument, distinction, and fame, and from the friendship and society of their equals, must, we think, be ashamed to shrink from their greatly diminished portion of the same cup. In fact, it is only because the privations and injustice we are called to bear are so much less than they were, that we are called upon to answer one way or other such questions as that which now comes before us on the education of our children. It is because Englishmen are at last offering to acknowledge and receive us as countrymen and brethren, that we are called upon to decide whether, upon their terms, we can accept the invitation. The time perhaps may never come when a Catholic can do his duty to God and His Church without worldly sacrifice. Whether it does or not, one thing we think can hardly be doubted, that it is not yet come, and that we of this generation are little likely to see it.

Dr. Pusey's letter to the President of the Wesleyan Conference, written after this article was finished, has called new attention to its subject. We need hardly say, how strongly it confirms all we have said as to the present state of Oxford, as well as its future. The future effect of Mr. Coleridge's Bill Dr. Pusey on the whole thinks even greater than we are inclined to believe. In the letter of explanation which on August 20, he addressed to the *Times*, he says almost in our own words,—"Mr. Coleridge's Bill involves a principle of far more moment and of far greater extent, than the proposal to disestablish the Irish Church." He is convinced that the Bill "can be in the interest of no religious dissenting body, and of no dissenting body at all except the Socinians: and not even of them permanently," because their system "must go downwards towards Deism, even while it continues to call itself Christian." But he adds:—"This is a time of increasing consistency. People will take their side more or less with the old creeds of the Church, or with some form of religion, which (whatever it may call itself) will be essentially atheistic or pantheistic. The effect of Mr. Coleridge's Bill would be to legitimize this conflict within the University of Oxford. The body whose interests it would advance would be those whose indistinct belief is ever being precipitated downwards; who hardly know what they themselves believe; and who, under the name of progress, are ever retrograding to the hopeless scepticism before our Lord came."

Such is to be, according to Dr. Pusey, the Oxford of the future; for that the measure in question is sure to be carried no one doubts. But while he attributes all this future

mischief to Mr. Coleridge's Bill, he does not deny that in truth all he dreads has already taken place. No testimony against the present state of Oxford could be stronger or more unbiassed; for as he is contending for things as they are, his natural temptation must be to make the best of its actual state, and compare it with the evils he fears for the future. But he is too honest thus to deceive himself. While he objects that Mr. Coleridge's Bill will authorize Pantheists and Atheists to teach their peculiar tenets to the students in Oxford, he admits that they are actually teaching them already, in spite of the required subscription. Only he hopes that if the law remains unaltered, there may be a reaction in favour of Christianity; while he fears that the alteration of the law may tend to prevent that reaction. Mr. Coleridge's Bill, which authorizes pantheistic and atheistic teaching, Dr. Pusey admits will not make Oxford worse than it actually is, he only fears that it will prevent its getting better. These are his words. After speaking of "hopeless scepticism" as lying before us, he adds: "It is true that this (although a diminishing party among our young men) does exist among us. Some have gone far further than this—to the denial of Christianity itself, of their own free agency, and of God. But they are in a false position in a university which has any test or common faith at all. The effect of Mr. Coleridge's Bill would be to legitimize their position and acknowledge them among the teachers of our Christian youth." When suggesting the substitution of subscription to the Nicene Creed instead of that to the Thirty-nine Articles, he says:—

> If the universities are to possess (as they do not) the confidence of English parents, there must be some guarantee that they shall not be propagandas of unbelief. Subscription to the Articles does this in a degree. Subscription to the Nicene Creed, while more limited in extent, would, as far as it extends, be even a stricter test; because, being newly imposed, no one could contend that it is obsolete. And it is a fashion among modern advocates of so-called free thought in Oxford to say that subscription to the Articles is an obsolete form; and so, that they may be subscribed by those who believe nothing of their contents, *not even the being of a God.* But anything so patently unnatural and dishonest must pass away. It would be the result (I do not say the object) of Mr. Coleridge's Bill *to perpetuate the present state of things in Oxford, which no Christian would say is satisfactory,* and to legalize the position of persons whose influence is diminishing, and, if the University is left to itself, will pass away.

Dr. Pusey's account of the present state of Oxford is alarming enough; but we are assured, on reliable authority, that it

falls short of the truth, and that in several respects. He knows very well how active infidelity is in Oxford; but his sanguine temperament, and the prejudices natural to his position, keep him from realizing fully the extent and strength of the infidel party in Oxford, or the utter impotence of Anglicanism to meet it. It is difficult to suppose that the dangers to faith would, or possibly *could*, be increased by the proposed changes in the constitution of the University. For the last ten years the college tutors who have taught philosophy with anything like success or reputation have been rationalists more or less advanced. On these men the Anglican Church has been unable to put any check whatever. We doubt if there has been for years a single case of a rationalist refusing to subscribe the Articles or to declare himself a member of the Established Church, from conscientious scruples. Things which are "patently dishonest," do not always "pass away," and people soon cease to wonder at things of everyday occurrence. Nor does the fact that they hold their fellowships in virtue of their subscription deter such persons from inculcating the principles of unbelief in the most open manner. One fellow of a college very lately taught pure Pantheism in his philosophical lectures, and avowed in so many words to one of his pupils that the principles he propounded were wholly inconsistent with belief in a personal God. Another casually told a person with whom he had a slight acquaintance that he had long ceased to believe in the immortality of the soul. A third, in the common-room of his own college, recommended Xenophon's "Memorabilia" as a book for *Pass* lecturers, on the ground that it was a good means of unsettling all previous convictions. All of these men were distinguished members of most distinguished colleges, all were men of matured minds, and all continued to partake, "for example's sake," of the Protestant Communion. Not one of them had any special notoriety for the extravagance of his opinions. Indeed, they were moderate and sober-minded, compared with many of their associates. We could have given many worse samples of Oxford teaching, but we have purposely confined ourselves to instances which may fairly be called typical.

But we are told that the influence of this party is "diminishing." It is true that Mr. Liddon has done something by university sermons and personal intercourse for the cause of Protestant "orthodoxy." But we assert, without fear of contradiction from those who have a right to speak, that on reading men he has had little appreciable effect; and that out of the small number belonging to this class whom his

influence has even touched, two or three have passed into the Catholic Church, while one or two more have drifted away into some of the current forms of unbelief. Tractarianism still retains its hold on some cultivated minds who remember the time when it was a great intellectual movement; it has attractions for many unintellectual men of true piety; but for the present generation of Oxford men, if they take the trouble to read or think, it is simply an exploded folly. This much is certain, that the supposed diminution of free-thinking has not produced the slightest change in the teaching of the public tutors or the system of the schools. A candidate for classical honours must know something of the writings of the Positivist, school, and particularly of Mr. Mill's "Logic" and attack on Sir William Hamilton; and he must have read the "Republic," the "Ethics," and the "Fragments" of the early Greek philosophers in the light of pantheistic writers like Zeller and Schwegler, or of those who retail their ideas in English. Butler is practically forgotten, and no one who hopes for honours has any time to acquaint himself with the principles of Christian philosophy. Oxford is, beyond all doubt, a more dangerous place than the mixed universities abroad, because in the former Catholic doctrine is absolutely ignored. And we doubt whether even a purely Protestant university like Berlin presents an adequate parallel to its dangers. At Oxford education is principally in the hands of young men, and therefore is conducted with an amount of Liberal bigotry and proselytizing zeal peculiar to the place. The examinations are less tolerant than they are abroad. Above all, a young man is more likely to sink into infidelity unawares. He has little opportunity for independent research; he naturally accepts the conclusions of the popular tutors and professors, and he becomes habituated, hardly knowing what he is about, to principles and methods which are inconsistent with the very idea of a revelation, nay, of a personal God.

Those then who would have Catholic youths sent to Oxford as it is, would choose a university as to which we are assured by its defenders, while arguing against legislative change, that it is already for the time all that they fear it may be made permanently by the proposed law—i.e., in Dr. Pusey's own words, "Socinian, sceptical, deistic, atheistic." As for the future—we are no prophets, and therefore we must leave our readers to judge for themselves. Let them think then for themselves what reasonable chance there is, that a university, which has fallen into this state while *retaining* subscription to some creed, will really recover from it when, as must so speedily happen, all such subscription is abolished.

Art. V.—F. BOTTALLA ON PAPAL SUPREMACY.

The Pope and the Church considered in their Mutual Relations with reference to the Errors of the High Church Party in England. By the Rev. Paul Bottalla, S.J., Professor of Theology in S. Beuno's College, North Wales. London: Burns, Oates, & Co.

DR. PUSEY, in his Eirenicon, laid his stress almost equally on two principal particulars of Catholic doctrine; that which concerns the Most Holy Virgin, and that which concerns Papal supremacy and infallibility. Hitherto however Catholic replies have turned very far more on the former than on the latter subject. And that with excellent reason. As regards argument indeed, one part of the Eirenicon is on the same level with another; never did more confused and misty reasoning proceed from an author of name and position, than is exhibited by the whole of Dr. Pusey's objections, whether against the worship of our Blessed Lady or against Catholic doctrine on Papal prerogatives. But on the former subject, apart altogether from argument, Dr. Pusey produced an array of alleged facts and quotations, which tended greatly to perplex and mystify, not only Protestant inquirers, but Catholics themselves; and it became therefore the duty of Catholic controversialists carefully to examine these quotations. It turned out that the most startling of them were taken from the work of a very young writer, which was put on the Index almost as soon as it appeared; and as to the rest, various Catholic writers—we were ourselves in the number—applied themselves to the easy task of showing that these facts and quotations, when rightly understood, present no difficulty whatever. The only part of the Eirenicon, which possessed the slightest controversial value, was sufficiently met when this task had been accomplished.

At the same time, since Dr. Pusey's reasoning, notwithstanding its weakness, has really found acceptance with a large number of his coreligionists,—and since these are the very persons whom, of all external to the Church, there is the greatest hope of persuading,—excellent service is done by methodically encountering it. This has been done by F. Harper on the Immaculate Conception and on Transubstantiation. But, as F. Bottalla observes in his preface, at last "the two fundamental points of the entire controversy" are Papal

supremacy and infallibility. "By these, and by these alone, can it be decided, and these once settled, all minor difficulties will speedily vanish." F. Bottalla's present volume is on the former of these, the supremacy; but another is to follow (p. 3) on infallibility. The two subjects indeed are most closely connected; and Papal supremacy is a most important—nay, almost a sufficient—premiss for Papal infallibility. If Dr. Pusey were ever to admit—as we fully hope he one day will—that God has endowed the Pope with supreme power over the whole Church, he would hardly think of denying that this power extends to inward convictions as well as to outward acts; he would hardly think of denying that the Pontiff has the prerogative of obliging a Christian's interior assent to his doctrinal decrees. Still less would Dr. Pusey dream of denying, that those doctrinal decrees, which all Christians are required by God thus unreservedly to accept, must be infallibly true. However, as we have said, this particular question of infallibility is not discussed in F. Bottalla's present volume.

We were a little surprised two years ago (see our number for October 1866, p. 536) to find F. Ramière expressing a doubt whether any theologian would speak of Papal "supremacy." The recognized theological term, he argued, is "primacy," and not "supremacy." We pointed out in reply that "de *Summo* Pontifice," "on the *Supreme* Pontiff," is the title of every theological treatise on the Pope. Again, the terms "Supreme See" and "Supreme Power" are applied to the Roman Pontiff in the Council of Trent (Sessions VI. and XIV.). Moreover the term "primacy," in argument with Dr. Pusey and his friends, would be so ambiguous as to be absolutely useless. As F. Bottalla points out (p. 5), they *admit* a primacy in S. Peter's See, but say that it is a primacy of precedence, and not of jurisdiction. Well, the word "supremacy" is simply synonymous with "primacy of jurisdiction;" and it is accordingly used throughout by our author to express the doctrine which he maintains against his opponent.

Passing from words to things, it is no easy matter to discover from the Eirenicon what is that view of the Church's constitution, which Dr. Pusey defends as his own and opposes to the Roman. He admits throughout apparently—he would certainly be a bold man if he denied it—that the constitution originally given by God was to remain unaltered to the end of time; but when called on to explain what that constitution *is*, he gives two replies, which differ immeasurably more from *each other* than *one* does from the Roman Catholic. In one

place (Eirenicon, p. 63) he implies that the Church, by divine appointment, is one corporate society, aristocratically governed: a statement which leaves his readers in a state of bewilderment, as to how he can make out *himself* to be a member of the Catholic Church; or indeed how he can account the Catholic Church to be still existing upon earth. But F. Bottalla adopts the wisest possible means of ascertaining Dr. Pusey's true position. Dr. Pusey has fortunately identified himself with Tract XC.; and that tract is the production of one, as remarkable for clearness and perspicuity of expression as Dr. Pusey is for qualities the very reverse.

"There is nothing in the Apostolic system which gives any authority to the Pope over the Church which it does not give to a bishop. . . . . It is altogether an ecclesiastical arrangement; not a point de fide, but of expedience, custom, or piety, which cannot be claimed as if the Pope *ought* to have it, any more than on the other hand the King could of divine right claim the supremacy. . . . . Bishop is superior to bishop *only in rank, and not in power*, and the Bishop of Rome, the head of the Catholic world, is not the centre of unity, except as having a primacy of order.

"The portions of the Church need not otherwise have been united together for their essential completeness than as being descended from one original. They are like a number of colonies sent out from a mother country. . . . . *Each church is independent of all the rest*, and is to act on the principle of what may be called 'episcopal independence'; except indeed so far as the civil power unites any number of them together."

Such is the unmistakable doctrine of Tract XC. quoted by F. Bottalla in p. 4, and such is the doctrine which that theologian sets himself to oppose.

It would be absolutely incredible, were not the fact certain, that so preposterous a tenet could ever have prevailed among men possessing—we will not say that deep learning for which several Tractarians were remarkable,—but the most rudimental acquaintance with the most obvious facts of Church history.* Nothing can evince more surprisingly the extraordinary efficacy of early habits and associations. F. Bottalla's great merit does not consist in having overthrown a doctrine, which is so obviously at variance with every fact of Church history, as hardly to admit of more complete refutation than is supplied by its very statement. F. Bottalla's claim on the gratitude of Catholics arises from his having brought out with such force, and supported by such an array of solid and wide though most unostentatious learning, the extremely opposite dogma of Papal supremacy. The Church, as he maintains and as the

* We are the l[e] reluctant to use such strong language, as the present writer is ar[ound] who were once victims to this singular hallucination.

body of Catholics firmly believe, was constituted as one indivisible corporate society; not, however, aristocratically, but monarchically governed: a society subjected by God's law to the absolute ecclesiastical supremacy of S. Peter and his successors.*

In his preliminary section on "Unity and Supremacy in the Church," our author contrasts Dr. Pusey's view of ecclesiastical unity with that given in Scripture and Tradition. According to Dr. Pusey, the Church is an aggregate of as many independent societies as there are bishops whom he would account orthodox. Most opposite is the revealed dogma. The Church's unity is compared in Scripture to the unity of Christ, and again to the unity of the Blessed Trinity (p. 8). Is the unity of Christ then, or the unity of the Blessed Trinity, a mere aggregate of parts, dependent neither on each other nor on any unifying principle? "The Church of Christ would not show forth the essential characteristics of its divine prototypes unless it possess a centre, which is to serve as the source of its unity, power, and greatness" (p. 9). Dr. Pusey is so ill-advised as to cite S. Cyprian in his defence. What then says S. Cyprian? "Upon Peter, being one, He built His Church; and, though He gave all the Apostles equal power, yet, in order to *manifest unity*"—i.e., to secure visible unity—"He, by His own authority, so placed the source of the same unity as to begin from one." Again, "The Church, being one, is founded by Christ upon Peter as regards the origin and principle of her unity" (pp. 12, 13). As to the two passages quoted by Dr. Pusey from S. Cyprian as teaching a different doctrine, our author points out that if they had been quoted entire, they would have been admitted by every one as telling, not in favour of Dr. Pusey, but directly against him (pp. 20-22). Dr. Pusey again astounds us by declaring "that he would be content to unite England with Rome upon the terms which have the sanction of Bossuet." What, then, is Bossuet's doctrine? F. Bottalla, having quoted from him various passages, thus sums it up:—

1. Christ, in order to give unity to His Church, founded it on the primacy and supremacy of S. Peter's Chair. 2. This doctrine is contained both in Scripture and in the tradition of all Antiquity. 3. Episcopal authority is

* We use the qualification "ecclesiastical," as on former occasions, to prevent possible misconception. Of course, in one sense, the Pope's supremacy is not absolute, because it is restrained by God's law within certain limits, and (as Ultramontanes consider) is infallibly restrained by God's Providence from attempting to transgress those limits. But it is "ecclesiastically" absolute; *i.e.* subject to no authority on earth.

intended to give unity to particular Churches; but the unity of the whole Catholic Church flows from the supreme authority of the see of Rome, which is its root and centre. 4. The Chair of Peter, in virtue of its supremacy, has jurisdiction over all bishops, and this jurisdiction is of divine right. 5. These propositions, regarding the supremacy of S. Peter and his successors, belong to the Deposit of Faith, and are not merely a part of the variable discipline of the Church.—(pp. 16, 17.)

Are these then the terms on which Dr. Pusey "would be contented to unite England with Rome"?

The second section is occupied with the Scriptural proof of S. Peter's supremacy over the Apostolic Church, and with the patristic authority for so interpreting the various relevant texts. The strange allegation of Mr. Palmer and other Protestants is here carefully considered, that there is no traditional authority for applying to S. Peter the famous "Super hanc petram ædificabo Ecclesiam Meam." We doubt if by any previous writer this objection has been so satisfactorily and fully encountered. We are sure our readers will thank us for giving them a long extract, as some specimen of the completeness and exhaustiveness, by means of which an already well-worn theme can receive entirely fresh life and interest. The author first points out that—

In the first five centuries of the Church there are at least twenty-seven Fathers who understand Peter to be the rock on which the Church was built; that is to say, more than the High Church party could appeal to in support of any other doctrine whatever.—(p. 34.)

He then thus proceeds (the italics are our own):—

Mr. Palmer and his friends, on the authority of Du Pin, reply that many Fathers understood the rock to mean our Lord; others, the true Faith; and others, the Apostles collectively. But Mr. Palmer supposes that those Fathers intended to give their interpretations as being the literal sense of the words of Christ. If such is his opinion, he does a great injustice to the Fathers, by supposing them to have adopted a strange, an unnatural, a distorted, a fanciful interpretation;—for such are the terms which Rosenmüller, Kuinoel, Bengel, Bloomfield, Alford, and others apply to these various interpretations;—and, moreover, by falsely representing them as guilty of self-contradiction: for *all the Fathers who, before the sixth century, seem to have adopted any of the above-mentioned interpretations, referred the rock literally to S. Peter.* As is done, for instance, by Origen, Hilary, S. Gregory of Nyssa, S. Ambrose, S. Jerome, S. Augustin, S. Chrysostom, S. Cyril of Alexandria, S. Leo, &c. Our adversaries cannot deny the fact; as it results even from the bare comparison of the lists of names subjoined by them to each of the above-mentioned opinions. Now, if those very Fathers who understood the rock either of Christ, or of S. Peter's faith and confession, are to be found maintaining the obvious reference of the rock to S. Peter,—it manifestly follows that, in proposing that collateral mediate, and

indirect exposition, they did not forget the immediate, original, and traditional interpretation of the rock, ever maintained by the Church Catholic. But, further, *the literal interpretation which refers the rock to S. Peter, so far from excluding the other interpretations given above, is perfectly consistent with them.* Nay, all these interpretations, if we put them together, *supply us with the complete and full meaning of Christ's words.* For S. Peter was, it is true, appointed the rock on which the Church was to be built; but he was not to be the principal, the original rock, from which the Church was to derive its internal strength. Peter was not himself to be the rock: "That rock was Christ," according to the words of the Apostle; and "other foundation can no man lay than that which is laid, which is Jesus Christ." Peter was to be the rock of the Church; but secondarily to Christ, from whom the Church was to receive its stability. Yet he was to be the outward and visible rock, whilst Christ was the inward and invisible foundation. For the secondary and visible rock cannot be conceived without the primary foundation. Moreover, faith, and faith in Christ, is the principle which constitutes Christ's Church. Therefore, Peter was appointed to be the rock of the Church, on account of his faith in, and public confession of, the divinity of Christ. In other words, our Lord founded His Church upon Peter, who had solemnly professed his faith in His divinity. Peter, then, is the rock, because he represents—and, in a manner, embodies—the principle of faith in Christ. On this account, some of the Fathers, whilst taking the rock in its literal sense, at the same time say also that faith in Christ, or public confession of this faith, is the rock of the Church. These interpretations, far from being incompatible, rather are naturally implied each in the other, and serve to bring out the full import of the words of Christ. What wonder, then, if, in the fourth and fifth centuries, when Arianism impugned the divinity of Christ and attempted to shake the rock of the Church, the Fathers lifted up their voice, and denounced the heretics as destroyers of the Church—for the Church, as they teach, is built on the rock of Christ, on the confession of His divinity? In speaking thus, *they did not reject the literal sense handed down by the tradition of the first three centuries, which they themselves had already repeatedly set forth in their writings.* But in opposing the Arian heresy and its offshoots, they preferred to aim a blow against it by the use of the mediate, indirect, and relative interpretation.—(pp. 36–38.)

F. Bottalla adds a number of passages from the Fathers who wrote after Arius, forcibly illustrating this statement, and then thus proceeds:—

In two Councils—those of Ephesus and Chalcedon—the literal interpretation was assumed as true without the least contradiction. In the Council of Ephesus, Philip, the legate of the Roman see, openly asserts that "S. Peter is the prince and the head of the Apostles, the pillar of the faith, the foundation of the Catholic Church." And in the Council of Chalcedon, Paschasinus and Lucentius, the Papal legates, made the same declaration, calling S. Peter "the rock and groundwork of the Catholic Church, and the foundation of the orthodox faith." Moreover, the rock is understood of Peter in the well-known formulary of faith set forth by Pope Hormisdas to the Eastern

Church after the schism of Acacius. This formulary was received and signed by all the patriarchs and bishops of the Oriental Church; and in the Eighth Œcumenical Council it was again confirmed by all the Fathers, both of the Latin and Greek Churches. So that, as Bossuet remarks, that formulary may be said to be sanctioned by the whole Catholic world. In the face of all this evidence, how can Mr. Palmer, Dr. Browne, and their followers, believe it to be "proved incontestably that the Church has not received any certain apostolical tradition as to the meaning of this part of the text"?—(pp. 41, 42.)

At a later period of this section the relation between S. Peter and the other Apostles is thus admirably stated:—

All the Apostles were entrusted with the power of binding and loosing; but Peter, and Peter alone, received the keys of the kingdom of heaven. All were to concur in laying the foundation of the Church of Christ; but Peter, and Peter alone, was to be its rock. All the faithful were to be founded upon the Apostles; but the Apostles themselves, together with all their several flocks, were to be grounded on the great rock, Peter. All the Apostles were sent to feed all nations with the doctrine of Christ; but Peter alone was to be the supreme and œcumenical pastor over the whole world. All nations were the sheep of the Apostles; but all nations, together with their pastors, were to be the sheep of Peter, since all the sheep of Christ, without exception, were committed to him. Such truly is the doctrine expressed by the Fathers on the inequality of the Apostles with reference to S. Peter's supremacy. "To Peter," remarks S. Cyprian, "He says, after His resurrection, 'Feed My sheep.' Upon him, being one, He builds His Church, and though He gives to all the Apostles an equal power, and says, 'As My Father sent Me,' &c., yet, in order to manifest unity, He has by His supreme authority so placed the source of the same unity as to begin from one." Origen, S. Basil, S. Gregory Nazianzen, S. Optatus of Milevis, S. Ambrose, S. Jerome, S. Augustin, S. Leo, S. Asterius, and other Fathers bear witness, precisely and definitely, to the same doctrine. Indeed, there is no Father who has ventured to ascribe either to individual Apostles, or to the Apostolic College, the titles assigned by Christ to Peter; but on him, in order to show his real pre-eminence and authority over his fellow Apostles, they lavish the most singular expressions of praise. Moreover, regarding S. Peter as the head of the Apostolic College, they represent the power of the Apostles to be derived from him, and to flow from the head into the whole body.—(pp. 57-59.)

Dr. Pusey has endorsed the common objection of Protestants, founded on S. Gregory's disclaimer of the title "Universal Bishop"; and has thus committed himself to the opinion, that S. Gregory's predecessors had put forth no claim to divinely-given supremacy over the Church. Our author begins his third section with a reply to this objection. "The letters, indeed, of the Popes of the first three centuries

are lost" (p. 63, note 187); but he begins with Pope S. Siricius, whose letters stand first, and carries the series through that Pontiff's various successors. S. Siricius then testifies that "he had been entrusted *with the care of all the Churches*" (p. 63): S. Innocent I. claims to be "head and apex of the Episcopate" (p. 63): S. Zosimus said that "no one might venture to question the judgment of the Apostolic See" (p. 64): S. Boniface I., that "the care of the Universal Church was entrusted to the Roman See (p. 64): and so on down to the time of S. Leo. S. Leo, as every one knows, used words than which no stronger could have been put forth by S. Gregory VII. or by Boniface VIII. In fact Mr. Palmer, the Anglican, frankly confesses (p. 89) that S. Leo's "continual object was to assert that S. Peter still lived in his successors, and that all the promises made to him were also made to the Bishop of Rome."

Whatever else then S. Gregory the Great may have meant when he disclaimed the title of Universal Bishop,—most certainly he could not possibly have intended to deny that God had given to him, as to S. Peter's successor, supremacy over the whole Church. In various parts of his letters indeed, he distinctly testifies this fundamental dogma of the Gospel. He says that "the Apostolic See is the head of all the Churches" (p. 68, note 208); that "a charge has been laid on him of watching over all the Churches" (note 210); that "if a fault is found in bishops, there is not one of them who is not subject to the Apostolic See" (note 211); that "the care and princedom of the whole Church is committed to Peter" (note 212); and that "Peter, in the person of his successors, was still living in the Roman See" (p. 69). And what he claims in words he no less claims in action. On that very matter of the title "Universal Bishop," to which we shall presently again refer, observe his whole demeanour to John, the Patriarch of Constantinople. He writes to that prelate (p. 121) declaring that, if persuasion will not avail, he (the Pope) must have recourse to severity; "for when a wound cannot be healed by gentle handling, *we must have recourse to the knife.*" Our author may well ask "What bishop in the Church ever had the power of *using the knife* to the wounds of another bishop his equal?" Yet this was said to the very Patriarch of Constantinople. What words can be stronger to express supremacy?

There are two principal statements of S. Gregory on which Dr. Pusey insists. The first is the Holy Pontiff's language concerning the three Petrine Sees—Rome, Alexandria, and Antioch. F. Bottalla explains easily enough (pp. 74-5) S.

Gregory's meaning in this language. Here we will only say that Dr. Pusey's strange misapprehension is refuted, not only by those other utterances of S. Gregory which we have just quoted, but by his express language concerning the patriarchs themselves. F. Bottalla cites this in p. 76; we mentioned it at somewhat greater length in our number for last October (p. 297). When Natalis, bishop of Salona in Dalmatia, had set aside S. Gregory's sentence with regard to the Archdeacon Honoratus, the Holy Pontiff thus writes: "If any one *of the four patriarchs* had done this, such *contumacy* could not have been passed over without the greatest scandal."

The second circumstance of S. Gregory's life which Dr. Pusey converts into controversial capital, is his disclaimer of the title "Universal Bishop." Now there are two essentially different senses in which that term might imaginably be applied to the Roman Pontiffs. It might imaginably be intended only to express, that they have received from God supreme power over the whole Church. But on the other hand it *might* be understood as expressing, that they are the proper bishops of each diocese; that the Papacy alone, and not also the Episcopate, is of divine institution. We pointed out in July 1867 (p. 74) that this latter tenet is actually heretical; and S. Gregory therefore of course would have most earnestly condemned it. The question then is to be decided by contemporary circumstances: did he disclaim the title in the former sense or in the latter? He cannot by any possibility have disclaimed it in the former sense, unless you suppose him to have revolutionized his whole principles: for he had expressly said that to him is entrusted the care of all the Churches; that to him every bishop is subject where there is question of a fault; that he would apply the knife to the wounds of a certain patriarch, if milder means were unavailing. It must by absolute necessity then have been the *latter* sense in which S. Gregory understood and disclaimed the title; nor indeed have the Roman Pontiffs at any time assumed it. They have called themselves "Bishops of the Catholic Church," but never "Universal Bishops."

So much, then, on the claim of authority put forth by a long series of Pontiffs. On the other side there has been continuous acknowledgment of that authority, not on the part of Westerns only, but of Easterns also. This is shown by F. Bottalla in a long chain of instances, reaching from the Nicene period to the very days of Photius and Cerularius (pp. 81-137). It is impossible, within our limits, to enumerate these instances; and we will confine ourselves therefore to what Anglicans urge as one of their very principal objections,

but which is in fact a signal illustration of Roman Catholic doctrine. We refer to the 28th canon of Chalcedon.

There has been much controversy among theologians as to the precise bearing of this canon, nor does it seem easy to arrive at a very clear conclusion on the matter;* but nothing in the world is more certain than that the Anglican view of it is simply monstrous. It is the Anglican, and again the modern Photian, view (see pp. 94, &c.) that in this canon the Easterns declare their independence of the West; attribute the Pope's primacy to purely ecclesiastical institution; and claim for themselves the power of arranging at their pleasure the order and precedency of Eastern patriarchs, without asking his consent. Now, we must be excused for thinking that the purport of this canon was better understood by *those who made it* (misty though their notions may have been) than it can be by a modern Anglican or Photian; and that their synodical address to Pope S. Leo may be taken as the one authentic exposition of that attitude, which they intended to assume towards the Holy See. What then is their language in this address? They take for granted throughout that their canon would have no force without his sanction, and humbly implore him to give it that sanction. We enacted it, they say, "trusting that your Holiness, when informed of what we have done, will accept and *confirm* it, ... knowing that every good institution made by *children* redounds to [the honour of] the *fathers* who appropriate it. We beseech you therefore, *honour* our judgment by your suffrage; that as we have exhibited harmony with *our head* in good works, so *he may fulfil for his children* what is becoming. So shall our pious kings be comforted, who *firmly hold your Holiness's judgment as law.*" To this S. Leo replied, "We make void" the canon in question, "and, through the authority of Blessed Peter the Apostle, we *wholly annul it by this general determination*" (Bottalla, p. 102). No protest whatever was put forth by the East, as though herein S. Leo had exceeded "the authority" given him as successor of "Blessed Peter the Apostle;" while he, on the other hand, continued to express, in various different shapes, his authoritative decision.

He expressed these sentiments with Apostolic energy in his letters to the Synod of Chalcedon, to the Patriarch of Antioch, to the Emperor Marcian, and to Anatolius, Bishop of Constantinople; he even required the latter to

* It seems to us by far the most probable solution of the difficulty, that the Easterns did not themselves precisely know (to use a familiar phrase) what they were driving at.

express in writing his submission to the decision of the Roman See, and Anatolius did not delay to forward to Rome the documents required. The Emperor himself could not refrain from praising the Apostolic firmness of the Pontiff, in refusing a suit which had the support of the imperial influence.—(pp. 102, 103.)

The whole history then of this canon is a conspicuous proof, how fully the Easterns admitted in theory the Roman Pontiff's supremacy. And, passing from particular facts to the general aspect of history, what do we find?

Throughout Church history *no single instance could be found* of an appeal carried to an Eastern synod, provincial or general, or to any of the Oriental patriarchs, from a sentence of a Western synod under the sanction of a Pope. But *innumerable examples* occur of persons who, after condemnation in the East, appealed to the Papal court.—(p. 152.)

To ourselves the most interesting section of F. Bottalla's work has been the seventh, on Gallicanism. It is sometimes loosely said that Gallicanism is "an open question;" but it is important here to keep clear of equivocations. Undoubtedly it is an open question, in such sense that no confessor can refuse his penitents Absolution on the mere ground of their holding Gallican opinions. In this respect, Gallicanism is in a better position than minimism: for we have always maintained that the confessor *can* refuse his penitents Absolution, if they will not accept as infallibly true the Church's minor censures; or the condemnations contained in the Syllabus; or the teaching of the "Mirari vos" and "Quantâ curâ"; confirmed as all this teaching has been by the Episcopate. But while we gladly concede to Gallicans so much as this, we cannot for one moment admit that a Gallican is an orthodox Catholic, in the sense in which an Ultramontane is such. "Gallicanism," says F. Bottalla (p. 159), "considered in its natural tendency, is truly a schism in disguise." If the French clergy remained Catholic in the time of Louis XIV., they did so "inconsistently with their Gallican principles" (p. 183). Those principles, we maintain, lead to heresy by inevitable logical consequence; though, from obvious motives of charity and expediency, they are as yet tolerated by the Holy See, in the case of any one who does not himself *pursue* them to that consequence.*

* "Let not men argue from the *silence* of Rome to establish that the Holy See finds nothing reprehensible in such a man or such a book. The Chief of religion must be extremely reserved in those kinds of condemnation which may involve such fatal consequences. Especially he remembers the paternal maxim, 'Condemn not the error which condemns itself.' He should never strike except at the last extremity; and even when he does strike, he should

Nothing can be more masterly than F. Bottalla's sketch of the history of those tenets which were afterwards called Gallican (pp. 160-180). Putting aside the question of infallibility—with which our author's present volume is not directly concerned—these tenets consist of two different particulars. They (1) deny the Church's indirect power over things temporal; and (2) they limit in some way, which no Gallican has ever clearly explained, the Pope's power over the Church in things spiritual. Now it was the first of these tenets with which Gallicanism started, and which led in due time to the second.

> Long before the pretended Council of Basle the seeds of schism and rebellion against the supreme authority of the Church had spread over Europe. Many causes concurred in fostering this evil tendency and widening its effects, among which causes no little influence must be ascribed to the revival of the Roman jurisprudence. The new jurisconsults, inspired with *the pagan maxims of imperial autocracy*, regarded the jurisdiction of the Holy See as an unlawful usurpation of *the rights of the civil authority*. By exaggerated doctrines regarding the prerogatives of princes and emperors, these lawyers created a jealousy of Papal authority. *In the name of the independence and power of princes*, they declared the bitterest war against the jurisdiction of the Apostolic See, and drove temporal rulers into a miserable struggle with the supreme pastor of the Church. Such was the source whence sprang the wicked attempts of Philip the Fair, King of France, against Boniface VIII., and of Louis of Bavaria, the pretender to the imperial crown, against John XXII.—(pp. 160, 161.)

It will have been seen in this extract with pleasure, but without surprise, that F. Bottalla is by no means one of those half-hearted Catholics, who consider Popes to have claimed a power as divinely given which God did not give. He straightforwardly describes Philip's contest against Boniface VIII. as a "miserable struggle," a "wicked attempt."

Those schismatical principles, which had their origin as above described, received indefinitely greater strength from the Papal residence at Avignon, and still more from the great Western schism (p. 161). Some theologians indeed were disposed to push these principles into the full consequence drawn from them at a later period by Cranmer and Henry VIII.; but the more moderate was also the more influential party among those tainted with the infection. The tenets of this party were those afterwards called Gallican; and by far

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measure his blows. . . . . It is partly to this moderation, essentially characteristic of the Holy See, that France owes the inestimable blessedness of still being Catholic."—De Maistre, on the Gallican Church, l. 2, c. 16.

their most distinguished and respectable leader was Gerson. These men "acknowledged the divine supremacy of the Pope as identical with that of Christianity itself" (p. 162); but they claimed a certain, indeed a very considerable, degree of independence for national Churches, and placed an Œcumenical Council above the Supreme Pontiff. Meanwhile, by far the larger part of theologians remained faithful to the old tradition, and repudiated altogether these new-fangled theories. On the election of Martin V. there is every probability that such theories would have fallen into profound oblivion, had it not been for the despotism of French Parliaments (p. 164). The Pragmatic Sanction of 1438, founded on the maxims of the pseudo-Council of Basle, was the immediate origin of the Gallican "liberties"—"liberties" against the Pope, intolerable servitude towards the King. This Pragmatic Sanction indeed was in form repealed; but its principles continued to thrive in France, not only among politicians (pp. 167—171), but ultimately among clerics also (p. 173). "Calvinism and Paganism banded together to accomplish the purpose of despotic oppression" (p. 169), and by degrees induced a large body of bishops to join in the nefarious enterprise. The four famous Gallican Articles, detestable as they are, by no means represent the full amount of evil principles prevalent among some even of the bishops and clergy. "The French bishops, accustomed to a servile submission to the King, would have been ready to proclaim a schism" (p. 175), but that this was against the wish both of Bossuet and of the King himself.

Although the Four Articles contain assertions most erroneous, and most contrary to the doctrine of even the Gallican Church in earlier times, yet Bossuet drew them up in such a vague and indefinite manner that, in many instances, they admit of a mitigated interpretation. Moreover, Bossuet could not be induced to number amongst the doctrines of the French Church the right of appeal to a Council from the sentence of the Pope.—(p. 176.)

The good name of Bossuet is prized by all Catholics; and our readers will therefore be glad to see it clearly explained, how little he is to be considered responsible for that shallow and unscrupulous work, the "Defence of the Declaration."

A man like Bossuet could not act against his conscience. He, therefore, recast his work two or three times. He kept it unpublished for no less than twenty years. Before his death he attempted to write it anew upon different principles, and to give it the title of "Gallia Orthodoxa." Being surprised by death, he rigorously required of his nephew, the Abbé Bossuet, to let no one have the work, but to place it in the hands of the King alone.

That monarch, who always held Catholic principles when his mind was not blinded by his passions, had already yielded to the ever-increasing reluctance felt by Bossuet to publish a work so injurious to the Church and dangerous to Catholic nations. He, accordingly, refused to receive the deposit at the hands of the nephew of the deceased prelate; and only after six years of importunity did he consent to let it lie in a box in his royal palace. It was the nephew of Bossuet—unworthy to bear that illustrious name—who, forty-one years after the death of his uncle, published at Amsterdam the "Defensio Declarationis Cleri Gallicani" (1745), having previously secured the loss of the papers in which Bossuet, on his death-bed, had recast his work. Bossuet had deeply considered for twenty years the effect of the Gallican Declaration, and had clearly understood its inconsistency. The books written during that time against the Four Articles had cleared away former prejudice, and opened his eyes to the abyss of schism and heresy into which they were leading the Church of France. Hence his perplexity, his trouble, and his repentance with regard to his volume, which always weighed on his mind as a most heavy burden. Bossuet himself would never have consented to publish a work from which the enemies of the Church have so eagerly drawn weapons against her. He had already, in a manner, judged and condemned the book by keeping it for twenty years in his secret desk, and by confiding it, under the condition above mentioned, in his last will, to his nephew, the Abbé Bossuet, who treacherously violated the trust. We, therefore, cannot regard the "Defensio Declarationis Cleri Gallicani" as a fair exponent of the mind of the Bishop of Meaux, nor even as a genuine production of his hand.—(pp. 177, 178.)

Our author proceeds to point out—as Archbishop Manning had already done most forcibly—how that, "as soon as the Four Articles were published, the whole Catholic world lifted up its voice to condemn them as absurd and detestable" (p. 179).

In his eighth section F. Bottalla treats the famous decree of Constance on the superiority of Council over Pope. He argues for a proposition, which to us has always appeared so obvious on the very surface of things, that we have been astonished how Gallicans can call it in question. He maintains that this decree was never promulgated as a doctrinal determination, to which the Council claimed the interior assent of all Catholics; nor again as touching at all on the general relations of Pope and Council. It was purely a manifesto of the Council, setting forth the ground on which they assumed the authority they were then exercising; which they were exercising under those most exceptional circumstances existing at the moment, when there were three rival claimants of the Papacy, and no certain Pope. Since therefore this decree was never promulgated as a doctrinal determination binding on the assent of Catholics, it cannot possibly be accounted as falling under Martin V.'s confirmation. F.

Bottalla draws attention to two arguments in particular, as showing that this decree was never intended to apply in any other case, than in the most exceptional one of a doubtful Pope. Firstly, in Session 38, long after the decree had been passed, the assembled Fathers exclaimed that "the Pope when elected cannot be bound"; i.e. that the Council would have no authority over a *certain* Pope (p. 195). Then secondly, even as regards the three doubtful Popes then existing, the Council strained every nerve to obtain from them a voluntary resignation, and avoid the necessity of extreme coercive measures.

> If then the Fathers of Constance did not dare to treat even doubtful Pontiffs, in a time of schism, according to the maxims of the Articles of the Fourth and Fifth Sessions, how can we believe that they intended to enforce these very Articles as general rules for the Church in its normal state?—(p. 197.)

We have now said enough to give our readers a general view of what they may expect from F. Bottalla's volume. It makes no pretence to eloquence or rhetorical power; this could not be expected from an Italian writing in English. Nor again are we quite sure that the arrangement of matter is everywhere so lucid and orderly as it might have been. It appeals however throughout to those who read, not for the sake of amusement and excitement, but of solid argument and search for truth. We will venture to say that no one will study it in such dispositions, without having his highest expectations realized and confirmed. And nowadays, when a persistent effort is being made to revive within the Church what Mr. Renouf once called "the loathsome carcase of Gallicanism," it is of great importance that such treatises as this should be carefully perused and fully mastered.

ART. VI.—THE CASE OF S. LIBERIUS.

The Condemnation of Pope Honorius. By PETER LE PAGE RENOUF. *Note on Pope Liberius.* London: Longmans.

MR. LE PAGE RENOUF, in a lengthy note appended to the above-named pamphlet, revives the often-debated case of S. Liberius. In our number for January, 1867, we had occasion, in noting the first two *livraisons* of the *Revue des Questions Historiques*, to comment on an article in the first of these, from the pen of M. Edouard Dumont, in which the same subject was treated in some detail. As specimens of two historical critics who come to diametrically opposite conclusions from the same evidence, it would be interesting to compare the two writers, Mr. Renouf and M. Dumont. We must ask our readers, on the present occasion, to follow us whilst we briefly state the view at which we have arrived, after some study, on an historical question which derives a considerable amount of interest from the present tendencies of domestic controversy.

We will first state Mr. Renouf's conclusions, as they define the limits of the dispute. He asserts, then (p. 41), that there is "very positive evidence that the Pope (Liberius) officially subscribed a heterodox creed; that he signed the condemnation of S. Athanasius; and that he entered into communion with the Arian leaders, and admitted their orthodoxy." What we think of these conclusions will appear in the sequel.

Before dealing either with Mr. Renouf's authorities or our own view of them, we will make a few preliminary observations. It is very important to approach the consideration of the case of S. Liberius from the right side. It is quite a mistake to suppose that all we can do against Mr. Renouf is to stand on the defensive, to explain and to excuse. On the contrary, it is the other side on whom rests the burden of proof; and we are much mistaken if their materials are anything like equal to it. It is an undisputed fact that S. Liberius was a glorious defender of Catholic orthodoxy, both before and after his alleged fall, but more particularly after it. It is equally undisputed that no trace of anything like *retractation* or regret is anywhere to be found either in his own writings or in those of numerous bishops and historians who have mentioned his name in their accounts of the controversies that

followed the period of his alleged fall. It is certain that the Emperor Constantius, his arch-persecutor, was afraid of him even *after* his alleged submission; and it is certain that the bishops of the court party never triumphed in a victory such as the fall of a Pope would have given them. All this will be vividly brought before the reader's mind by a few details. What followed the alleged fall of the Pope is of great moment. We have very full particulars of many events; but neither the *fall*, nor the *retractation*, is ever mentioned. This looks like what Paley called "naked history." Paley said he dreaded a piece of history with no antecedents and no consequences. One has no difficulty, for instance, in admitting the Nicene Council, or the Norman conquest, because each is embedded in a series of other facts, preceding and following, leading to it, and dependent on it. But that Richard III. was a humpback, and that he murdered his nephews, are isolated facts, for which we have the word of a more or less trustworthy chronicler, but which we should not, perhaps, feel much difficulty in questioning, if other reasons required us to do so.

The Council of Rimini took place in the year 359; that is, the year after the alleged fall of S. Liberius, and after he had returned to Rome. It was convoked by the Emperor Constantius in order to seduce the bishops of the West into condemning the Nicene word *consubstantial*, at the same time that the bishops of the East were to reject it at Seleuceia. Ursacius and Valens came down expressly from the court to manage the deliberations; four hundred and forty bishops were gathered together; and the occasion was of the gravest and most solemn. Everything about it goes to show that the semi-Arians were determined to make an unprecedented effort to commit the Church to their views. Now, if S. Liberius had already assented to their demands, it is perfectly inexplicable that he was not summoned to the Council; yet he was not summoned: it is inexplicable that his example was not quoted; yet it was not quoted: it is inexplicable that Potamus and Epictetus, in the course of the very Council, should demand loudly that he should be condemned; that S. Hilary, in his account, should say nothing either of a fall or a retractation; above all, that the Pope himself should condemn and quash the whole proceedings, and dictate terms of reconciliation to the deceived bishops, without a word on his own part to acknowledge that, within two years, he had been a traitor himself. Is it possible that a Pope whose name occurs in martyrologies as a saint, and whom no one denies to have died a glorious con-

fessor, should have busied himself about the prevarication of the bishops, and should have put on airs of zeal for the faith, without expressing the deepest shame and contrition for his own lamentable defection? In modern times, after the concession which the bullying of Napoleon had wrung from Pius VII., the story of that Pontiff's remorse and repentance is well known; how he interdicted himself, if we remember right, from saying Mass, and how fully he retracted, and how completely set himself right again. If S. Liberius never repented, it is very certain that he never fell.

But there is another great fact of those times besides the Council of Rimini on whose history the defection of the Pope should have left its mark. The noise that the Arians made about the fall of Hosius is a proof of the innocence of S. Liberius. If Aetius and Eudoxus wrote a letter of congratulation to Ursacius and Valens because the aged Bishop of Cordova had yielded to their infamous baiting, what sort of a shout of triumph would the whole party have raised if the bishop of the first See of the world had joined them? And what would the Catholic world have said—the Catholic world that knew and was scandalized at the fall of Hosius? When Pope Victor was going to excommunicate the Asiatics, a multitude of bishops wrote to him to protest against the severity of what they acknowledged he had a right to do. What bishop is known to have protested against an act of Pope Liberius? Is it possible that S. Liberius should have separated himself from the communion of S. Athanasius, that he should have approved a formula that was heretical or suspected of heresy, and that no one should have exclaimed or protested?

Not only did no one protest, but several solemn episcopal acts are recorded that tell the other way. For instance, some five or six years after the Council of Rimini, the sect of the Macedonians, finding themselves the object of the persecution of Valens and Eudoxus, were inspired to renounce their errors and turn to the Holy See. Their principal bishops, in synod assembled, sent a deputation to Liberius with a letter. In the letter they addressed the Pope as one who "*has always stood firm in the faith,*" * and beg to be received into communion. Liberius at first seems to distrust them; but, after assuring himself of their sincerity, receives them, and addresses them a paternal but very decisive letter on contemporary questions. But before this, and almost immediately after the Council of Rimini, S. Liberius had received letters from a synod held at

* Tillemont, t. vi. p. 2, art. 108.

Alexandria by S. Athanasius himself, and attended by S. Eusebius of Vercelli, a bishop intimately acquainted with Western matters. S. Athanasius, who had already proposed to the assembled prelates the example of S. Liberius in dealing with those who had signed the formula of Rimini, sends the acts of the synod to S. Liberius, and Liberius notices the fact in one of his letters.* This does not look as if either Athanasius or Eusebius had heard of a "fall." But, it may be urged, doubtless Liberius had retracted. We answer that such "retractation" is just one of those facts the complete absence of which from extant history proves they can never have occurred.

Let us briefly add a few other facts. We have the treatise of S. Hilary "De Synodis," addressed to the bishops of Gaul to guide them in the controversies of the day; he never mentions the fall of Liberius. We have a letter of Gregory, Bishop of Elvira, in Spain, to Eusebius of Vercelli; the answer of Eusebius to Gregory, speaking of the fall of Hosius; a letter of the bishops of Sicily, expressing admiration for the zeal and prudence of Liberius; a letter of Ursacius and Valens, reproving a weak adherent; the answer of the person blamed, Gominius, bishop of Sirmium; correspondence everywhere, and on the very subject of orthodoxy and heterodoxy, of bishops who had stood and bishops who had fallen, bishops who had signed and bishops who had retracted.† Yet the "fall" of the Bishop of Rome is never alluded to. If there was a fall, this is one of the strangest phenomena in all history.

It is difficult, in fine, to suppose that S. Ambrose would have spoken of S. Liberius with such affection as he does in his report of Liberius's address at the clothing of his sister, if there had been ever so light a cloud over his name; or that S. Basil should have called him "*the most blessed bishop*" ("Epist." 263, al. 74); or S. Epiphanius, "*Roman bishop of happy memory*," ("Hær." 75, 2); or Cassiodorus, "*the great Liberius—the celebrated—the illustrious—the most holy*," ("Hist. Tripart." v. 18); or Theodoret, "*the victorious, the renowned and strenuous combatant for the truth*," ("Hist. Eccl." 11, 37); or Sozomen, "*a man every way great*"; or Lucius Dexter in his chronicle, "*Saint Liberius.*"

Now, what we insist upon is this. An alleged historical fact so conspicuously absent from documents where it would most confidently be looked for is, à priori, doubtful in a degree

* S. Liberius, Epist. 13.

† See the references in "L'Histoire et l'Infaillibilité des Papes," par M. l'Abbé B.-M. Constant.

which can hardly be exaggerated; the defection of a Pope which is mentioned by neither the friends nor the enemies that must have been most concerned in its consequences has a look about it of absolute incredibility; and the fall of one who is admitted to have died a holy confessor, yet of whose retractation and repentance there is no trace, is, to historical criticism, in an antecedent position of extremest weakness. It *may* be capable of being proved, but it requires most uncommonly strong evidence. At first sight, it would be unceremoniously put on one side; if its upholders have anything positive to say for it, they must be heard, but they are on the defensive and must make out their case.

It is well known, of course, that much *has* been argued for the opposite view—for instance, by Mr. Renouf; and that the argument is supported by some appearance of historical proof. In proceeding, therefore, to meet such proofs and arguments, let us commence by stating our own view of the only questionable transaction in which there is any historical testimony whatever of S. Liberius having been concerned.

At the outset of any investigation on the subject we meet with one remarkable fact. Of the four professed historians of the period, three—namely, Sulpicius Severus, Socrates, and Theodoret—when relating the triumphant return of Liberius to Rome, never say a word ascribing it to his having weakly complied with the Emperor's demands. To this list we may add Ruffinus, who says he does not know whether he complied or not, and Cassiodorus.* Except for the narrative of Sozomen, with which we will deal presently, we are left to gather the story from the casual and passing remarks of controversial writers, and from the statement of certain dubious letters. Waiving the argument from the silence of professed historians, this is awkward, because hints, allusions, and epistolary expressions are apt to take their colour from the mind of the critic who manipulates them.

There is only one historian, Sozomen, who gives anything like a circumstantial account of this important occurrence, and to him we go for information. We are disposed simply to accept his narrative; and we think that what he relates both indicates the true story and disposes of what might seem contradictory evidence.

In the year 355, Liberius, on his boldly refusing to condemn S. Athanasius and communicate with the Arians, was carried

* Mr. Renouf is pleased to think that Theodoret "doubtless" knew the whole truth, but was unwilling to publish it. After this piece of historical intuition, he should never have been so hard on F. Stilting.

off into exile, to Berœa, in Thrace. About a year and a half later the Emperor (Constantius) made a solemn visit to Rome, and was assailed by the Romans with clamorous demands for the restoration of the Pontiff. He replied, after consultation with the ecclesiastics of the court, that he would restore him if he would agree with these prelates and priests,—who, of course, were the leaders of the semi-Arian party. The Emperor then left Rome, and the court migrated to the distant Pannonian capital, Sirmium. Here a sort of council was at once held. Legates from the bishops of the West and of the East met the ecclesiastics of the court party. Liberius was brought from Berœa to attend, and there is every indication that the chief object of the gathering was to enable the Emperor to overcome the constancy of Liberius and so send him back to Rome as he had promised. It would appear, also, from the words of the historian,* that these steps towards the settlement of the matter were taken partly in consequence of the representations of the Western bishops. In this assembly the Emperor "urged him to profess that the Son was *not consubstantial* to the Father." We are surprised to see Mr. Renouf translate ἐβιάζετο αὐτόν, "forced him." Not to mention that the verb need not mean more than "pressed," "tried to force," or, "used force against," the imperfect would naturally suggest that the action was incomplete; and Valesius translates, "cœpit compellere." The historian continues; "Now it was Basil, Eustathius, and Eleusius, the Emperor's chief advisers, who were active in this and who were urging him on to this course" (against Liberius). Then in the next sentence he lets us see how far they succeeded. "These collected into one book the decrees against Paul of Samosata and those against Photinus, Bishop of Sirmium, and also the formula of faith issued at the dedication of a church at Antioch" (a semi-Arian confession, suppressing the ὁμοούσιον), "and caused Liberius" and others to consent to this formula. They also received a profession from Liberius, wherein he pronounced "all those to be cut off from the Church who should deny that the Son was *in substance and in all things like to the Father*. For Eudoxus and the Anomœans had spread the report that Liberius condemned the ὁμοιούσιον and professed the Son to be unlike the Father. This done, the Emperor allowed Liberius to return to Rome."† Now let us note the significance of this history. The Emperor,

* Πρεσβευσαμένων τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς Δύσεως ἐπισκόπων, μετακαλεῖται Λιβέριον, κ. τ. λ.

† Sozomen, Hist. Eccl., iv. 11, 15.

under the influence of Basil of Ancyra, had just been exhibiting a violent manifestation of orthodoxy in condemning Aetius and Eudoxus, and thoroughly breaking up the sect of the Anomæans (or *Dissimilists*). Basil* has just arrived at Sirmium with a profession of faith to all appearance framed expressly to contradict the Anomæan profession. Aetius said the Son was unlike, Basil professed that he was like. Of course he was so far right—that is, as against Aetius. Now the Emperor is in straits about Pope Liberius. He wants him to sign something that can be construed into an agreement with the court party. Here is his opportunity. A triple document is drawn, containing two orthodox formularies and the declaration against Anomæism. Cannot Liberius sign this? One can see at a glance what arguments Basil and his confederates would have at command; and these, coupled with the fact that there was nothing expressly unorthodox in the anti-Aetian formula, but only a reticence, would be likely to weigh greatly with Liberius. "Aetius," they said, "says the Son is unlike the Father: cannot you declare that all those are out of the Church who deny that the Son is in all things like the Father?" This is what Liberius seems to have done: he seems to have signed a document in which there was a reticence, and that reticence comprised in a word which became the watchword of a heresy. But we maintain that the peculiar circumstances of that particular formula, that is to say, it being drawn expressly as a contradictory to the Anomæan error, clear him completely from the charge of having even by implication condemned the appropriateness of the word ὁμοούσιον, and much more from his having made shipwreck of the Faith.

It is clear, from an often-quoted passage of S. Athanasius ("Lib. de Synodis," n. 41), that even that champion of the ὁμοούσιον did not treat as heretics or exclude from his communion those who merely objected to the *word*, stamped though it was with the authority of the Council of Nicæa. Much less, therefore, would he have considered as a heretic a man who neither said nor implied anything whatever against the appropriateness of that word, but *confined himself* to expressing the precise contradictory of an undoubted heresy. And S. Hilary, the Athanasius of the West, in the work which he wrote with the same purpose as S. Athanasius—that is to say, in order to set the faithful right about the perplexing councils, assemblies, and meetings that followed each

* Of Ancyra, the semi-Arian leader, mentioned above as the Emperor's adviser.

other, up and down, from Rome to Constantinople,—S. Hilary himself says that the expression "similitude of nature" is of itself beyond suspicion, for complete similitude means equality, and equality means unity.* He says the same of the first Sirmian formula, which had omitted the ὁμοούσιον and he said this either at the end of the year 358 or the beginning of 359, a period, it need not be pointed out, exactly contemporaneous with the events of which we are now speaking. If S. Liberius, then, did nothing more than what Sozomen says he did, it is impossible to make him out as having under compulsion professed heresy. Opinions may differ as to the expediency of his act; though we may reasonably require extremely strong proof before admitting that *any* given act of a Pope has been inexpedient. But, at all events, taking the narrative of the only *historian* who pretends to give a history of the affair between the Pope and the Court, it is clear that what he did was not to sign, either officially or otherwise, an heretical formula.

Now let our position here be distinctly understood. The facts which we mentioned at starting make it absolutely incredible that Liberius did anything which either tended, or was generally considered as tending, to any grave injury of the Catholic Faith. Nothing short of demonstrative evidence could outweigh this à priori incredibility. On the other hand, Mr. Renouf himself admits (p. 41) that the "historical and chronological difficulties . . . connected with the case . . . are quite sufficient to have furnished opportunities to his apologists of . . . utterly denying his fall." In other words, Mr. Renouf himself admits that he does not see how to harmonize his own story with historical and chronological facts. We may take it therefore as now conclusively established, that S. Liberius did nothing whatever to sully his otherwise illustrious name. But when we come to examine details, we are treading on less sure ground: it is far more certain that the Pontiff did not "fall," than that this or that particular method of accounting for facts is the true one. We certainly think however that the view we have given is in full accordance with historical testimonies, and in particular that our position is entirely proof against Mr. Renouf's assault. We will proceed then to consider that writer's various citations. The

* Caret igitur, fratres, similitudo naturæ contumeliæ suspicione, nec potest videri Filius idcirco in proprietate paternæ naturæ non esse, quia similis est, cum similitudo nulla sit nisi ex æqualitate naturæ; æqualitas autem naturæ non potest esse, nisi una sit, una vero non personæ unitate, sed generis; hæc fides pia est, etc.—*S. Hilarius, De Synodis*, n. 76, 77.

reader however must please to bear in mind that the difficulties we are to meet are in no instance derived from the narrative of a professed historian, but—putting for a moment on one side the alleged letters of Liberius himself—only from the *obiter dicta* (so to speak) of controversialists. Our allegation is that all these sayings, where undoubtedly authentic, are consistent with the view given above.

The formal testimony of S. Hilary, in what is called his Sixth Fragment, is at first sight the most unanswerable of these. S. Hilary says that Liberius signed the "perfidia Ariana" at Sirmium.

Mr. Renouf allows that "an honest doubt" may be entertained about this Fragment of S. Hilary. The Fragments are so corrupt that it is confessedly almost impossible to make out what is genuine and what is false. In this very Fragment 6 the note that S. Hilary is made to add utterly contradicts both the main assertion and itself. Mr. Renouf says he has no doubt S. Hilary did not write the note. Perhaps so; but this weakens the case for his being the author of the rest. The words "Anathema tibi, prævaricator Liberi," which are repeated, are more than doubtful. Dr. Hefele ("Conciliengesch." i. 669) considers them unworthy of a Hilary, and says they seem rather to be those of a Luciferian zealot. Nay, S. Hilary cannot by possibility have written them; for at the time the work was composed of which these Fragments are part Liberius had shown, by his conduct in the case of the Council of Rimini, that if he had committed any error, such error was at all events most abundantly retracted. S. Hilary could not by possibility have spoken thus of the true Pope, with whom he was in communion. Compare the very different tone in which S. Athanasius relates what he considers to have been Liberius's error. The other words of S. Hilary (in his letter to Constantius), "Nescio utrùm majore impietate relegaveris quam remiseris," can easily be explained. Mr. Renouf says their sense is plain enough; but he must know that at least two other senses besides his own are given by critics. S. Hilary may have meant to brand the impiety of Constantius, for having sent him back with a foul aspersion on his name; or, what is more probable, for having sent him back on the iniquitous and absurd condition of ruling the Roman Church conjointly with Felix.* The words of Faustinus and Marcellinus only prove that Liberius's special enemies, the Luciferians, chose to consider what Liberius did to have been worse than it was. But the most

* Sozomen, iv. 15.

peremptory argument in connection with S. Hilary is his total silence with regard to Liberius in his book "De Synodis." In this work he treats at length of the fall of Hosius, who had subscribed what is commonly called the second Sirmian formula, about the same time that S. Liberius had made his subscription. Here, if anywhere, the prevarication of the Pope should have been mentioned. The scandal of the fall of Hosius, with all the weight of his ninety years, was little compared with what would have been caused by the defection of the Bishop of Rome; yet such a fall is never alluded to. With Dr. Hefele, therefore, we must totally discredit the Fragment of S. Hilary.

The words of S. Jerome, who says that Liberius subscribed *in hæreticam pravitatem*, and repeats the same thing in another place, if they are genuine—which we do not in the least believe—can be explained of the occurrence which we have related in the words of Sozomen. Nothing is more probable than that the true nature of the transaction was not accurately known to S. Jerome, or to the hand that touched up his Chronicle and his "De Viris Illustribus." But it should be pointed out that the two texts of S. Jerome contradict each other in one most important particular. The passage from the "De Scriptoribus Ecclesiasticis" says that the Pope subscribed *when he was going* (pergentem) into exile; that from the "Chronicon" says that it was only when *overcome by the distress of banishment* (tædio victus exilii) that he did so. Mr. Renouf with incredible unfairness omits from the former quotation those very words, which would exhibit this flagrant contradiction of the two passages. But in truth there are many other difficulties besides this against the genuineness of either.

S. Athanasius's words are exactly what might have been expected on our hypothesis. Let us suppose that S. Liberius did what we have above alleged: in those days of vehement and reckless party spirit, nothing is so probable as that the rumour should have in the first instance reached Athanasius in that very shape (distorted though it be) to which he has given expression.

Mr. Renouf says that till the sixteenth century the fall of Liberius was accepted as one of the simply indisputable facts of Church history. The same might be said of a good many other exploded fictions. It is merely saying that as soon as scientific history began to exist people began to doubt about it.

We come now to the so-called letters of Liberius himself. The Fragments of S. Hilary, mentioned above, present us with several letters purporting to be from the Pope to various

persons. Of these there are four so extremely like each other in language, manner, style, and matter that they are evidently the work of one author. The language is such barbarous Latin, and shows not merely such a want of polish and elegance, but such poverty and clumsiness in the repetition of semi-barbarous terms and phrases, that these letters cannot possibly be the production of a cultivated man, whose native tongue was Latin. The style is confused and unconnected, the thought is meagre and poor, and the repetition of two or three stereotyped phrases suggests a correspondent who is unaccustomed to use his pen. Now, of these four letters, ascribed to Liberius—one, viz., that addressed to the Oriental bishops—commencing "Studens paci," has been proved to be a forgery.* The other three are the documents upon which Mr. Renouf, and those who agree with him, chiefly depend for the establishing the charge of heresy against Pope Liberius. With Dr. Hefele, we have no hesitation in maintaining that they also are forgeries. One great argument in proof of this is that, if the "Studens paci" is forged, its three congeners are forged also. Another is, that they contradict Sozomen. From his narrative, it is evident that Liberius had signed nothing and agreed to nothing when he was brought from Bercœa to the court at Sirmium. If he had already signed the heretical "second formula," the Emperor would never have lost his time in trying to force him (over again) to condemn the *ὁμοούσιον*; much less in making him sign such a comparatively mild document as the Profession of Basil. But these letters assert that he had yielded and signed the heretical formula before he left Bercœa. Thirdly, the second letter states that the whole of the Roman clergy could bear witness that Athanasius had been separated from the communion of the Roman Church. Now, there is positive proof that the Roman clergy never condemned Athanasius, and never even diminished their enthusiasm for him.

To these proofs may be added the imbecility of the letters themselves, their discordance with all that is known of the character and antecedents of Liberius, and the patent fact that they are quite different in style and language from those of his compositions that are undoubtedly genuine.† Summing up the evidence, Hefele concludes thus:—"For the reasons given, therefore, and because they contradict trustworthy history, I have as little doubt as Baronius, Stilting, P. Ballerini, Massari, Palma, and others, as to their spuriousness. I suspect

* Hefele, Conciliengesch., i. 625, 665.
† See Revue des Questions Historiques, liv. i.

that they are the work of some Greek who was little skilled in Latin, and who wrote them in the Anomæan interest. Such a forgery is the less astonishing, since we know that the Arian party circulated false letters of Athanasius himself, and Sozomen expressly says that the Anomæans of Asia had spread false reports about Liberius, as though he had embraced their views and rejected the doctrine of the Church. May not these three letters have been the very means used to propagate this falsehood ?"* Mr. Renouf objects that Hefele stands alone in this verdict, and is opposed by all the great critics, from Natalis Alexander to Döllinger. This is not quite correct, as Hefele's own words have just shown. Moreover, it must be carefully borne in mind that to admit the letters to be genuine is not to admit that Liberius professed heresy, much less that he taught heresy to the Church. Mr. Renouf indeed thinks that one of the letters, at all events, does prove this. But Natalis Alexander, whilst passing the letters, strenuously maintains that it was only the *first* Sirmian formula which Liberius signed; and all admit the first formula to have contained no heresy, but only a reticence. Besides, in dealing with the letters, though he does not deny *their* authenticity, he is driven to deny that of some of the comments which immediately follow them in the Fragment where they are found.† With Hefele, *we* prefer to deny the genuineness of the letters: and so, we think, would Alexander himself have done, if he had bestowed upon them as much acuteness and pains as the historian of the Councils. Tillemont, again, does not deny the letters to have been written by Liberius, but still thinks they only prove him to have signed the first formula. How he does this is his own affair. But his critical powers are certainly not seen at their best in this passage.‡ For instance, though he quotes Sozomen, as well as S. Hilary and S. Jerome, he passes by without a word of critical deduction the significant circumstance that if Liberius signed the Sirmian formula and condemned Athanasius at Berœa, it must have been utterly superfluous to have ignored the *ὁμοούσιον* afterwards at Sirmium. In other words, Liberius yielded an ell at Berœa, and then was brought to Sirmium with much solemnity, and there, by pressing, was made to yield an inch.

Fleury himself,§ followed by De Broglie,‖ does not admit that the Pope professed heresy. As for Dupin, he was a perverse Gallican, and, indeed, much worse; and it is easy to see

* Conciliengesch., i. 668. † Dissert. xxxii. art. 1.
‡ Tome vi. p. 2, art. 69. § Hist. Eccles., l. xiii. n. 46.
‖ L'Église et l'Empire Romain, P. II. tome i. p. 389.

that his peculiar views would be much more effectively promoted by a belief in Liberius's guilt than in his innocence. The other names of Mr. Renouf, respectable as they are, cannot be compared with that of Hefele; if for no other reason, simply for this, that there is no evidence they have ever made a professed study of the particular question, whereas Hefele has examined it minutely.

As for "the great Protestant critics," it is amusing to hear Mr. Renouf appeal to them as "admitting" the letters; as if Basnage and Blondel had to do violence to their filial reverence in order to do so. It is surely indisputable that there are some questions on which even able men are not fair jurymen; and it will be time to consider Basnage's "admissions" when it can be proved he did not hate the Papacy. Protestants, even impartial ones, have no wish or call to examine profoundly an obscure point of criticism for the purpose of trying to rehabilitate a Pope. On the other hand, Mr. Renouf's attack on Stilting the Bollandist looks uncommonly like a piece of pique at Stilting's acuteness and erudition. Hefele, who continually quotes Stilting with respect, and often with approbation, does not consider his Commentary to be one of the "most mischievous productions ever written."

That Pope Liberius condemned S. Athanasius, is a proposition of which there is no proof whatever beyond the letters we have been considering, and which we do not admit as genuine. Even if he had done so, it would not have been heresy: for the Arians, as a rule, waived the charge of heresy against Athanasius,* in order to procure his condemnation on other charges. And to communicate with the court party at a time when they were most likely to all appearance orthodox, was in all probability the Pope's bounden duty; at all events, it cannot have been a sacrifice of the Faith.

It may be objected, perhaps, that the appropriateness of the word ὁμοούσιον was implicitly ruled at Nicæa; and that those therefore who denied that appropriateness rejected the Council's decree, and were inadmissible to ecclesiastical communion. But we have already pointed out that S. Athanasius himself—no lukewarm supporter of the Council—made no scruple whatever in admitting such men to his communion, if they accepted the orthodox *dogma*. Indeed the whole confusion arises from that theological habit, just now so

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* Tillemont says:—"Il y déclare aussi qu'il renonce à la communion de S. Athanase. Il ne parle point qu'il eust souscrit la confession de Sirmich, *parce que ce n'estait pas la foy dont les grands Ariens se mettoient en peine.*" —(Tome vi. p. 2, art. 69.)

deplorably prevalent, of confusing the Church's *definitions of faith* with her *other* infallible determinations. But this is not the place for enlarging on a subject which has of late occupied so large a share of our attention.

It may further however be objected, that at all events we have been attributing the very same offence to Liberius which he himself rebuked in the Council of Rimini; for that Council did not in terms *condemn* the "ὁμοούσιον," but only *omitted* the expression. We reply in the first place that, even confining ourselves to patent historical facts, there is a broad difference between the two cases. (1) The act of Liberius was specificated by a special purpose; it was against Aetius and the Anomœans, and takes its meaning from that circumstance: whereas Rimini was meant for an Œcumenical Council. Then (2) even in the short space which intervened between what Liberius did at Sirmium and the Council of Rimini, controversial terms had grown more distinct and technical; so that what was harmless before was suspicious or unorthodox now. This change was chiefly brought about indeed by the fact, first made evident at Rimini, that the Court party was using the "ὁμοιούσιον" in an heretical sense. And (3) the formula of Rimini differed in most important respects from that of Sirmium. The latter said "like *in substance and in all things* to the Father"; whereas the italicized words were omitted at Rimini.* We think these points of distinction abundantly sufficient. But even were they not, it must be remembered that the facts connected with Liberius's subscription are most imperfectly known to us; and nothing therefore is more easily supposable than that there may have been various concomitant circumstances, which precluded the possibility of the Pope's meaning being misapprehended by any one to whom those circumstances were known. That in point of fact he was not generally considered as having in any sense betrayed the Catholic Faith—as we have more than once urged—is among the most certain facts of history.

It is most certain then that he did not "fall." As to what that act of his may have been which has been perverted by rumour into a "fall"—we thus sum up what we have maintained as appearing to us the more probable view. Liberius subscribed a perfectly orthodox document, which in the then circumstances was most useful and important. Since however, it omitted the word ὁμοούσιον, a heterodox (semi-Arian) interpretation was afterwards put upon it, by a few to whom the circumstances were not accurately known,

* Tillemont, Hist. Eccl., t. vi. p. 2, n. 71.

That he subscribed ex cathedrâ, if he subscribed at all, may be admitted as far as our present argument is concerned; for the doctrine that he taught was most undeniably orthodox. Even had his act been injudicious and inexpedient, he would afterwards have nobly redeemed it. The history of the Council of Rimini, the protestation of the Pope against its convocation, and his final condemnation of all the acts of four hundred Western bishops assembled under the eye of the Emperor, show us the true successor of Julius, and the worthy contemporary of the great saints who contended for the faith of Nicæa.

But there is really no kind of solid or substantial proof that he made any mistake at all. Mr. Renouf's authorities are, some of them, fair to the eye, but they have nothing in them, or what they have in them is not to the point. We know, for Sozomen expressly tells us, that the Asiatic Anomæans spread all kinds of lying reports about Liberius, and it is apparent that the Luciferians did the same. We prefer therefore to hold, as we have a right to do, that S. Liberius was a great Pope, who never tarnished the glory of the Roman mitre by the least defection. The case against him utterly breaks down: and there never was, perhaps, such a complete example of the difference between surface appearance and substantial fact, as is afforded by an impartial investigation of the question we have been discussing.

Art. VII.—CHURCH MUSIC AND CHURCH CHOIRS.

Liturgical Rules for Organists, Singers, and Composers. A Manual compiled from Rubrical and authentic sources; with Imprimatur of the Archbishop of Westminster. London: Burns, Oates, & Co. 1868.

Publications on Church Music; By Canon Oakeley and Rev. James Nary. 1868.

WE proceed to redeem the promise made in our last issue but one, in a short notice which we gave of some recent publications on Church choirs. Speaking of the views of the writers there referred to, we said as follows:—

"We do not see so much divergence as might at first sight appear between Canon Oakeley and Mr. Nary, and we think, moreover, that it will not be difficult to indicate a line which will not only reconcile the views of these writers, but enable all who are honestly desirous of seeing our public services

conducted in the spirit of the Church to occupy a common ground, and to work harmoniously towards a common end."

Circumstances prevented our carrying this intention into effect in our last number; but the delay has been fortunate in two ways. First, it enabled us to give insertion to the interesting communication of Canon Oakeley, explanatory of his former publications; and next, and more especially, it has given us the great advantage of placing at the head of our paper a publication which it will at once be seen is of primary importance in the settlement of the various points under discussion. We intend therefore to make the "Instructions" of the Holy See, as contained in the "Manual" before us, our pole-star, hoping thereby to steer our way safely through the difficulties of this vexed question, and so to arrive at a secure resting-place, whither we may invite the candid reader to follow us, and where, if we mistake not, our various differences may be happily composed. There is no loyal Catholic in the present day, we should hope, who will not gladly fall in with the Church's wishes * when once ascertained, in this as in all other matters of a ritual kind, even if it should be at the cost of giving up some things to which he may have been attached, or for which he may have found a kind of tradition existing in his own country. And if we are allowed a comparison among such things, we think we shall not be wrong in assigning a very prominent place to the matter before us; more especially if we may assume the justness of what we are about to say further on of the special position which music occupies in the public services of the Church.

There are few thoughtful persons in the present day who are not ready to admit that great abuses have crept into

* We say "wishes"; for, of course, the "Instructions" quoted have not actually been made *obligatory* amongst ourselves. They may be proposed for general adoption, however, for the following reasons:—1. Because we shall thereby bring ourselves into more complete accordance with the spirit of the Church and the intentions of the Holy See; and 2. Because we can only arrive at a general agreement by conformity to some known rule; and these instructions, it will be admitted, represent the only one to which we can reasonably expect that all should defer. It is proper also, at the outset, to draw attention to the fact that these instructions have hardly anything of a local or temporary character; but, on the contrary, are of general application to the services of the Church, wherever performed. Indeed, apart altogether from the question of ecclesiastical authority, there can be no doubt that in substance they are just what any body of well-educated musicians would prescribe. That the practical adoption of these rules in our English churches must, in many cases at least, be a gradual process, is self-evident. We make this remark, however, lest it should be supposed that we are forgetful how much the carrying out of such changes must be dependent upon circumstances, even where there is the sincerest disposition to fall in with the wishes of the Church.

our choral arrangements, and that a searching reform has long been needed; and even where no audible complaints have been made, it is well known that there has been a very general under-current of uneasiness and even discontent, not only among one class, but among all. Still the remedy apparently has been to seek; organists and singing men and women have generally been left in undisturbed possession of the field, and the clergy and faithful have alike felt themselves powerless under their sway. Much, no doubt, was due in past times to unfavourable circumstances, which no longer exist, or at least *need* no longer exist; chief among which may be mentioned the breaking off in this country of all the old traditions as to the externals of Catholic worship; and also the difficulty, from poverty in educational resources and other causes, of procuring the right kind of executants. But there can be little doubt that the Catholic Church in England is now fairly in a position to resume her proper arrangements as to the form of her sacred buildings, and the old tradition of her offices; and there can be as little doubt that the period has arrived when for every reason it is most desirable that these should be restored, both for the sake of those who are already within her fold, and for those also who are lingering about her portals, and longing to enter in. Many an Augustine may perhaps even now be at the door, waiting only to be drawn in and melted into submission by the majesty and sweetness of her choral services.

We have on previous occasions adduced some reasons why we consider the present subject one of great importance at the present time; and to these may now be added one or two others. We allude, firstly, to the taste for music which confessedly exists to so remarkable an extent among all classes in the present day. And we allude secondly, to the *special* place which music may be said to hold in connection with the public offices of the Church;—marking it off, as it seems to us, from all the other arts, which, though not essential to the Church's life, have always, when circumstances permitted, ministered to her external beauty; such as architecture, painting, and sculpture. A few words on this second point may form a not unfit introduction to what is to follow.

Architecture, by giving us buildings, majestic and beautiful both in form and detail, renders homage to the great object of adoration, and exercises also a hallowing and elevating influence on the minds of the faithful.* The cathedrals and

* We all remember Napoleon's exclamation on entering one of those noble cathedrals of France, which are the glory of the reign of S. Louis;—"*How difficult it is to be an unbeliever here!*"

abbeys, of various style and character, which overspread Christendom, and many of which,—though, alas! diverted from their original purpose,—still adorn, with their stately beauty, our own land, prove what is the spirit of the Catholic Church in this matter; while the recent revival and extension of the Faith amongst ourselves bears unequivocal witness to the same instinct.

Pictures again, whether in the shape of frescoes, or painted glass, or again on canvas, and still more the sculptured images which adorn our sanctuaries, speak powerfully to the intelligence and hearts of the faithful. Pictures were wont to be called the books of the unlearned; and no doubt in days gone by their use in this respect was more strikingly evident than it is in our time: but still, whether among the simple and the unlettered, or among those of greater cultivation, the influence of holy pictures and images as a means of quickening and adding reality to devotion, and as helps to meditation on the facts and mysteries of our faith, is of the highest value.

Music, however, will be found to enter into additional and still more close relations with Catholic doctrine and worship; and as far as the higher acts of public devotion are concerned, it forms an integral and necessary part of the celebration;—the sacred words and the tones in which they are exhibited forming one entire whole. At solemn offices, Processions, High Mass, Vespers, &c., music is the crowning feature. In the Procession, *e.g.*, we are surrounded by whatever external influences art can place at the service of religion; but all would be comparatively tame and incomplete without the voice of song. This breathes life into the whole function; and whereas other arts speak only silently to the mind, music brings to bear upon the worshippers that wonderful and mysterious charm with which it has been gifted by its Creator, and by which it has power to stir, to elevate, to melt, to soothe, or to humble the soul of man; and when the faithful join their voices, as they may do, in the rite, still more powerful and absorbing is the effect. And then music cannot in such cases, like the other arts, be ignored. We may abstract ourselves from all the other external things we have named, but from this we cannot withdraw ourselves. Be the musical accompaniment good or bad, there it is,—an inseparable ingredient in the function. Hence the importance of having such music as will fall in with the true spirit of religion, and subserve instead of frustrate the great purpose of our solemn services. Hence, too, it will not surprise us if it should turn out that the Church has been solicitous upon this head, and that she has laid down rules for our guidance; nay that she

has provided a form of chant for each occasion, which, though not necessarily to be followed literally in every case, may yet be regarded as the normal form of celebration, as well as in some sort the rule and guide of all future musical development.

And this brings us to our main subject, which naturally divides itself into three parts :—

I. The proper music to be sung.
II. The persons by whom it is to be sung.
III. The place where it is to be sung.

It is the first only of these three topics with which we can attempt to deal on the present occasion; and as an introduction to our remarks, it will be as well to lay before our readers some extracts from the publications referred to at the outset. The questions under discussion have been canvassed in various quarters—among others in the pages of this REVIEW—for the last twenty years;* but it will be sufficient to quote from these two writers, since they may be considered fair representatives of the more prominent views held on this subject in the present day. We are the more induced to follow this course, because in our previous notice of Canon Oakeley's publications we confined ourselves simply to a few remarks on their contents, and were hardly able, therefore, to exhibit their arguments with that fulness and prominence which they deserved. The extracts from Mr. Nary's pamphlet will also afford our readers a convenient opportunity for comparison.†

On the present point, then, we quote the following from Canon Oakeley's "Few Words" :—

> It has always appeared to me that if a theory could be devised which might enable us, on religious grounds, to reconcile the various kinds of music which bear upon them the impress of genius, skill, and elevated sentiment, as alike capable of being converted to the uses of the Church, we should really gain an important step in the line of charity, peace, and mutual co-operation. . . . . The fact surely is, that plain chant on the one hand,

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* We have gone carefully over the different papers on this subject, which have appeared in the DUBLIN REVIEW from its commencement—some of them by the late Cardinal Wiseman—and had space permitted, it would have been interesting to have given some extracts from these successive articles. We may say, however, that we have done our best to gather up the various points which they contain, to harmonize them, and to apply them practically to our present circumstances.

† We had marked more copious extracts for insertion from both these authors, but our limited space has obliged us to condense them. We shall have to quote from them again, however, when we come, in another article, to the latter portion of our subject. Meantime the publications themselves are easily accessible to any reader who may be interested in the discussion.

and what is called music on the other, represent different ideas, the one of which is not at all more or less religious than the other, but which, in their union, cannot coexist with an exclusive preference of either style. The leading idea which is represented by plain chant, and in no degree by any other style of music, except that which consists in bare recitative, is, that in certain cases music best discharges her office by retreating, as it were, in despair before certain divine words, and contenting herself with merely providing a vehicle for their utterance, so simple as not by any studied beauty of its own to detract from their intrinsic majesty and power. This I think will be admitted to be the leading idea of plain chant, though I am far from denying that accidentally this idea produces some of the most attractive charms of the divine art in its results.

Here the author mentions some pieces of plain chant as being beautiful specimens of melody.

Now, with the exception of one or two of the hymns, it will be seen that all the instances I have given belong to music of a plaintive, if not mournful character; and here it is that plain chant seems to me to occupy a very high place in music, although its essential idea consists in leaving the sacred words to speak for themselves, rather than in bringing the power of art to bear upon them. Were this, therefore, the sole end of Church music, we might reasonably exclude all but plain chant from our choirs. But, as a matter of fact, this has always been found a simple impossibility. . . . . The question is one of principle, and the moment that principle is infringed passes into one of mere degree, and can then be no longer consistently maintained.* There must be some reason for the failure of exclusive plain chant in practice, and this reason I take to be that the voice of the people, which in this case represents the voice of the Church, has determined that there is a certain sentiment which religious worship is intended both to evoke and satisfy, and to which plain chant is entirely unequal; the sentiment I mean of Christian joy. Hence it is that, whereas plain chant can give admirable effect to a Dead Mass, or to the offices of Holy Week, it breaks down totally when applied to a Gloria in Excelsis. Unless, therefore, any one will go so far as to say that the Church requires no other kind of medium for the celebration of our Lord's Resurrection than suits the delineation of His Passion, it must be admitted that a different sort of music is wanted on Easter Day from that which is inexpressibly beautiful in its proper place on Palm Sunday. . . . .

The plain chant, as I have more than once said, has its own place and value in the Church; a place which ought not to be usurped, and a value which, in its own department, cannot be too highly estimated. The two great styles of Church music were never meant to oust and jostle one

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* Elsewhere the author says, "The moment we determine to extend our range of choice there is no principle on which we can exclude any concerted and elaborate music, except indeed some of the lightest compositions of the Italian school. All then becomes a mere question of degree and of taste."

another, but should bring to the service of religion their combined powers as different branches of the one divine art. As a matter of fact, however, plain chant has in some of our dioceses almost died out for want of nourishment and protection. This misfortune comes in a great measure from the prejudice against it, which has its source in our colleges, and thence diffuses itself over a wider sphere of influence. Again, when executed in our churches it is apt to be slurred over as if it were something in the way of the real business of the choir, which has to be shovelled off with all possible expedition. . . . . The first requisite towards getting the people to appreciate it is to appreciate it ourselves. Although I have ventured to express a strong objection to the exclusive use of this chant, especially during the seasons of religious joy, I would by no means desire to preclude entire Masses in plain chant, by way of variety, and more particularly in the penitential seasons, to the spirit of which that style is so singularly congenial. But in all Masses, room should be left for the introduction of plain chant in those portions of them which require solemn and sustained recitation, rather than the effect of external illustration; and, where duly carried out, it contributes most powerfully, by the effect of contrast, to the dignity and grandeur of Church celebrations.

Next we quote from Mr. Nary:—

The writer wishes to affirm the existence of an exclusive Church chant—that is, of a music preferred and adopted by the Church many centuries ago and which she has not yet thought fit to discard, or even to mutilate for the introduction of any other style. This does not mean that the Church will not allow figured music; it merely implies that whilst admitting such music into her service, she has not made it her own. . . . . If it is true that "plain chant has its own place and value" in the Church, and, by inference, that the music of Haydn, Mozart, and Rossini has also its place and value in the Church, it must appear not a little surprising that the Sovereign Pontiff should not only omit to make any provision for the acquisition by her students of the latter, but even plainly prohibit its introduction into the course of studies in seminaries. . . . . Surely plain chant can have no pretensions as regards music. It is above anything of the kind. It is in possession of its birthright, which it has not sold to any modern favourite, and which could not be disputed until the Church who gave it has taken it away. . . . . Florid music may invade our churches and alone he heard in them, it may put forth pretensions, but it cannot invalidate the exclusive claims of plain chant to be considered the Church's own music. . . . .

Here the author quotes from Canon Oakeley's pamphlet the passages above cited.

The writer is certainly inclined to complain that plain chant is very unhandsomely treated in the above conditions of peace between itself and florid music. First he contends that the venerable chant does not deserve to be reduced to the rank of "bare recitative;" Canon Oakeley himself allows that, "accidentally," the "solemn recitation" of plain chant "issues in the form of most engaging melodies." Indeed, he gives a string of exceptions

which is, of itself, more than sufficient to render unsteady the faith of the most obsequious believer in his theory. For what must be thought of a "leading idea" which at once admits of so many exceptions? And Canon Oakeley must know that the list of "most engaging melodies" might be doubled, trebled, increased tenfold. . . . .

Far from its being the truth that plain chant is devoid of real musical beauty, and only derives its worth from its being an unpretentious vehicle of the words, the fact is that it is itself beautiful—that it consists of melodies having their own artistic claims independently of the words: plaintive, imploring, majestic, blissful, as they are meant to describe anguish, supplication, praise, or joy. . . . . The author is firmly convinced that, as a rule, plain chant intensifies the meaning of the words which it accompanies more truly and fitly than figured music, at least than the figured music which now obtains in our churches. . . . . It is but too exactly the case that figured Church music, instead of being descriptive of the sacred words of the Liturgy, plays with them in the way best fitted to give effect to itself. Would any one contend that the rollicking tunes of many a modern Kyrie intensify, better than plain chant, the meaning of the supplicating ejaculation: *Lord have mercy upon us?* . . . . It may fairly be questioned whether any one unaccustomed to our florid Church music, upon hearing one of the jigs which render the sweet prayer, *O Lord give us peace, dona nobis pacem*, in some of our modern masses, would be able to tell, not only that it aply describes the words, but even that it expresses any religious feeling at all, including the sentiment of holy joy. That in numerous instances modern Church music, instead of being descriptive of the holy words to which it is joined, rather expresses the sensuous languor of the stage or the airy joy of the ball-room, could not well be disputed.

Mr. Nary here refers to certain pieces of figured music, which he thinks unsuitable for Church use, as to several of which, we may remark, he is at issue with Canon Oakeley.

Indeed it is exceedingly remarkable that what Haydn, Mozart, Weber, and others would have been ashamed to do for the stage, they have, seemingly without a qualm of conscience, done for the house of God. They knew that they must have been accused of folly, had they in one of their operatic works given to earnestness the tones of jesting, to prayer those of mirth; but this is precisely what they have done for the services of the Church. The most touching supplications of the Liturgy are often clothed by them in strains of mockery. . . . . It is not implied here that there are not in the works of the great modern composers beautiful passages full of genuine religious feeling; but will any impartial judge contend that there are many masses in which there is no blundering at all between the words and the music? . . . . Nay, is it not true that certain masses by those composers, if separated from the sacred words and applied to some libretto of the late Eugène Scribe, would only gain in naturalness and meaning by the change? What, then, it may be asked, is there no other music for the Almighty than that of the theatre? . . . . It can hardly be disputed that some of our own churches have too often, in their musical efforts, exhibited

scenes bordering very closely upon downright desecration of the house of God. . . . . There is no need to describe the sad feelings which arise in the heart of a Catholic who finds the adorable Sacrifice of the Mass turned into a Sunday morning amusement.

Some people, who allow that the music of some of our churches is thoroughly profane, still justify its use on the plea that it allures strangers, who may be favourably impressed with other and more religious portions of the service. But this is a poor justification of practices which annoy the real congregation, and hinder devotion. No doubt a priest should seek to draw strangers to his church, but all means are not equally legitimate towards attaining this laudable end. Besides, the writer, though entirely unable to form any judgment which he could commend to the belief of others, much doubts whether any priest could trace more than a few conversions, if any at all, not to his Church music, which may partly be very ecclesiastical, but to his florid or orchestral music, as to their origin.*

We think our readers will excuse our reproducing, as a fitting sequel, a portion of Canon Oakeley's letter to ourselves in reference to Mr. Nary's publication, since without this they would hardly have the whole question before them:—

. . . . With regard to the expressive powers of plain chant, I candidly admit that Mr. Nary has convicted me of injustice, although I never intended my enumeration of the specimens I so much prize to be exhaustive, or even ample. But I know not how I happened to omit the record of such treasures as the *Te Deum*, or the *Regina Cœli*, or how I could have said,

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* It may be added that Mr. Nary is not the only one who has complained of these practices. Indeed, of late, almost every one of our newspapers, both metropolitan and provincial, has been the medium of giving vent to what are undoubtedly the feelings of many thoughtful Catholics on this subject. Their view is that the plan is a short-sighted one; that, while it annoys and drives away many of the regular congregation, it also repels the better and more earnest-minded of those external to us; in short, that it would be wiser, and in the end more successful, to rely upon those attractions which belong to the Catholic Church, rather than upon those which are common to the music-hall and the stage. As to the behaviour of the people who are so attracted, a single extract from a correspondent of one of the papers referred to may suffice:—"I have visited one church which usually draws large congregations, and I have seen (and this is a common sight) a great portion of those present sitting with their backs to the altar, following the music with their shilling books, and altogether comporting themselves as they would at the opera, or in a music-hall. It is alleged that the great object of these musical services is specially to attract Protestants, that perchance they may be led by the beauty of our celebrations to inquire into the truths of our religion: but it is evident that those outside of us who do attend are content with merely getting good music at a cheaper rate than they would have to pay for it elsewhere, and look for nothing further; and their conduct certainly scandalizes and annoys the Catholic portion of the congregation."

Of course, the higher view taken by Mr. Nary, and which is also implied, we think, in what Canon Oakeley says, presents the subject in a still more serious light.

consistently with my habitual and often-expressed admiration of those treasures, that plain chant is unequal to the expression of a certain kind of religious joy. But there are two kinds of religious joy, as I conceive of it; the one solemn and majestic, the other bright and exuberant. It is the latter kind of joy, as it seems to me, which is meant to be represented by a *Gloria in excelsis*, especially in Masses like the Midnight Mass at Christmas, or that of Holy Saturday, when the *Gloria* carries with it a peculiar meaning, and when its spirit is intensified by some sentiment of surprise, or heightened by some effective contrast. A plain-chant *Gloria* on either of those occasions would strike upon my own religious feelings with a certain sense of shock, and damp them with the cruel chill of a wet blanket.

It is undeniable that the study of the plain chant is made incumbent upon students for the priesthood, and a necessary part, therefore, of education in seminaries. The reason of this provision is obvious, and a reason it is which does not apply to other music, so that we cannot wonder that, at a period when time is so valuable, the rectors of seminaries should be required to promote the study of the ecclesiastical chant to the exclusion of other kinds of music. Neither, of course, have I anything to say in excuse whether for a secular style of music, or for those theatrical modes of executing it which the Church has so repeatedly denounced. But I must ever think that the employment of females in the musical service of the Church is a very primary cause of both these abuses. In the first place, it tends to encourage the use of such music as the female voice alone can represent with the highest effect; and, in the second, it diffuses over the choir a certain air of secularity which, in my opinion, is far more injurious to the religious spirit than any music can possibly be which is within the powers of the puerile voice. If these questions are to be decided by authority and precedent, I will venture to affirm that, on no subject connected with the choir, is the Church, as interpreted by her most approved practice as well as by authoritative decisions, more explicit than against the official employment of females. It was to this abuse, therefore, that my "Few Words" were principally directed; and, in so directing them, I had certainly an eye to the more extensive introduction of plain chant, while, at the same time, I did not, and do not, see that such a reform need carry with it the abolition of other music. Mr. Nary thinks that I would stipulate for male choirs singing in an ecclesiastical dress near the sanctuary. Certainly if they sing near the sanctuary they must, according to the rule of the Church, sing in an ecclesiastical dress, even though they be laics. Certainly also I consider this arrangement all but necessary for the due celebration of offices which involve antiphonal singing. Hence I think that, in the construction of all new Catholic churches, a provision for a choir near the sanctuary should be made indispensable.

We may take for granted, we think, in the outset, that in making provision for the musical celebration of the Church offices, Plain Chant is to have the first place, and that whatever else is taught, this at least is always to be secured. The instructions of the Holy See are unmistakable on this head, and so far, too, both of our writers may be said to

agree. In practice Mr. Nary would no doubt prefer the Mass (for in other services there would be little or no ground for difference), to be almost always executed in Plain Chant, with only perhaps an occasional exception. Canon Oakeley, on the other hand, would prefer figured Music as a general rule, but he would not "exclude entire Masses in Plain Chant" at times by way of variety; while in *all* Masses he would use the Plain Chant for those portions, such as Introits, Graduals, &c., which are not usually included in a Musical or figured Mass. He adds very truly that where this latter plan is followed it "contributes most powerfully, by the effect of contrast, to the dignity and grandeur of Church celebrations." And on this part of the subject our "Manual," while it gives the preference in point of authority to Plain Chant, and quotes from the instructions of Pius IX. to seminaries, "Cantus Gregorianus, omni alio rejecto, tradetur," yet says distinctly that "*both the Gregorian Chant and figured Music are recognized by the Rubrics of the Church.*"

Figured Music then is allowed to have a recognized place in divine service, though it has not actually the stamp of authority in the same way as the Plain Chant, nor is it anywhere printed under the Church's sanction, with the words of the Liturgy, as is the other. This, of course, it could not be. The Church Chant is one; the other is ever varying; and each new composition, as it arises, must be judged on its own merits. Since, then, no particular set of figured compositions could be formally authorized, and since, nevertheless, the Church desired to give us the option of using such music; the next thing we should expect would be that she should manifest her wishes as to what kind and style of composition should be admitted. We should, in fact, expect a distinction to be drawn somewhere;—for it could hardly be otherwise than that in such an extensive field, and among such varieties of taste in composition, much would be found of an unsuitable description. And though musicians might well be left to determine the comparative merits of certain pieces in a merely *musical* aspect, we should expect that some indication would be given us by the Church, as to what, in a religious point of view, was fitted for her sacred purposes.

We have implied that both of our writers take the use of figured Music, with certain limitations, for granted. Mr. Nary to be sure passes a severe judgment upon the greater part of the figured music written for the Mass; but, nevertheless, he admits that there "are in the works of these composers beautiful passages full of genuine religious feeling;" and so, of course, fit to be used for Church purposes. Canon

Oakeley again, though accepting much that Mr. Nary would reject, would still exclude certain "light compositions," and says especially that he has "nothing to say in excuse for a secular style of music;"—while by adding (in the way of objection) that the employment of women singers "*tends to encourage the use of such music as the female voice alone can represent with the highest effect*," he implies that something considerable must be done in the way of excision.

What we have taken for granted then, and what we have said we should expect from the guiding hand of the Church, has actually been supplied; and here it is that we think the "Manual" before us throws a flood of light. It does not, of course, furnish us with a list of compositions, or tell us which particular pieces are to be used, and which are to be avoided; nor does it supply us with such rules as would enable us to draw a "hard and fast line," or to range one Mass as a whole on one side, and another on another. But still it does show with sufficient clearness, on the one hand, what kind of musical movements are alien in their general tone and construction to the spirit of the Church, and on the other, what kind of settings of the sacred words are admissible for choir use.

As the best way of explaining what is meant, we will draw out these instructions.

Generally:—Musicians are praised who know how to unite in their compositions beauty, tenderness, and gravity, and how to arouse the heart to sentiments befitting the holy liturgy, in contradistinction to the use of an "uncanonical style of music in the temples dedicated to God" (p. 12). The character of the music at Solemn Mass and Office is to be "ecclesiastical, grave, and devotional" (p. 22). "The music should always be of such a character as, before everything else, to respect and give expression to the words of the liturgy" (*ib.*). "The most sustained gravity is to be observed, and nothing introduced suggestive of theatrical pieces, either by the arrangement or the melody" (p. 27). Music is censured as unworthy of the House of God in which "the composer, far from having in view the service of the Divine Majesty, and the edification of the hearers, has aimed only at displaying his own imaginations, and has forgotten the church and written for the theatre, not only by borrowing its style of melody, but also by introducing portions of theatrical music, to which he has adapted the words of the sacred liturgy" (p. 29). Choirmasters are exhorted to avoid "tiresome repetitions, as well as long introductions and preludes" (*ib.*). Movements are forbidden "of too lively or exciting a kind," which would not naturally be

inspired by the sacred character of the words, and which would be suggestive of the theatre: "if the words require cheerfulness and joy, it is to be expressed by the sweetness of religious mirth, and not by the unbridled liveliness of the dance" (p. 30). "Without depriving music of the grace which art and good taste suggest, an effeminate softness is to be avoided, as well as much noise, which is always tiring and unbecoming in the house of God" (p. 31).

Particularly:—a. There is to be no "confusion, suppression, or undue repetition of the words of the liturgy" (p. 12). The words are to be "sung as written, without omission, addition, or other changes" (p. 42). There is to be "no tiresome repetition or arbitrary inversions of the words as not tending to devotion" (p. 25). The words must be put to the music "in the order they occupy in the sacred text. When the sense has been entirely expressed, it will be allowable to repeat some word or phrase, as may be necessary, without confusion of the sense, and with the prescribed moderation" (p. 31). "All the words must be sung, and none added, nor any omitted. It is not allowed for one syllable to be changed" (*ib.*).

b. All singing of pieces not contained in the liturgy, or approved by the Congregation of Rites, is forbidden (p. 22).

c. Prolonged solos are prohibited (p. 22).

d. Music is not to be drawn out to an extreme length, "to the detriment of devotion and of the approved rites" (p. 25).

e. Interruptions between the various parts of the words of the liturgy are pronounced "very unbecoming," and it is enjoined that "every part of the offices, at Mass especially, shall be sung through continuously, so that the Kyrie, Gloria, and other parts, may each have a unity of structure" (p. 28).

f. The words of the sacred text are to be pronounced clearly, and never more quickly than in ordinary discourse (p. 31).

g. Ariettas, duets, and trios, in imitation of theatrical pieces, and operatic finales, are forbidden (p. 31). "As regards instruments, long introductions and long preludes are to be avoided, whether with full orchestra, or with solos" (p. 31).

Much stress, it will be observed, is laid upon the necessity of avoiding any approach to the music of the theatre. It is sometimes said, however, in reference to this, "Why should we not have music in the style of the opera? We have there the highest efforts of musical genius, and should we not dedicate the best to God?" But here it is in point to ask,

Granted that we should give the best to God, yet has not the word "best" a relative meaning? May it not be that what is best for the world, and for the display and plaudits of the theatre, will be found unsuitable for the purposes of religion? Thus we have the splendid singing of a prima donna in "Don Giovanni" or the "Flauto Magico,"—and this is almost the most beautiful thing that can be imagined;—but will the same performance bear transporting to the house of God, even though sacred words be substituted for profane? In the one case (to take only a single point of contrast) the object of the cantatrice is to show her powers of execution before an audience, by which she waits to be praised and encored. A church choir, on the contrary, sings to the praise of God, and the performance before a congregation of listeners is quite a subordinate matter. Will the same music which is expressly adapted for the one purpose really suit the other? Anyhow, the instructions of the Holy See are precise; and if they mean anything at all, they certainly imply that there *is* a distinction between religious and operatic music, and that the distinction can and should be drawn.

It cannot, we apprehend, be a very difficult matter to apply these instructions of the Holy See, as given above, to our existing stock of Mass music (and by consequence to other pieces, such as Magnificats, Antiphons, Motetts, &c.), and to discover by their assistance which compositions are admissible, and which are to be rejected. It is clear, moreover, that it is only by selecting and forming a body of artistic music, on the basis of these rules, that we can ever hope to get rid of our present evils, or to supply a point of union for all those who are concerned, alike for the honour of God in the public offices of religion, and for the interests of sacred art. For such important objects it is surely not too much to expect, as we have already said, that Catholics will be willing to forego to a certain extent their individual tastes and preferences. We do not find fault with the past, nor do we wonder at the too indiscriminate use of figured music in many of our choirs, in the supposed absence of all rule, and while no idea existed of the possibility of a common understanding upon any authoritative basis. The case is now altered. We know better: we have before us a rule, which will supply us with the understanding we want. Let musical people, however, be assured that, whatever eliminations from the existing stock of music may be necessary, a most ample margin will still be left, and that no injury whatever will be done to the real interests of art. The best and choicest of what belongs to the past will be stored up for use; the art of the present day will be encour-

aged to exert itself in producing fresh contributions for the service of religion; and when the wishes of the Holy See on the subject come to be known, musicians will write with a feeling of greater security, knowing that they have a guidance which will effectually protect them from the secularity and false taste which have so often been the bane of composers in past days. The Church will accept and use what they offer, "provided," to use the words of Pope Benedict XIV., "that such music be grave and decent, that the meaning of the divine words be not obscured, and that it possess nothing in common with the theatre." (*Encyc. Letter.*)

Canon Oakeley pertinently remarks that the exclusive prescription of Plain Chant by the Holy See already quoted refers primarily and specially to its study and use by the clergy, and to the necessity of making it a branch of education in seminaries. This is no doubt true,—and we confidently look forward to the time when the study of the Church chant will occupy this prominent place in all our colleges;—but still, when we take into account all that has been said on the subject by so many great ecclesiastical authorities, we cannot but conclude that its practice is recommended as of great importance to the faithful generally, especially to the *men* of our congregations. We cannot here insert extracts upon this point, but we hope to give some later on, when we come to treat of congregational singing. It is sometimes said, too, that Plain Chant is only for monks and nuns. Primarily and more especially, we may again say, it is; but not necessarily for them alone. We can understand, indeed, religious orders confining themselves to Plain Chant,* while for seculars the same exclu-

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* The exclusive use of the Church Chant has, indeed, been strictly enjoined upon religious by many prelates and holy men, as taking away the temptation to self-display, which they think would otherwise almost certainly creep in. S. Alphonsus Liguori will not be considered an unwise adviser in such a matter, nor will he be supposed to have any Jansenistic or puritanical tendencies; yet we know how strictly he forbade the cultivation of figured music in convents. He approves of nuns singing Plain Chant (or music in unison like Plain Chant): as for everything else, he "holds it for certain that vanity and the devil usually get more by it than God." As to figured music, he says again, "It does not become persons dedicated to God, and if such a practice exists in one or other monastery, it is commonly condemned as an abuse." "The Church," he adds, "is not a theatre, nor are the religious opera-singers." The saint makes remarks of a similar kind with respect to men singers; but our space forbids our quoting them.

An interesting question, however, arises, as to the line to be pursued when the church of a religious congregation becomes also the public church of a secular mission, a custom which in this country must not only be often unavoidable, but we may say even necessary, if the wants of our day are to be met. Analogy would seem to show that Plain Chant, with a due admixture

siveness might not be necessary or desirable. Thus we can conceive of the services of an Abbey Church being carried on entirely in plain chant, while those of a Cathedral, in which the offices are sung by secular canons and choristers, might well be enriched by the addition of harmonized music. Such, in fact, was the state of things in many of our English cathedrals before the Reformation, the clergy being assisted, when necessary, by trained singers in the execution of the figured music for four or five voices, which by that time had come into use in the Church, and of which many specimens are still extant. It will not, we trust, be considered Utopian if we anticipate a similar state of things among us at no distant date. In Ireland, with its splendid cathedrals, at Killarney and elsewhere, the time seems to be fully come for the re-establishment of the choral system of the Church. Should any one doubt as to the possibility of this, or its probable effect upon the people, he may be referred to Montalembert's "Monks of the West," where we have so many beautiful pictures of the way in which the offices of the Church were celebrated in the old days of Ireland. And so it would be in our own day, in a country at once so religious and so musical. The Anglican cathedrals, even under the Protestant *régime*, have retained many features of the old Catholic choral system, and to this they are indebted for that amount of attractiveness they possess. Several of the so-called Ritualist churches aim, as we know, at a still greater approximation. We may add, in passing, that there can be no doubt that the choral celebration of the Church offices is a thing which will always be dear to English people. We have it, indeed, on record that it was eminently so in the old Catholic times of this country; and it is said that travellers from abroad were wont to remark with what care and reverence the services and functions of the Church were performed in England, and how much they were loved by all classes of the people.

We will now speak in particular on each of the schools or styles in which music has been written for the use of the

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of harmonized music, would be the most suitable. Here, especially, the three points laid down in the "Manual" would seem to be important,—Chaste music, absence of female voices, and the organ and singers in their proper place in the church. We are quite sure that with the advancing taste and revived ecclesiastical feeling of the day, no operatic performances are likely to gain a footing in the churches of our religious Congregations. And as we have been quoting from S. Alphonsus, we may add that nowhere could the musical arrangements referred to be better or more appropriately carried out than in the churches of his children.

Church; and first let us give a short review of what, we have seen, lies at the threshold—the Gregorian or Plain Chant.

Plain Chant we have seen described in the extract above by Canon Oakeley; and his view of its leading idea, if not afterwards modified by himself to the same extent as by Mr. Nary, is yet supplemented by a remark which goes a considerable way in the same direction, when he says that the idea he expresses accidentally supplies "some of the most attractive charms of the divine art," and also in his letter, in which he speaks of various pieces "as expressive of a certain kind of religious joy." Mr. Nary seems to imply that the Church Chant was *throughout* intended to express, and that it does adequately express, the sentiment of the words, so as to lead the worshipper into the feeling proper for the particular occasion, whether it be of a mournful and grave, or of a hopeful and joyous kind. We think, however, that a careful examination of the Gradual and Antiphonary, and a comparison of the various musical passages with the words to which they are set, will hardly support this position; and that on the whole Canon Oakeley's view must be regarded as substantially correct. The melody no doubt does seem in certain cases to be intentionally expressive of the words; but on the whole it is to be looked upon chiefly in the light of a solemn, dignified, and generally melodious vehicle, for the enunciation of the sacred text. It may be noticed that the same, or very similar passages, are in numerous instances set to words which differ most widely in character; and this not simply in the chanting of the Psalter, where no one expects a special adaptation to the different verses,—but even in Introits, Antiphons, &c., belonging to special occasions, and where we might have expected some attention to expression. It would seem, then, that the recitation of the sacred words to a melody more or less varied and ornate, in which a body of persons could easily join, was what the Church meant to secure; and that, for the rest, the feeling of the words was to be brought out by the devotion of the worshipper and the mode of performance in each particular case, rather than by the character of the notes themselves. If the thing had to be done again, we do not know that, even at this day, a plan could be devised that on the whole would answer better. At least, with the additions which may be made in the way of figured music, or varied unison music, and with a harmonized accompaniment for the Plain Chant whenever required, we seem to have about as perfect a state of things as could be desired.

It is obvious, as we have implied, that when the offices are performed with feeling and intelligence, much expression may

be given by the varied way in which they are sung, as well as by the varied character of the accompaniment. The singer, in fact, will apply the intention of the words to the music; which last will then take its colour and sentiment from the text. In the same way we often use the same psalms on very different occasions; but then the Antiphon gives the keynote, and from this the psalm takes, for the time, its character and intention. The same remark may be applied to the chant of the Mass, which has but few variations, and which must therefore be interpreted in some such way as we have described. On this idea even a plain-chant "Gloria in Excelsis," may not be so much out of place as is sometimes supposed. Indeed, to take it for granted that it must always be unsuitable for festal occasions, such as Christmas, &c., is almost tantamount to saying that in monastic churches, cathedrals, &c., where plain-chant Masses are sung, the worshippers are, as a rule, shut out from the feeling of Christian joy. The same, we may remark, may be said of the Introit with which the Church ushers in so many of her festivals, "Gaudeamus omnes in Domino diem festum celebrantes," &c., which is usually set to a melody which to our ears is, in its intervals and cadences, of a plaintive character. And yet all admit that this should be used. Must it, then, *necessarily* imply the "wet blanket" of which Canon Oakeley speaks? May it not be possible, in fact, for the singers to impart to it a character of joyfulness by the manner in which they perform it? And so, in like manner, with the "Gloria," which follows so soon after it. Our readers will perceive that we are not here arguing at all in favour of plain-chant "Glorias," &c., but simply suggesting, what we think is needed, a large and generous view of the subject.

It is sometimes asked, however, why it is that the Church has so persistently kept up, and stereotyped as it were, a form of melody, and a tonality which has long become obsolete;* a kind of Music, if it can be called so, which was the offspring of a rude age, and which, notwithstanding a certain rugged grandeur, is too far removed from our present notions of art to be tolerated by educated ears. To a certain extent this must be admitted; and the fact is so remarkable that

* We may remark here that this conservatism, if we may so call it, of the Church, is not confined to Plain Chant. The same may be said of the language and the style of her offices, the dresses of her clergy and religious orders, and many of her rites, ceremonies, and customs. The Chant is therefore no stranger than any other part of the Church system; and, that system being what it is, the antique character of the music seems really the most suitable thing.

we cannot but believe the Church has been no less wisely guided in this matter than in the compilation and preservation of the Divine Office itself.

It may be possible, however, to adduce some considerations which may serve to throw light upon this question. 1. We may imagine that the Church, while retaining from age to age, with little alteration, the component parts of the Missal and Breviary, would be equally unwilling to change, without urgent reasons, the notation to which they had in substance been immemorially sung. 2. The fact of music having changed and developed, and its having come to be applied to so many secular purposes, would seem to make it rather desirable than otherwise that the offices of the Church should have as their normal musical accompaniment a kind of melody, which should be distinctly marked off from every other; and this the Plain Chant certainly is at the present day.* 3. The very ruggedness of the Gregorian modes serves to impart to them a character of durability. These simple melodies, as we well know,—from the instance of the Vesper Psalms, to mention no other,—somehow never pall upon the ear, and have in fact a perennial freshness, which we can only account for by the circumstance of their having a variety of scale which modern melodies do not possess. This, too, is proved by the well-known fact that the most beautiful chants of the modern school become unendurable by constant repetition; and for this reason we find that even dissenters have been fain to adopt the old chant in their services. 4. The ancient modes give rise to an almost endless variety of the most beautiful organ harmonies; and in this respect they have vastly the advantage over the modern major and minor scales.† Lastly, what Canon Oakeley calls

* The same kind of melody of course is to be found in several of the old national songs, but the old modes have as a general rule disappeared from modern art.

† We do not enter here into the question of accompaniments to the Plain Chant (for the discussion of which we have not space), but we certainly believe that, while in most cases it is all but necessary, as a general rule it also tends very much to render the services spirited and attractive, and provided it be of a proper character, it does not at all interfere with the distinctness of the melody. At the same time, no doubt, a change from an accompanied to an unaccompanied performance would often be agreeable, always supposing the latter to have an adequate number of voices, and to be skilfully executed. We have said of the accompaniment "provided it be of a proper character." It is necessary to make this condition, because the plan in vogue some years ago of harmonizing the church chants without reference to their tonality was found to result in a most unpleasant compound. Even the melody was frequently altered in such a way as to divest it of its distinctive character. A palmary example may be cited in the case of Thomson's reproduction of the old Scotch melodies. New poetry was composed for them, and successfully—but the accompaniments (though executed by Haydn) were a total failure, and are now consigned to oblivion.

the "plaintive if not mournful character" of the Church Chant may also admit of explanation. We may look upon it in fact as a kind of *pilgrim's song*, by which it would seem as if the Church would have us remember, even in the midst of our festal joys, that we are the "Exules filii Hevæ, gementes et flentes in hâc lacrymarum valle."* It is, we may say, the grave, sweet, pathetic note which the Church puts into the mouths of her children, lamenting with the Psalmist that "their sojourning is prolonged"; the plaintive accent in which they confess that they are strangers upon earth, and that they "seek another even a heavenly city." And so Father Faber sings in his well-known hymn, itself a kind of wayfarer's song—

> "While we toil on, and soothe ourselves with weeping,
> Till life's long night shall break in endless love."

In concluding our remarks on Plain Chant, by way of showing that the Church song has always been supposed to possess much beauty and attractiveness, we quote a passage or two out of hundreds that might be adduced:—"This" (the Gregorian Chant), says Pope Benedict XIV., "is that song which excites the minds of the faithful to piety and devotion; it is that music, therefore, which, if sung in churches with care and decorum, is most willingly heard by devout persons, and is justly preferred to that which is called figured or harmonized music."† And the same Pope (quoting from

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* In this view what can be more tenderly expressive than the Roman plain chant for the Salve Regina, alas too little sung? In the way of figured choir music, we may add that Hauptmann's music for the same words may be considered a counterpart, both being equally fine in their own line. It may be remarked, however, that the ordinary editions of this piece have the words very incorrectly put. It will be found properly set in the "Popular Choir Manual."

† We have much sympathy with Mr. Nary in what he says about the desirableness of a new edition of the Antiphonary, which shall supersede the numerous varieties at present existing. Unhappily, in adopting the Roman offices in various dioceses of France, no general agreement has been come to as to the chant to be used; while in Belgium, where the study of Plain Chant has greatly revived within the last few years, still another variety is to be found. There are good points in all the editions referred to, but none of them can be considered perfect. One great fault of the French books is the want of a proper system of distinction between long and short notes, an all-important point in a country where the natural tendency would be to neglect accentuation altogether. In this respect the recent Belgian books—whatever their occasional defects—are worthy of the highest praise, since experience shows that in using them it is next to impossible for the most uninstructed chorister to go wrong. We are inclined to think, with Mr. Nary, that the question will never be settled until the Holy See itself proposes an edition of the Choral books for adoption by the whole Church. But

Eveillon), "The titillation of figured music is held very cheaply by men of religious minds in comparison with the sweetness of the church chant, and hence it is that the people flock to the churches of the monks, who, taking piety for their guide in singing the praises of God, after the counsel of the prince of Psalmists, skilfully sing to their Lord as Lord, and serve God as God with the utmost reverence." Then from two musicians:—

"Musicians may oppose and contradict what I say as they choose, but I am not afraid to assert that the ancient melodies are inimitable."*

"All is worthy of admiration in the primitive Roman song. The melodies of the Kyrie, e. g. are full of beautiful passages. With what natural, or rather inspired genius, has not this Kyrie, confined as it is to such narrow limits, been conceived, so as to form a whole so complete?" †

To what we have said on the old chant of the Church we have only to add, that when we speak of it, here or elsewhere, we must always be taken to mean it as performed by persons who have been properly trained to sing it, and who are able to give it its due effect; and moreover, that we suppose this grave and solemn melody, as we have described it, to be continually relieved by features of another kind; that is, both by those passages of its own of a more festal character, to which allusion has been made; and also by varied compositions of the different schools of art, which supply, by their musical expression, that more "exuberant" kind of religious joy which Canon Oakeley desiderates, and of which we all, at times, feel the need. And this we see has not been denied us. Let us, then, pass briefly in review these various schools or styles of musical art which have, at different periods, ministered to the solemnities of the Church; casting upon them from time to time, as we proceed, the light of the instructions contained in our "Manual."

First in order, of course, comes the great vocal school of the sixteenth century, of which Palestrina was confessedly the head. This music (a few years ago almost unheard in this country) is now so well known and appreciated that little need be said of it, except that a solid, massive grandeur, and a certain majestic march of vocal harmony (for it is

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no one need wait for this before commencing the use of Plain Chant. The existing editions, though not perfect, will, in the hands of proper instructors, serve for all practical purposes, and those who can sing from them will be able to make use of a better one when it appears.

* Baini. † Fetis.

purely vocal), united to wonderful skill of construction, distinguish it from every other kind of composition. "The character of Palestrina's music," says the late Cardinal Wiseman, "is rich, harmonious, and imposing. It is essentially choral (that is, in full harmony), as all church music ought to be. It is not, as has been supposed, devoid of melody: in his music there is always a prevailing movement, which, though not fulfilling the modern idea of air or tune, leaves a distinct impression on the memory—the truest criterion, perhaps, of melody. He varies his style with his subject, for he always felt what he wrote."* Again, from another criticism. "These compositions have a melodious flow, and a magnificence of progression, without those cumbrous contrivances which the eye respects but the ear repudiates; a richness, and ease, and solemnity of harmony instinct with all the sweetness of the south, yet severe withal. The music of Palestrina is heard in this country at a heavy disadvantage. When performed by a sufficiently numerous and properly trained choir, with the swell of many voices upon a single chord, the march of a crescendo through one of those clearly defined and stately phrases he loved to give out, and the graduated *diminuendo* and *rallentando* which a skilful conductor could enforce, they possess a grandeur, and also a variety of beauty, of which we have little idea."

The music of this school has always been in use in the Papal chapel, and in the instructions of the cardinal vicar of the present Pontiff, in 1856, it is especially commended for use in churches. The small extent to which it has been introduced into the choirs of this country is made a matter of regret in the article on Church Music in our number for January, 1864, and no doubt all lovers of fine harmony, and those who wish to see not one, but every school and style of art, represented in our church services,† will join in this regret.

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* Palestrina's mass music, it will be observed, has less attempt at expression than his other compositions. He seems to have aimed at providing simply a grand, solemn, and artistic vehicle for the sacred words, leaving the shades of feeling to be brought out by the singers. The Sanctus and Agnus Dei of the Mass "Papæ Marcelli," and the Agnus Dei of the "Eterna Munera" are good examples. In his motetts and hymns, however, it is different. Such pieces as "Peccantem me," "Exultate Deo," "Panis Angelicus," &c., contain many instances of direct musical expression. Still more, again, is this the case in his sacred chamber music (Madrigali Spirituali, &c.)

† The artistic way of looking at the subject is surely that of keeping up the use of the music of every school of high art, whether of the present or any former age. It is the same with literature. Shakespeare or Chaucer are no more like Moore or Tennyson than Palestrina is like

More especially is this the case, because it is unquestionably a kind of music which grows upon the ear, while from the fact of its beauties not lying on the surface, it does not so soon tire. At present, however, we are obliged to say it is of little use to attempt it. To execute it properly we require larger bodies of singers, and we need for them, too, a different sort of training. Whenever vocal music comes to be extensively cultivated among us; when we have choral societies, and bodies of young men, such as those who sing at Mr. Leslie's and other concerts, we shall be able to present Palestrina's music in such a manner as neither to weary the singers nor disgust the congregation; but we fear not before.

In so rapid a sketch as the present, we are obliged to pass over the composers of the seventeenth century, who flourished during the rise and early progress of the drama; but this is the less necessary, as their works for the Church have, for one reason or other, fallen almost entirely into disuse. In the case of the more eminent of them, such as Scarlatti, Leo, &c., the somewhat dry and scientific form of their Mass Music, not to speak of the extravagant length of many of the parts, has made it all but useless.

We have little need to describe the features of the more modern school of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, since its chief compositions are well known, both from use in our choirs, and from public performance at our concerts. Here a far more minute expression is aimed at, while much the same kind of word-painting, and the same artistic exhibition of human passion is introduced as was also employed for secular purposes.* It is obvious that it required the greatest care to keep these characteristics within due bounds, and to guard the dignity and sacredness of the liturgy, more especially when the great composers for the

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Mendelssohn; and though we would not in the present day write in their style, yet we do not therefore proscribe their works. So too in painting—if, *e.g.*, we compare Giotto or Fiesoli with Overbeck or Flatz.

* What is called word-painting in music is, of course, very effective, but, as a rule, it cannot be carried so far in sacred as in secular music without detriment to the dignity of the subject. Indeed, even where it is not otherwise objectionable, it sometimes becomes tiresome from its conventionality. The run down the notes of the scale at the "descendit de cœlis," and such like effects, do not bear much repetition. Indeed, the attempt at m nute expression has often led to odd blunders, such as in the passage "resurrectionem mortuorum," where the music for the first word is usually made to have a joyful effect, the latter a lugubrious one (and that too sometimes drawn out into musical passages cut off from the previous word, as if it were a fresh sentence), the composer forgetting that the phrase only comprehends one idea, that of the resurrection. So with the passage "remissionem peccatorum," "exaltavit humiles," and others that might be named.

drama were generally the persons who were asked to employ their talents in illustrating its text. Notwithstanding the disadvantage of such secular associations (a disadvantage from which Palestrina was happily free) there is no doubt that had these writers been under proper guidance, or had they even been allowed to follow their own sense of what was due to the sacred purpose for which they wrote, a series of works would have been produced which would have been in every way an honour and ornament to religion, as well as an unmingled source of delight and edification to the faithful of all succeeding ages. As it is, there is very much to be thankful for. There are parts of Mozart's masses and motetts of which we can never tire, and which are both sacred in their character and entirely suitable to the words for which they were written. And the same may be said of Haydn; whose "jocose temperament," however, by the confession of one of his biographers and panegyrists, often led him, even in his mass music, to descend to most regrettable "vulgarities." But it is only due to those great men, who have acquitted themselves so well in every other department of musical art, that we should lay the blame in the proper quarter. They lived in an evil age, and in a country where the ecclesiastical spirit had sadly declined;—where in consequence secularity and carelessness reigned almost everywhere supreme; and where the wishes of the Holy See upon such a point as the present were far less likely to be heeded than the tastes of some German prince, or the capacity for bravura-singing of some opera "prima donna." It is necessary to know the true facts of the case in order that we may neither be prejudiced on one side or the other. Some persons have a horror of the very name of Mozart in connection with sacred music; others idolize him, and admire indiscriminately everything that he wrote or is supposed to have written;* whereas the true line is to *distinguish*. No man was ever great in all his writings: and circumstances make it certain that Mozart would sometimes at least fail in his masses, either

* It is very difficult to ascertain precisely in what state the mass music of Haydn and Mozart, now in circulation, was left by these authors. Grave doubts have been entertained by learned musicians on the Continent, as well as among ourselves, as to the genuineness of some parts, at least, of their works; among others, Mozart's so-called No. 12, which, with many fine and characteristic passages, is nevertheless said to bear considerable marks of patching by an inferior hand. Anyhow, one can hardly believe that the authors of these masses would have sent them out deliberately in the form in which we find them;—so extraordinary, in many instances, are the omissions and confusion in the setting of the words.

because, as indeed was generally the case, it was of less importance to him to put forth his full powers in these than in his secular music, or else because he wrote in trammels, which he disliked, but which his necessities did not admit of his throwing off. We give below a few extracts, taken at random from biographical and critical notes by musical writers, which will serve still further to vindicate the memory of these composers, and to increase our thankfulness that, after all deductions are made, so valuable a residuum has come down to us.

"Mozart poured forth the treasures of his invention at any bidding, without pausing to consider whether he was doing what might afterwards seriously affect the fate of his works. Thus, in his earlier days, most of the church music which he produced at Salzburg was written with ready compliance in the tawdry and showy style which alone was in favour there, although no composer was ever more qualified for the highest style of church composition, as he has sufficiently evidenced in some of his works in that school."

"In 1780 Mozart was employed upon a work which was to him a labour of love in more senses than one. To exercise his pen in the highest style of church music was always agreeable to him, and he was at this time free from the restrictions under which he had written his Masses at Salzburg, where neither the length, the style, nor the instrumentation of the pieces were left to his own judgment. Hence his wish to distinguish this work from his earlier compositions for the church, as well for purity of style as for true ecclesiastical solemnity."

"The reader will probably acquiesce in our judgment that Mozart was less happy (the Requiem and some other pieces excepted) in his church music than in his operas and symphonies. His compositions are less 'gay' indeed than Haydn's, but seldom more spiritual; not indeed so much so as the 'Passione.' Some of his church music did duty as dramatic music; and his most serious 'Miserere' or 'Et resurrexit' is scarcely more exalted in style than parts of his Idomeneo and Clemenza, while in many a Kyrie, Benedictus, and Agnus, the most voluptuous if not the lightest strains of which he was capable are united to words the most opposite in sentiment."

"If Mozart fell short of our requisitions in his sacred music, it was not for want of power. Of this we have abundant proof in his works;—e. g. in the religious music of the 'Zauberflöte,' and in the Requiem."

Once more:—

"Of many other composers, Winter, Naumann, Righini, &c., it is known that their chief occupation was for the theatre, and that their masses were written for the orchestras of the personages to whose courts they were attached, and were usually the *opera seria* of the morning, sung by the same vocalists (not always of the most immaculate character) who were to sing the *opera buffa* at night. The composers were altogether in their power, and the result might be foreseen."

All this justifies much of what Mr. Nary has said in the extracts we have given above from his pamphlet; but it also seems to show that his judgment is somewhat rash, when he says that these composers "have done for the house of God what they would have been ashamed to do for the stage, *without a qualm of conscience.*" The contrary, we hope, was in many cases true, and we have good reason to believe that these composers would have done better if they had been allowed. That their music for the house of God was inferior to that for the stage is no doubt, on the whole, true, but it is pretty clear that they knew this and regretted it.*

Besides the composers above-mentioned there are several others, who apparently have not worked under the same restrictions, and who, if not all so great as composers, have yet produced music, on the whole, more distinguished for liturgical propriety, and offending in a less degree the instructions of the Holy See above quoted. Among such are Beethoven (alas that we have so little of this kind from his pen!), Hummell, Cherubini, Klein, Schubert, Reissiger, Sechter, &c.; and in a simpler style, Witzka, Drobisch, Kempter, Schmid, &c. In our own day we have, among others, the "Messe de St. Cecile" of Gounod. Whatever may be the judgment passed upon this mass as a musical composition, it has at least one admirable feature;—it contains a "Credo" which gives us something like a true idea of what the music for the Symbol of the Faith ought to be; a praise which can hardly be awarded to any of the Credos of the seventeenth century composers, in whose best masses that portion is usually the weakest. We ought also to mention the Mass of Signor Roberti, which has many good and effective points, and avoids several

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* Mr. Nary suggests that such pieces as are unsuitable for Church use should be performed at concerts instead; where, as he says, their effect would be better brought out, and where there need not be the same difficulty about the kind of executants. There is truth in this undoubtedly. It is confessedly impossible, with the means at present at our disposal, to have such music, e.g., as Beethoven's, adequately performed in church—and many, we suspect, who heard his Mass in C at Leslie's Concerts last season, must have felt as if they heard it for the first time. Of course, however, there would be different opinions as to the particular pieces to be relegated to the concert hall; though most persons would admit that there are *some* such. But short of this, there is one change for the better that might, and we think should, at once be adopted. Instead, for instance, of inflicting upon those who come for devotion and adoration long operatic pieces during "Benediction," might not such pieces be given *separately*, for those who choose to hear them? This would remove much of the annoyance and dissatisfaction that now exist. And surely the feelings of the many devout Catholics who object so strongly to these exhibitions are more worthy of being consulted than the itching ears of strangers.

of the faults of the school alluded to. For orchestral sacred music, perhaps our greatest loss was Mendelssohn, who, had he lived, would no doubt have given us many finer things than his "Lauda Sion." We may mention in passing that in many of his Psalms and Motetts, as well as in his Cantatas, will be found excellent models of what is richest in colouring, and yet most appropriate in style and feeling.

So much for Masses with orchestra. There are others for voice, or voice and organ, such as those by Spohr, Hauptmann, Sechter, Rinck,* and others. Mr. Silas's recently published prize Mass is another, and Herr Molique's,—we believe still in MS. We trust, too, that whether in the way of orchestral or organ-accompanied music, other composers will arise, both here and on the Continent, and that those who have influence in such matters will feel it a pleasure and a duty both to encourage the art of the day, and to guide it into a right channel.

Having said thus much on the subject of modern figured music, we may add that we have purposely refrained from giving any opinion as to the particular pieces mentioned by Canon Oakeley and Mr. Nary. This would have led us into a field of endless discussion, and where, after all, the result would not have been conclusive.† We have before said, and we repeat again, that we desire to see dedicated to the Church's worship the very highest kind of artistic composition, and every musical development which can legitimately be employed for the adornment of the divine offices, the only limit being the fitness of things, and the wishes of the Church herself. The well-known passage from Dr. Newman on this point is almost

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* Rinck's Mass in D has been rather unfairly depreciated, perhaps because its opening would be considered somewhat sombre. But, after all, it is the right kind of Kyrie, and is at the same time excellent writing. The words of this Mass, however, are most carelessly and inaccurately set, and till altered and corrected in this respect it is quite inadmissible.

† As a general remark, no doubt Mr. Nary is right when he speaks, in the passage quoted above, of the entirely unsuitable way in which the "Kyrie" and "Dona nobis pacem" are so often set. The first it is difficult to account for, except from sheer forgetfulness of the meaning of the theme; as to the latter, our theory is that these composers viewed the Mass much in the same light as a Cantata, or an Opera, where a grand final chorus was *de rigueur;* and to secure this, all idea of fitness and expression was sacrificed. The composer forgot that, though after the final crash of the "Dona nobis" had died away the "principals" might disappear from the choir, yet all was not over, and that the Church would still go on with her holy rite. But let us be just. We have some unexceptionable specimens of Kyries and Donas—*e.g.*, Haydn's Kyrie, 8, 10, 12, and his Agnus Dei, 8, which last contains one of the most beautiful conclusions that could be imagined.

axiomatic, and will bear quotation once more. "If a great master of this mysterious science . . . should happen to be attracted, as he well may, by the sublimity, so congenial to him, of the Catholic doctrine and ritual; should he engage in sacred themes; should he resolve to do honour to the Mass or the Divine Office (he cannot have a more pious, a better purpose, and Religion will gracefully accept what he gracefully offers; but)—is it not certain, from the circumstances of the case, that he will rather use Religion than minister to it, unless Religion is strong on its own ground, and reminds him that, if he would do honour to the highest of subjects, he must make himself its scholar, must humbly follow the thoughts given him, and must aim at the glory, not of his own gift, but of the Great Giver?" *

We will conclude our remarks on styles of Church Music by saying, what, indeed, we have already anticipated, viz., that what we want is neither wholesale condemnation, nor yet wholesale adulation of any school or composer; but a *careful selection of what is best in each*;—judging and selecting, as we have all along implied, in accordance with the instructions laid down by the Holy See. A very little examination will show on what points, such as "omission," "confusion," or "undue repetition of words," &c., this or the other piece fails, and how far it corresponds in other respects with the instructions referred to.† We may mention that, besides the revision of our Mass Music, much would have to be done in eliminating from our stock of Motetts (see Rule *b*) the absurd settings we so often find—the "Jesu Mi's," "Bone Pastor's," and words of a like kind, which seem stuck on and repeated without order or meaning, simply in order to make available some air composed for an entirely different purpose.‡

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* The mention of Dr. Newman reminds us of the testimony of an Oratorian Father of former days, one of the most intimate companions of S. Philip Neri, and who is said to have inherited pre-eminently the mind of the saint. It is said of Father Consolini, "*One thing there was which he could not excuse, and that was the profane and theatrical music which, contrary to the Sacred Canons, and against the spirit of the holy Fathers, had been introduced into the house of God.*"

† It may not be unimportant to add that the views we have expressed are well known to be shared in by the great body of our own organists and composers, including an eminent artist no longer with us—Herr Molique.

‡ Many persons are unconscious of what goes on in the organ gallery, from not having examined the music for themselves, and from the fact of the text being in a dead language. On this account it will be necessary to give one or two specimens of the kind of settings referred to; and, to bring the matter more clearly before the reader, we will give one in the form of a translation. The English words, it should be mentioned, correspond exactly

On the whole, therefore, we must be content to wait until we have from the hands of some well-tried body of musicians

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with the original, and the lines (——) show where the text is broken up by instrumental interludes.

Glory to God in the highest,——in the highest,——to God glory——to God glory——to God glory, glory to God in the highest, to God in the highest, to God in the highest,——to God in the highest,——and on earth peace,——peace,——peace to men, and on earth peace,——peace,——peace to men——of good, good——will——will——of good, good will, of good, good, good will——of good, good will, of good, good, good will,——of good will,——of good will,——of good will.———We praise, we bless,——we adore,——we glorify,——we give thanks to thee for thy great glory, for thy great glory, for thy great glory, for thy great glory,——thy glory,——thy glory,——O Lord God, God, heavenly King, God the Father Almighty,——O God the Son——only begotten——Jesus Christ; O Lord God, Lamb of God, Son of the Father——Son of the Father,——Son of the Father,——Son of the Father,——O Lord God, Lamb of God, Son of the Father, Son, Son of the Father,——who takest, who takest away the sins of the world, have mercy, have mercy, have mercy on us,——who takest away, who takest away the sins of the world, receive our prayer, our prayer, our prayer, our prayer, our prayer,——who sittest, who sittest at the right hand of the Father, have mercy, have mercy on us,——have mercy, have mercy on us.———For thou only art holy, thou only art the Lord,——only art the highest, Jesus Christ.——For thou only art holy——thou only, thou only art the highest,——thou only, thou only art the highest, Jesus Christ,——Jesus Christ.———For thou only,——thou only art holy, thou only art highest——Jesus Christ, Jesus Christ.———For thou only, thou only art highest, Jesus Christ, Jesus Christ, Jesus Christ.———For thou only art holy, thou only art the Lord, ——thou only art highest, Jesus Christ.———For thou only art holy, thou only, only art holy, thou only, only art the Lord.———For thou only art holy,——thou only art the Lord,——thou only art holy, thou only art the Lord, only art highest. For thou only, thou only art holy,——thou art the Lord,——thou art highest, thou only art highest, Jesus Christ, Jesus Christ.———For thou only,——thou only art highest,——Jesus Christ, Jesus Christ.———For thou only,——thou only art highest,——Jesus Christ, ——Jesus, Jesus Christ,——Jesus, Jesus Christ,——Jesus——Christ.——— With the Holy Ghost,——in the glory of God the Father. Amen, amen. With the Holy Ghost, in the glory of God the Father. Amen, amen.—— Amen, amen.———With the Holy Ghost, in the glory of God the Father, Amen, in the glory of God the Father.———Amen,——Amen,——Amen, ——Amen, amen, amen, amen.———With the Holy Ghost, in the glory of God the Father, Amen. With the Holy Ghost, in the glory of God the Father, Amen, amen, amen. With the Holy Ghost, in the glory of God the Father, Amen, amen, amen, amen.——With the Holy Ghost,—— With the Holy Ghost, with the Holy Ghost, with the Holy Ghost, in the glory of God the Father, of God the Father, Amen, amen, amen, amen, amen, amen.———With the Holy Ghost, in the glory of God the Father, Amen, amen, amen,——in the glory of God the Father, Amen, amen,—— of God the Father, Amen; in the glory of God the Father, Amen; in the glory of God the Father, Amen;——of God the Father, Amen. With the Holy Ghost, in the glory of God the Father, Amen, amen;——of God the Father, Amen;——of God the Father, Amen, amen, amen, amen, amen.

These are the words as sung by the leading voice, the soprano. Then as

and clerics what our Archbishop so justly desires,—"a collection of masses which, while they admit the full compass and perfection of modern musical science, exclude all that is secular or theatrical, by retaining the gravity and majesty of our ecclesiastical and sacred tradition." * And this ought not in the present day, and in so musical a country as England, to be a difficult task. Improved settings of words, curtailment of passages of undue length, &c., would of course require care and skill; but much more can be done to advantage in this way than one would at first think. Some will object *in limine* to such processes, as laying a sacrilegious hand upon the works of our great masters; but the opinion of the best musicians and the experience of choir-masters, we have no doubt, will justify the step as one both desirable and necessary. In fact, as a matter of practical necessity considerable excisions have always had to be made (*e.g.*, in the settings of the "Bene-

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to want of proportion, the music from "Gloria in Excelsis" to "Quoniam" (64 words) makes 11 pages; the "Quoniam" sentence alone (12 words) makes 9 pages; "cum Sancto" to the end (8 words), 10 pages.

The above, however, is not worse than many other settings, or in some respects so bad. Thus we have a "Credo" beginning with the four phrases, *Credo in unum Deum,—Genitum, non factum,—Qui propter nos,*—and *Et ex Patre natum,*—all sung simultaneously by the four voices. Again, we have a "Gloria" beginning with the four phrases, *Gratias agimus* (for the soprano),—*Domine Fili* (alto),—*Domine Deus* (tenor),—*Et in terra pax* (bass),—the whole being despatched in two short pages of music!

One of the most grotesquely absurd settings, however, is that of the "Alma Redemptoris" of Webbe. The words are divided into three parts, the first ending with "cadenti," the second with "genitorem," the same music being used for each, *and a repeat and musical interlude coming between.* The consequence is that the adjective "*cadenti*" is entirely cut off from its substantive "*populo*"; and the whole, as sung, is made into sheer nonsense. The reason is plain. Webbe found an air which, by a threefold repetition, could be applied to the words of the Antiphon, and for this everything, even to the grammar of the piece, was sacrificed. No doubt this is the history of many of the absurd adaptations we meet with.

Nothing can go beyond the examples we have quoted, except, perhaps, the instance of a composer of the "light Italian school," who by way of producing an original and striking musical effect in the "Credo," made one voice sing "Genitum non factum," and another respond "Factum non genitum"! It will be said that these are extreme cases, and that many of the pieces are not likely to be used in our Church. Be it so; still they show what it was the fashion of certain composers to provide for the use of the Church, and what is apt to come of the theory that it does not matter what is sung by the choir, provided the people do not hear it. But whether heard or not, the rules of the Church (and we see how strict they are on these points) remain the same. Besides, do we sing merely to gratify the ears of an audience? Rather, is not this the true principle—*In conspectu Angelorum psallam tibi, Domine?*

* Letter to Canon Oakeley from his Grace the Archbishop of Westminster.

dictus"); so that it would only be carrying out deliberately, and by the united wisdom of learned musicians, what has hitherto been too often done in a capricous manner, and with but little respect either for the music or the words. Another advantage of a system of careful selection would be that we should obtain the use of many excellent passages, which, on the principle of always singing one Mass through, we cannot possibly have. Such are some of the beautiful pieces of Haydn referred to in a previous note.*

The conclusion we have arrived at, then, so far, in accordance with our "Manual" is this:—that the combined use of the Gregorian chant and of figured music is to be recommended;—both to be presented in their best form, and in such proportion as may seem most advisable in each case. If it be true that a constant recurrence of the same unison Masses, Sunday after Sunday, would tax the patience of our people, so, on the other hand, that limited round of figured Masses, to which it has been the fashion to confine the choirs of almost all of our churches, is found by experience to be, if anything, more tiring still. We need, in fact, both to purify our stock of Mass music, and to extend it.

In conclusion, we consider, that where success has attended the efforts of clergy and choirs to render the services of the Church noble, edifying, and attractive, it has been by the combination we have described; and, to take one instance; it is to this, and to the ecclesiastical feature of a choir of boys and men chanting Vespers, &c., in their proper place in church, that we attribute the fact that the church over which Canon Oakeley presides has become the centre of so much interest. And when we mention that solemn Vespers and Benediction are sung in this church on all days of devotion with as much correctness and beauty as on Sundays, and that a considerable number of the faithful always assist on such occasions, we shall have given a specimen of the results which may be expected to follow elsewhere if a like arrangement be adopted.

What we have just said conducts us naturally to the second

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* "The Choral music of the Church," says a musical critic, "requires the utmost resources of the art of composition. It is its depth and elaboration which form the line between the music of the Church and that of the world. Deprived of these qualities it will become trite and common-place, and will save itself from insipidity only by borrowing the melody and style of the theatre—the choral part will differ in nothing but the words from the finale of an opera. Such is the manner in which Church music has come to be written in Italy,—once the home of high art,—and to a certain extent elsewhere."

division of our subject. But the treatment of this and the concluding point we must defer to a future number.

The above article was already in type when the September number of the "Month" appeared, containing some remarks on the same subject. We have not however found anything in those remarks to modify any opinion above expressed. Nor, again, do we see any reason for commenting in this place on the views put forward in the "Month," as we thoroughly concur with Canon Oakeley's letter, which appears in another part of our present number.

Art. VIII.—S. PAULA.

Histoire de Sainte Paula. Par M. l'Abbé F. Lagrange, Vicaire-Général d'Orléans.

A TWOFOLD delusion prevails among persons outside the Church—a delusion which is fostered by many ill-instructed Catholics within. 1. That the Church discourages the study of Holy Scripture in those duly qualified and disposed. 2. That *the religion of the Bible is the religion of Protestants.* The life of S. Paula lately published by the Abbé Lagrange, which faithfully reproduces S. Jerome's original life of the saint, gives us the real historical truth with regard to both these points, so far at least as the fourth and fifth centuries are concerned. We find here what was the spiritual reading recommended by so enlightened a director of souls as S. Jerome, both to the solitaries of Bethlehem and the high-born ladies of Rome, and we find also to what result Scripture-reading led in those days,—even to the embracing of the Evangelical counsels in their very literal and sublime simplicity, in other words, to that which Protestants account one of the worst corruptions of popery,—the monastic life. We will try, by the help of M. Lagrange's very interesting narrative, to follow the steps of the most attractive of all the holy and heroic women whose names are grouped round that of S. Jerome, from the splendour of her Roman palace to her bare cell beside the crib at Bethlehem. S. Jerome traces that glorious pilgrimage in a few brief energetic words:—"Noble by her birth, far nobler by her sanctity; once powerful by her wealth, more glorious now by the poverty of Christ; of the race of the Gracchi and the Scipios; the heiress of Paulus Emilius, whose name she bore; the direct descendant of Martia Papyria (the wife of the conqueror of Perseus

and the mother of Scipio Africanus); she preferred a hut at Bethlehem to the gilded palaces of Rome." Belonging thus on her mother's side to the two noblest families of Rome, Paula traced her descent through her father, who was a Greek, from the ancient kings of Mycenæ. With her Grecian blood she probably inherited a tenderness and sensibility which softened the stern strength of the Roman matron.

Paula was born at Rome, in the year 347, in the reign of Constans and Constantius, the sons of Constantine, and under the pontificate of Pope Julius. Her parents were Christians, her mother's being one of the old senatorial houses which had received the faith of Christ, yet she numbered many pagans among her kindred, for the old idolatry still stood its ground side by side with the worship of the true God; and the inveterate obstinacy of a large portion of the patrician order in upholding it is said to have been one among the motives which induced the Emperor Constantine to remove the seat of empire to Byzantium. The sword of Alaric was soon to chastise the guilty city, and the storm of barbarian invasion to clear the air, now heavy with the unutterable pollutions of paganism, and to free her Christian children from the peril and the contamination of its presence. When Paula first opened her eyes upon her native city, two Romes were before her—pagan Rome and Christian Rome, and pagan Rome, yet untouched by the hand of the barbarian, still had an imposing presence. Her capitol was still crowned with the statues and temples of the gods. On the Palatine, right opposite, was the dwelling of the Cæsars, surrounded by its marble porticos; at the foot of the two hills was the old Forum, hedged in with pagan temples; beyond was the amphitheatre of Flavian—the immense Coliseum; at the other extremity the great circus and the aqueducts of Nero; on the banks of the Tiber the mausoleum of Augustus; on all sides temples, theatres, baths, and porticos. All these monuments of luxury and superstition bore witness that paganism was still deeply rooted in the capital of the empire. Yet its hour was at hand. For three hundred years the streets of that proud city had been watered by the blood of the martyrs, and the catacombs beneath them peopled with their bones, and as day by day the sacrifice of Redemption was offered over their relics, a Christian people was formed in those hidden recesses, which had now come forth into the light of day. Paganism still lingered like a gigantic spectre in the morning dawn; but it was a thing of the past. Its doom was sealed; the Church had laid her hand on the future, and was gaining ground daily on the old superstition. The idol temples were empty, their sacrifices despised, silence and solitude were in their courts, while the new worship was covering Rome with splendid basilicas. The imperial power (knowing not wherefore) had departed to the

East, leaving the palace of the Cæsars to the Successor of the Fisherman.

Step by step with the development of the Church's exterior life, a still more glorious work was going on within. A vigorous growth of sanctity was springing up in the heart of Rome side by side with the deepening corruption which was accelerating the fall of the doomed empire. The blood of the martyrs, which had been the seed of Christianity, was now to be the seed of saints, like that blessed child who was born at this eventful time to be by her sanctity one of the wonders of her age.

We have but scanty details of the childhood of S. Paula. A few touches from the hand of S. Jerome give us to understand that she was trained under the twofold influence of the old Roman spirit, as it still survived in a few of the ancient patrician families, and of the vigorous Christian life then fresh in the faithful households of the primitive Church. With this high moral and religous training was combined a mental cultivation which was also traditional in the noble families of Rome. To the study of Holy Scripture she added that of the great classical writers of Greece and Rome. With the language of both countries she was, from the circumstances of her birth, equally familiar.

At about the age of fifteen Paula was married to a young Greek, named Toxotius, descended on the mother's side from the ancient Julian family, which traced its pedigree to Æneas. At the time of his marriage it would seem that Toxotius was not yet a Christian; but from the harmony and happiness of their union we may believe that *the unbelieving husband was sanctified by the wife*, and brought by her example and her prayers into the fold of Christ. From the position of her husband's family and her own, Paula naturally took her place upon her marriage in the very first rank of Roman society, and must thus have been necessarily thrown into the company of many of those proud, luxurious heathen women whose degeneracy was rapidly hastening the fall of Rome. It would be difficult for the imagination even of the most worldly woman in a Christian land to realize what was then the daily life of the lady of the pagan consular and senatorial families, with her five hundred miserable slaves, all devoted to her personal service and to the care of her ape, her parrot, or her lapdog; her earrings worth some £100,000; her dwarfs, pressed out of human shape for the gratification of her morbid caprice; her pet philosopher, degraded in mind as the poor stunted dwarf in body; her fierce unwomanly delight in the circus and the gladiatorial shows.

Such was the deep degradation to which the heathen virtues of the mother of the Gracchi had sunk in the persons of her daughters, and such the atmosphere which surrounded the Christian maidens and matrons who by mixed marriages or other causes were exposed

to its baneful influence. The young wife of Toxotius passed through it unscathed. The name of Paula was proverbial in Rome as an example of the Roman virtues of a better age, and of the Christian graces which raised them to the supernatural order. She was distinguished, not only by her spotless purity in the midst of the prevalent corruption, but by a tender charity and deep humility unknown and unimagined by the most virtuous matrons of old Rome. Yet from the circumstances of her position she was compelled in some measure to conform herself to the way of life common to women of her rank. We learn from S. Jerome that, like other patrician ladies, she was carried by her slaves in a gilded litter through the streets of Rome; that she would have feared to set her foot to the ground lest it should be defiled by dust; that her silken robes were a weight almost too heavy for her delicate form; and that she shrank from the sunbeams which struggled through the thick curtains of her litter. In after-days she often reproached herself with the use of rouge, so common among women of her rank, and with the hours wasted in the indulgence of the bath, so indispensable a luxury of Roman life.

The married life of Toxotius and Paula seems to have flowed on without a sorrow. Four fair children—Blesilla, Paulina, Eustochium, and Rufina—gladdened their home, and, last of all, the birth of a son, named after his father, Toxotius, filled up the measure of their content. It was Paula's last earthly joy. Just as the cup of domestic happiness had been filled to the brim, it was dashed from her hand, and the joyful wife and mother was a widow and desolate. Paula's grief for her husband's loss was so overwhelming as to endanger her life. When she arose from what seemed to be her death-bed, it was to seek and to find the healing of her broken heart in a life devoted to God alone.

The brightness and glare of the world had become intolerable to her, and she sought shelter with one who had long ago withdrawn from its heat and its burden, and in her early youth and the first days of her childless widowhood had converted her palace on the Aventine into a place of penance, where she lived alone with her pious mother in the practice of prayer, austerities, and good works of every kind, leaving it only to visit the churches and the poor. Marcella—such was the name of this noble lady—had sat at the feet of S. Athanasius when, in his exile from Alexandria, he sought refuge in Rome, and found a home under the roof of her mother, Albina. The child listened to the marvels which the holy confessor related to his pious hostess and her friends, of the saints among whom he had sojourned for seven years in the Thebaid. She heard of S. Antony, S. Hilarion, S. Pacomius, and of the holy women who rivalled them in their austerities and their gift of contemplation.

The seed thus casually scattered on the heart of a child was to

bring forth an abundant harvest, for Marcella was the instrument chosen by God to introduce the monastic life into the West. From the earliest days of Christianity virgins consecrated to God had devoted themselves to a life of prayer and almsdeeds under their parents' roof; but the palace on the Aventine, whither Paula turned for counsel and consolation under the heavy burden of her sorrow, was the first place of retreat in which a number of these holy women were associated together to labour in community after the attainment of perfection. Marcella was the first to adopt the monastic habit as well as the monastic life, laying aside all the splendour of her worldly apparel for the coarse serge worn by the solitaries in the desert, and relinquishing the use even of the signet-ring, which was held to be the indispensable appendage of a noble Roman lady. A storm of indignation from pagan and half-hearted Christians greeted the novelties and indiscretions of this noble-hearted woman. But she went on her way unheeding, steadily carrying the banner of the Cross in the front rank of the great revival of Christian love and Christian mortification which received direction and encouragement from the holy Pope Damasus. She had many illustrious companions both within and without her own community, none more distinguished than Melania, a daughter, like herself, of the old house of Marcellus. Melania, at the age of twenty-two, had seen her husband and her two children carried on the same day to the grave. She accepted the stroke as an invitation to give her lonely life wholly to God, and, resolving to follow the example of Marcella, she left her only remaining boy in safe guardianship at Rome, and went on a pilgrimage to the East, where S. Athanasius was living still. At Alexandria she caught a last glimpse of that expiring light of the Church, and then went on her way to Jerusalem, where she built herself a convent on Mount Olivet, in which, at the time of Paula's widowhood, she was living a saintly and devoted life.

At Marcella's earnest desire, Paula left with her for a time her youngest daughter, Eustochium, who, even at that early age, gave promise of the extraordinary sanctity with which she now shines in the narrative of S. Jerome as a twin star with her holy mother, and returned with her other children to her home, to begin that life of austere abnegation which led her step by step nearer and nearer to God. Never was change more complete. It seemed as if the death of the husband whom she had so intensely loved had been the breaking of a bond which had kept her at a distance from God. She spent many hours daily, and sometimes whole nights, in prayer, and meditated continually on Holy Scripture. She never again admitted a man, even were he priest or bishop, to her table. She slept upon a hair cloth [illegible] on the bare ground, and watered that hard couch with [illegible] the self-indulgence of her past

days of worldly happiness. All her vast revenues melted away in alms to relieve the exceeding misery which lay hid under the luxurious prodigality and wanton waste of the imperial city.

Two years had passed away since the great crisis of her life when the dwellers in the little cenacle of the Aventine and the other holy women whose hearts were one with theirs, heard with joy that Pope Damasus had summoned a council to be held in Rome for the year 382 to extinguish the schism of Antioch, and to remedy other evils consequent on the heresy of Arius. Amongst the illustrious Eastern prelates who obeyed the summons were Paulinus, whose election to the see of Antioch was the main subject in question, and S. Epiphanius, the Bishop of Salamis, the disciple of S. Hilarion, perhaps the greatest name in the East since the death of Athanasius. S. Paula asked and obtained of Pope Damasus the privilege of receiving S. Epiphanius as her guest. It may be imagined with what intense emotion these pious women of Rome welcomed those holy bishops, who had been engaged in all the recent conflicts of the Church, who came from that mysterious East where the Sun of Justice had risen, who had seen Jerusalem and the holy places, who had known those Fathers of the Desert whose renown then filled the world, and had lived under their discipline. The immediate occasion of the visit of these illustrious strangers was not in the designs of Divine Providence the greatest work which they were to accomplish. We know little of the acts of that council, but the Church on earth and in heaven bears unfading tokens of the impression which they left upon souls already prepared by the Holy Ghost to respond to the fresh impulse heavenwards imparted by these great servants of Christ. What S. Athanasius had done for Marcella S. Epiphanius did for Paula. Hardly could she be restrained from leaving home, children, and friends, and setting forth, like Melania, on a pilgrimage to the holy places and the holy recluses whose life had been so vividly set before her. But she had duties to her children which still detained her in Rome. The holy purpose lay deep in her heart, to be hereafter brought to maturity under the influence of another illustrious saint, who had accompanied the holy bishops to Rome and remained there behind them.

"S. Jerome," says the Abbé Lagrange, "is assuredly, by his genius, his eloquence, his heart, his character, the vicissitudes of his stormy life, his tenderness of soul, his moving accents full of all the tears and sorrows of his time, if not the greatest, at least the most original and attractive figure of the fourth century. I had almost said the most modern man of ancient times. He appears amidst S. Hilary of Poitiers, the profound theologian; S. Ambrose, the sweet orator; S. Augustine, the great philosopher and writer; S. Paulinus of Nola, the charming letter-writer and elegant

Christian poet, with a physiognomy all his own, bearing the tints of the desert and the Eastern sky upon the stern, masculine, austere, and ardent countenance of a child of the West; loaded with sacred and profane erudition; the unwearied champion of the Church in all her struggles; the old lion of Christian polemics; the man whose mighty voice shook the old world, and whose pathetic lamentations over the fall of Rome touch our hearts even to this day." He was all this; "he was, moreover," continues M. Lagrange, "a director of souls, the first of that line of great spiritual directors which passes on from him to S. Bernard, from S. Bernard to S. Francis of Sales, from S. Francis of Sales to Bossuet and Fenelon—and so on to our own day."

It is in this latter character that we have to do with him here. Jerome had first visited Rome about the time of the death of the apostate Julian; his young and ardent imagination, full of enthusiasm for pagan learning. There he came under the power of a mightier teaching; and, while still in the flower of his youth, he received holy baptism and devoted his genius and his profane erudition to the service of the faith. Then followed years of wandering in search of fresh stores of learning, and long solitary days and nights of watching and prayer in the desert, spent in the diligent study of Holy Scripture. It was not two years since he had left the desert. He had received priest's orders from Paulinus at Antioch, and was studying theology at Alexandria, under S. Gregory Nazianzen, when S. Epiphanius summoned him to accompany him to Rome, which he had never forgotten, and where his memory was still fresh in men's minds, though he had left it in his twenty-first, and was now in his fortieth year. On the departure of the two bishops in whose company he came, S. Damasus prevailed with Jerome to remain at Rome in order to aid him in his struggle with the relaxation of Christian morals in the heart of the decaying pagan civilization, and especially to be his assistant in the study of the sacred volume. A strong and tender friendship sprang up over the pages of Holy Scripture, between the former solitary of the desert and the venerable Pontiff, who, though numbering well nigh eighty years, sat at his feet in the humble posture of a learner. S. Jerome was soon to have other pupils. At the earnest desire of Marcella, backed by the entreaties of the holy Pope, he so far overcame his repugnance to converse with women as to consent to give expositions of Holy Scripture at her house on the Aventine. These instructions were eagerly attended by all the devout society of Rome—the little band of holy women who were the glory of the Church and of the patrician order, the most learned and devout among the priests, and not a few pious laymen, who, like Jerome's fast friend and old fellow-student, the Senator Pammachicus, desired to study their religion

at the fountain head. Jerome read the sacred text and then commented upon it, bringing out first the literal sense and mingling therewith its allegorical and spiritual interpretation. He showed the relation between the Old and New Testaments, and unveiled the Person of Jesus Christ hidden under the letter of the old law. His audience listened with rapt attention. His deep learning, his vivid and impetuous eloquence, his very exterior aspect, his monkish habit, his austere countenance, emaciated by penance and embrowned by eastern suns, his glance of fire, his rapid gesticulations, and even the somewhat rough accents of his voice, arising partly, as he said himself, from his habit of *hissing the Hebrew syllables*, partly to his Dalmatian birth—all combined to give him a strange fascination and an extraordinary influence over the minds of his learned and cultivated audience. Nor was he less deeply impressed by his new disciples, and especially by the rare intelligence and spiritual perfection of these Roman ladies. He saw at once what a field was opened to his labours, and it is a beautiful and touching sight to see the austere monk, the lonely dweller in the desert, devote all the power of his genius, and the marvellous stores of his learning, to the cultivation of these chosen flowers of grace. Of all that holy company, the one in whom he distinguished the most eminent intellectual and spiritual gifts, was Paula. She found in the Divine fountain of Holy Scripture the fulness of the consolation, strength, and light of which her soul had need, and, under the teaching of Jerome, she found therein depths of which she had not even suspected the existence. Nor was she satisfied till she could read the Sacred Books in their own original language.

"I am about to say," writes S. Jerome, "a thing which will seem incredible, but which is, nevertheless, most true; the Hebrew language, which to learn the little that I know of it, cost me so much labour in my youth, and at which I labour diligently still every day, lest, were I to forsake it, it should forsake me—that Hebrew tongue Paula undertook to learn, and learnt it so perfectly that she always recited the Psalms in Hebrew, and spoke that language fluently, as did Eustochium also."

It was this Psalter, the unchanging prayer-book of the Church, which Jerome placed first in the hands of Paula, Marcella, and his other holy disciples, making them study it deeply, and explaining to them, not only its literal, but its spiritual prophetical sense. He introduced the chanting of the Psalms into the monastery of the Aventine, probably according to the antiphonal method observed in the East, and which S. Ambrose was soon to bring into the Church of Milan. Seven times a day did the virgins and widows of the Aventine pay to God their tribute of praise—a practice which afterwards became the rule of religious houses. S. Jerome also

introduced into the infant communities of Rome the repeated use of the Alleluia, which the Roman Church had hitherto reserved for Easter-tide. The households of Paula and Marcella arose to that joyous cry to begin the day by the chanting of Psalms.

S. Jerome did not leave his pupils to wander at will through the vast field of Holy Scripture. In a letter written some years later, to Læta, the daughter-in-law of S. Paula, on the education of her child, he thus traces the course she was to follow:—"Let her first," he says, "learn the Psalter, and be instructed by the Proverbs of Solomon to lead a holy life. From Ecclesiastes let her learn to trample upon worldly things. Let the book of Job set before her the example of patience and virtue. From thence, let her pass on to the Holy Gospels, which should never be out of her hands. Let her heart and will be imbued with the Acts of the Apostles and the Epistles. When her mind has been enriched with these sacred treasures, she may read the Prophets and the historical books of the Old Testament." And it was not until she should be able to understand it spiritually that she was to read the Canticle of Canticles.

The study of Holy Scripture was in the mind of S. Jerome but a means to an end. That end was to build up the edifice of Christian perfection amid the ruins of the pagan superstition. He had all the qualifications of a wise master-builder. The passionate love of souls which ever marks the true priest, a clear sight of the end before him and of the capabilities of those whom he was to bring to its attainment, strong good sense, which went right onward to its aim, and a masterful strength of character which carried others on with him. "His was," says M. Lagrange, "one of those natures which God has made strong in order that other souls may be able to lean upon them." None needed such direction more than S. Paula, and none responded to it more nobly. The more nearly he observed her, the greater became his love, and even reverence, for one whose soul was even more beautiful than her mind. Of all the souls whom God had entrusted to his care, none was in such full sympathy and perfect harmony with his own great and heroic spirit as that gentle woman's nature, which was endowed with courage that feared nothing in the service of God.

The direction of which we find the record in the numerous letters of the Saint addressed to the band of holy women who were formed by it, was doubtless an exceptional direction; it was to lead Christian virgins and Christian widows to the perfection of their state, to the highest degree of the love of God in the utmost purity of soul, and to the austere life which is both its condition and its consequence. He did not overlook the sanctity of family life, as is manifest from many beautiful passages in his writings; but here he writes especially for those to whom our Lord had shown *a more*

excellent way. For these he would hear of no half-measures. For the luxurious table and soft couch of the tenderly-nurtured patrician ladies he substituted severe abstinence and frequent fasting. They lay upon sackcloth on the bare ground, and spent the hours once squandered in self-pleasing, in spinning, and in other works of female industry, and in humble and assiduous attendance on the sick and suffering poor.

Paula had a still nearer and more pressing duty to perform in the training of her children; and here also she was aided and guided by S. Jerome, who entered into all her maternal sorrows, cares, and joys, with a vivid sympathy marvellous to see in one burdened with such a multiplicity of absorbing occupations. He was not only her spiritual director, but, in the deepest and fullest sense of the word, her friend. His loving notices of her children bring the family group before us with a freshness undimmed by the lapse of ages, which have passed away since he laid aside his unfinished commentaries on Ecclesiastes, begun at the prayer of Blesilla, which her death left him no heart to finish. His letter to the inconsolable mother is a moving example of the charity which weeps with those that weep—the only consolation which finds its way to a broken heart. "*Totus hic liber*," he writes, "*fletibus scribitur.*"

The short life of Blesilla, her eldest and perhaps best-loved child, is one of the most touching episodes in the history of S. Paula. When S. Jerome first began his instructions on the Aventine, Blesilla was in the full pride of her beauty and her genius, richly endowed with every personal, intellectual, and worldly gift, and with a buoyancy of spirit which it seemed even sorrow could not long repress; for at the age of seventeen, after a union of only seven months, she had lost a husband in all respects worthy of her love. The religious principles which her saintly mother had laboured to infuse into the heart of this richly-gifted but wilful and self-indulgent young woman, were stifled under the weight of worldly vanities by which they were overlaid. She prayed little, and passed hours before her mirror, after the approved fashion of the day, while her slaves were busied in arranging her hair and giving fresh colour to her cheeks. In short, beautiful, gifted, amiable and attractive, Blesilla was a thorough fine lady, and the only thing to be done for her was to convert her. S. Jerome did his best; but a stronger than he was needed to drive the demon of worldliness from his stronghold. In the year 384 Blesilla was laid prostrate by a virulent attack of fever, in which she lay for a whole month between life and death. "Where, then," says S. Jerome, "was the help of her worldly friends? What could they do to save her from death, who had hindered her from living for Jesus Christ? But He came to her, and sighing in spirit, He said to her—*Blesilla, come forth!* And she arose, and knew to whom she owed her life."

She was now twenty, and when she rose from that deadly sickness the supernatural beauty came forth which had lain hidden under the levity of her life. "She courageously raised the standard of the Cross of Christ, grieving less that she was a widow than that she was no longer a virgin. She who had passed long hours in adorning herself before her mirror sought henceforth for her only mirror the face of God, beholding, like the Apostle, the unveiled glory of His countenance."

That ardent spirt having once entered the path of the generous love of God, reached the summit at a bound. Her intellect and her heart unfolded with marvellous rapidity, and in the few months which were left for her to spend on earth she attained a degree of perfection which placed her side by side with her holy mother and the saintly Eustochium, who, to Paula's joy and the intense disgust of her pagan kindred, had consecrated the early freshness of her virginal life to God. When a return of fever again brought Blesilla to the gates of death, there was but one regret in that young and ardent heart. "Oh, pray for me to the Lord Jesus to have compassion on my soul," she said to those who stood around her bed, "since I am dying without having been able to accomplish what it was in my heart to do for Him."

The death of Blesilla wrung Paula's heart with an anguish no less intense than that which had brought her to the gates of the grave on the loss of her husband. All the mingled tenderness and sternness of S. Jerome was needed to rouse her from her lethargy of grief.

Soon after this blow had fallen upon her, Paula prepared for her long-desired pilgrimage to the East. Blesilla, who was to have accompanied her, had attained her rest in the heavenly Jerusalem, and her Roman home was now dark and dreary to the bereaved mother. Paulina, her second daughter, was married to S. Jerome's noble friend Pammachius, and Rufina was already betrothed. Toxotius, still a child, seems about this time to have received baptism, which, by the influence of his pagan relations, had been hitherto deferred. Paula, therefore, could leave her younger children without anxiety under the care of Pammachius and Marcella, to whose young cousin, Læta, Toxotius was betrothed. With Eustochium as her inseparable companion, she left Rome for Palestine, where, for the children whom she had left behind, God was to make her the joyful mother of an innumerable company of consecrated virgins.

Paula was accompanied by the devout women who had served God together with her in her Roman home, many of them noble ladies like herself, others liberated slaves, whom from her servants she had made her sisters.

S. Jerome, who had left Rome a few months before her, carried with him many devoted friends who had resolved to share his life

and his work. A storm of persecution had been raised against him by the pagan and worldly party in Rome, and the breath of calumny had not spared the fair fame of S. Paula herself. He shook the dust of Rome from his feet, and departed with his heart full of the great biblical labours which were to occupy the remainder of his days.

S. Paula and her companions, having touched at Cyprus to visit her venerable friend S. Epiphanius, found S. Jerome and his company waiting to receive them at Antioch in the house of the Bishop Paulinus. We cannot trace the footsteps of her pilgrimage through Palestine, nor follow her in her visit to the solitaries of Egypt, from whom she received the rule of life on which her houses were to be formed. Her journeyings occupied nearly a year. She visited Melania, who had built her convent at Jerusalem, hard by the church of the Ascension. But unspeakably sacred as was to Paula every spot in the Holy City, it was the cave of Bethlehem that took fullest possession of her heart. "This," said she to S. Jerome, as she knelt before the crib of the infant Saviour, "this shall be my resting-place, for it was the cradle of my God. Here will I dwell, because the Lord hath chosen it for Himself; here shall my soul live for Him." She stopped, and fixing her eyes on Eustochium, she finished the verse; "and here shall my seed serve Him." This was no vain fancy; no passing emotion. When she had finished her pilgrimage, Paula returned to Bethlehem never to leave it again; there she and Eustochium lived and died. There Jerome ended his full and glorious days. The pilgrim who visits Bethlehem sees at a few paces from the grotto of the Nativity another which bears the name of S. Jerome, and two sepulchres, in one of which rest the remains of Paula and Eustochium, in the other the relics of their holy friend.

A fresh sorrow greeted Paula's return to Bethlehem in the tidings of the death of her youngest daughter Rufina, whom she had left at Rome on the eve of a happy marriage, which was never to be accomplished. Where could the bereaved mother find sweeter consolation than beside the manger where the mother of sorrows had laid her Divine Child? She set herself now to the task which had brought her to Palestine, and laid the foundation of two monasteries, one for the widows and virgins who had followed her from Rome, the other for Jerome and his friends; and close by the church of hospice for pilgrims, a shelter most urgently needed for the multitudes which flocked to the holy places. "At least," said she to S. Jerome, "if Mary and Joseph were to come back to Bethlehem, they would find a place to receive them." *

* The convent of the Franciscan Fathers now occupies the site of this hospice.

S. Jerome has left us a record of the life led by Paula and her companions under the primitive rule of S. Pacomius. After the example of the houses she had visited on the banks of the Nile, she divided her daughters into three groups, each under its own abbess or mother. They laboured and ate apart, but assembled for prayer in their common chapel at the joyful sound of the Alleluia, which summoned them in the early morning, at the third, sixth, and ninth hour, and again in the evening, to chant the Psalms; and in the silence of the night their voices again poured forth the glorious hymns of the prophet of Bethlehem. The whole Psalter was recited daily. Every sister was obliged to know it by heart, and, moreover, to learn daily some other portion of Holy Scripture. On Sunday the whole community, each division with the abbess at its head, went to the Church of Bethlehem, for the Holy Sacrifice was not offered in the chapels of the monasteries. Jerome in his profound humility never ventured to say Mass, and his only priestly companion shrank from doing what he feared to undertake. On their return from the church, the work for the following week was distributed.

In her government Paula combined Roman firmness with the tenderest Christian love. The first in prayer, penance, and laborious work; in all beside she was the last and lowest in the community. In short, all the virtues and graces which have sanctified and glorified the religious life from this its first infancy until now, sprang up in full perfection under the wisdom of her rule and the light of her example. The labour which alternated with prayer and psalmody in the monasteries of Bethlehem was not restricted to the labour of the hands. A vigorous intellectual activity was fostered by S. Paula under the guidance of S. Jerome. One of her chief cares was to provide herself and her daughters with books. At her request S. Jerome interrupted his learned labours to translate for them the homilies of Origen on S. Luke, and to write the lives of the great ascetic S. Hilarion, the master of S. Epiphanius, and of S. Paul, the first hermit. Paula and Eustochium, "learned women and studious women," after Mgr. Dupanloup's own heart, turned their Hebrew studies to account by copying for S. Jerome the version of the Psalms which he had revised for their use. To their intelligent and affectionate sympathy with his labours the Church perhaps owes in great measure her authorized version of Holy Scripture, which was accomplished, book by book, at their earnest entreaty, and his commentaries on the Old and New Testament. The vexatious assaults of his adversaries compelled Jerome to work sword in hand. More than once he was tempted to lay aside his pen; but he trusted in the efficacy of these holy women's prayers, and was not ashamed to dedicate to them works in which they had borne so large a share.

"There are some," he writes, "O Paula and Eustochium, who take offence at seeing your names at the beginning of my works. They know not, I suppose, that when Barac trembled Deborah saved Israel." And after a long list of glorious women from the Old and New Testament, and even from pagan history, he thus concludes: "Was it not to women that our Lord first appeared after His resurrection, and made men blush not to have sought Him whom women found?"

Meantime the hand of God still pressed heavily upon Paula in the deaths of the two children who remained to her at Rome. Paulina died childless, having scarcely attained middle age, and Toxotius, in the flower of his youth, leaving behind him an infant daughter, named after her grandmother, Paula. His young widow, Læta, devoted herself to an ascetic life in Rome, and sent her child to be brought up (in S. Jerome's words) "in the desert and the temple," by her holy grandmother, and aunt. Paula did not long survive this last bereavement. "In sorrow, suffering, and temptation," says S. Jerome, "she had this song perpetually in her mouth: *Quare tristis es, anima mea, et quare conturbas me? Spero in Deo.* She was soon to finish the canticle in the bosom of her God. The work of grace was perfected. She seemed already to behold heaven opened before her. As Eustochium and the other pious sisters watched by her bed of pain, they heard the continual murmur of her favourite Psalms: 'Lord, I have loved the beauty of Thy house and the place where Thy glory dwelleth.' 'I have chosen to be little in the house of my God rather than to dwell in the tents of sinners.'" The Bishop of Jerusalem and all the bishops of Palestine, with a great number of priests, monks, and virgins, had assembled to be present at that holy death; but Paula, absorbed in God, neither saw or heard anything that passed around her. Only by a slight movement of her lips they saw that she was still conversing sweetly with God. They asked her some questions, but she made no reply. Then Jerome drew near and asked her why she spoke not, and whether anything troubled her. She answered in Greek, "Oh no, no trouble, but perfect peace." Then she closed her eyes, as if she would look no more upon any sight of earth. Suddenly she opened them again; a brilliant light shone on her face, as if reflected from some heavenly vision. She had seen her Divine Spouse, and heard His voice calling, "Arise, come, my beautiful one, for the winter is past;" for she made answer, "The flowers are seen in our land, the time to gather them is come," and "I believe that I shall see the good things of the Lord in the land of the living." With these words on her lips she departed to Him.

Paula left to her beloved child, instead of the vast revenues of her princely house, the inheritance of her poverty and the blessed

burden of her monasteries and works of charity, with the faith in God's Providence, which was their only endowment. For twenty years more Eustochium nobly sustained it, and then she was laid to rest beside her blessed mother, leaving her niece, the younger Paula, at the age of nineteen, to carry on their works, and to close the eyes of S. Jerome, who died only a year after her decease. He was laid beside Paula and Eustochium, in the cave which still bears the name of the "Oratory of S. Jerome." Paula the younger died as she had lived, *in the temple and the desert.* The triumphs of the Scipios, the Emilii, and the Julii, had been crowned by the aureolæ of three generations of Saints.

ART. IX.—THE COMING COUNCIL.

Sanctissimi Domini Nostri Pii, Divinâ Providentiâ Papæ IX., Litteræ Apostolicæ, quibus indicitur Œcumenicum Concilium Romæ habendum et die Immaculatæ Conceptioni Deiparæ Virginis sacro A.D. MDCCCLXIX. incipiendum.

WE have been hitherto under some difficulty as to writing about the expected Council. It seemed undutiful and ungrateful to be silent on what will be the greatest event of our time. Yet on the one hand there were no *facts* to be mentioned, because all engaged in preparation are under a strict obligation of silence; while, on the other hand, if we of the laity indulged largely in publicly speculating and conjecturing on the future, it might seem that we were seeking to generate a kind of public opinion, which should put a certain pressure on our ecclesiastical superiors. From all such difficulty we are relieved by the Bull which we have named at the head of this article. There can be no possible impropriety in recapitulating and analyzing the various evils, stated and implied in the Bull as those which the Council is designed to meet; nor in expressing very briefly and generally the kind of remedy which a Council may imaginably apply; nor in taking for granted throughout the infallible truth of those doctrines bearing on the subject, which successive Pontiffs have taught.

As to the evils in question, the Bull makes it manifest that they are very far more social than theological.* So far

* We have ourselves repeatedly adverted to a parallel fact. In April last, e. g. (p. 546), we pointed out that "the Church under Pius IX. is con-

indeed as the Bull expressly states them, they may be summed up under two heads: (1) A large number of politicians and influential public men are bitterly hostile to the Church: (2) under the influence of that hostility, these men are actively engaged in promoting the severest social calamity which can possibly befall; viz., the continually increasing severance of civil society from the Church's control and influence.

Firstly then what are the religious or irreligious tenets of those men, who are thus carrying on a relentless war against the most sacred interests? The answer is plain. They are not zealous Calvinists, nor zealous Unitarians, nor zealous Deists, but indifferentists. A most important declaration was put forth by Pius IX. to this effect in his Apostolic Letter, "Singulari quidem," of March 17, 1856. "Among the very many and never sufficiently to be deplored evils," he says, "which in the very greatest degree disturb and harass ecclesiastical and civil society, two are now particularly prominent, which not undeservedly appear in some sense the origin of all the rest." These two are indifferentism and rationalism. But it is among speculative and philosophical men that the *latter* exercises its most baneful influence; men of practical influence and action —rationalists though they may probably enough be—are far more prominently and emphatically *indifferentists*. If we would duly appreciate then the evils recited in the "Æterni Patris," we must first appreciate that tenet of indifferentism which is their root and origin.

From indifferentism it arises—so says the Pontiff in that very passage of the "Singulari quidem" from which we have just quoted—"that all duties are utterly neglected towards God, in Whom we live, move, and are." And truly it seems to us that the fundamental characteristic of indifferentism is its negation of what we will call Theistic moral principles. We will begin with setting forth this view of the case: for though our readers may at first be tempted to think that we are wandering from our theme, we are confident they will admit, when we have done, that our remarks (whatever be otherwise their value) are at all events most relevant and significant.

Let it be admitted then, that man has been created by an infinitely Holy God. It follows immediately that human actions are quite immeasurably more virtuous if done for the sake of obeying and pleasing Him, than if done from any other

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tending rather against political and social disorders than against false religious theories; and against errors in philosophy and religious politics rather than in theology proper."

motive whatever; that they are in fact (we may say with sufficient approach to accuracy) more virtuous, in proportion as they are animated, influenced, generated by the thought of Him.

We will suppose some Theist to act with some considerable energy and consistency on this principle; or, in other words, to labour with some considerable energy and consistency towards the end of keeping God in his thoughts, as supplying a motive of his various actions through the day. His first and immediate experience will be that (for whatever reason) this is a task of considerable difficulty; and that quite different thoughts and motives are constantly tending to displace the loftiest. Very high therefore among his virtuous exercises he will place mortification of intellect and will. In proportion however as he sincerely tries to practise such mortification, he will become keenly conscious of his own singular weakness; and he will feel that it is only by the strength of God and in the spirit of prayer that he can carry his enterprise to a reasonably successful issue. Meanwhile, in accordance with an invariable law of human nature, his moral *perception* will have grown with far greater rapidity than his moral *practice*, and he will be filled with a profound sense of his own miserable shortcoming and sinfulness. His constant *remembrance* of God will make him humble, in the sense of practically feeling his own *nothingness;* and his constant *attempts at pleasing* God will make him humble, in the sense of practically feeling his own *sinfulness*.

We might pursue the picture into far greater detail, but that there is no necessity for doing so. Here then are what we have called Theistic moral principles. Those men, we see, are beyond possible question of all the most virtuous, who are most given to the thought of God; to prayer; to mortification of intellect; to mortification of will; to self-examination; those who have the keenest sense of their own nothingness and sinfulness.

Now large multitudes of men firmly hold these Theistic moral principles, who have never acted on them in any steady or consistent way. Nay it may be said that, in times or places where Catholicity has been fully and exclusively dominant, such principles are accepted as true by the whole population. Very many men who do not themselves aim at any higher point than the avoidance of mortal sin, yet never dream of doubting that their own course of life is comparatively a low one. Nay multitudes of reckless sinners, who never have God practically in their thoughts, yet when they come across a S. Francis of Assisi, or a S. Philip, or a Curé of Ars, regard

such a holy man with deep veneration, and recognize him as exhibiting the true standard of virtue. Nor can one doubt that they thus obtain a most important moral benefit; that they keep alive in themselves many important points of contact with the invisible world; that they give much greater ground of hope than indifferentists give, that during life, or at approach of death, they may repent and turn to God.

The very foundation of indifferentism is, as we have said, its negation of these Theistic moral principles. Of course there is indefinite difference as to the extent in which this or that individual is infected by the poisonous error which we are considering; but the error itself is one and the same definite habit of mind, by no means difficult to depict. The indifferentist, as such, so far from regarding with reverence that type of character which we have described, looks down on it with bitter or with pitying contempt, as superstitious, mean-spirited, and fanatical. His idea of virtue is hollow, worldly, external; looking at acts rather than motives, at men rather than God. His very highest ideal is a certain practice of justice and benevolence, and is satisfied by a very moderate exhibition even of these virtues. But it is a shame to use words of our own, when we have F. Newman's forcible language at hand to express our thought.

Such men get rid of all religion that is inward; they lay no stress on acts of faith, hope, and charity; on simplicity of intention, purity of motive, or mortification of the thoughts; they confine themselves to two or three virtues, superficially practised; they know not the words contrition, penance, and pardon; and they think and argue that, after all, if a man does his duty in the world according to his vocation, he cannot fail to go to heaven, however little he may do besides, nay, however much in other matters he may do that is undeniably unlawful. Thus a soldier's duty is loyalty, obedience, valour, and he may let other matters take their chance; a trader's duty is honesty; an artisan's duty is industry and contentment; of a gentleman are required veracity, courteousness, and self-respect; of a public man, high-principled ambition; of a woman, the domestic virtues; of a minister of religion, decorum, benevolence, and some activity. Now all these are instances of mere Pharisaical excellence; because there is no apprehension of Almighty God; no insight into His claims on us; no sense of the creature's shortcomings; no self-condemnation, confession, and deprecation; nothing of those deep and sacred feelings, which ever characterize the religion of a Christian, and more and more, not less and less, as he mounts up from mere ordinary obedience to the perfection of a saint.—("Occasional Sermons," pp. 32-33.)*

* F. Newman's point is not the same as our own; he is dwelling on "the religion of the natural man."

Now here, before going further, we have at once two very damaging intellectual comments to make on these indifferentists. Firstly, numbers of them believe in God's Existence. But what position can be more pitiful, more deserving of intellectual contempt, than theirs? What can be more intellectually pitiful and contemptible, than to say that man has been created indeed by an Infinite God, but that his highest virtuousness is consistent with a habit of practically forgetting that Creator, and living only for one's fellow-creatures?*

But now further. These thinkers, if questioned, would doubtless say, that they account the highest virtue to consist emphatically in doing acts of justice and benevolence towards mankind; in alleviating men's mental and bodily pains; in increasing men's mental and bodily enjoyments. But it is a matter of most constant experience, that those have been immeasurably the most distinguished for works of justice, of true courage, of active benevolence, who have most absolutely built their love for man on the foundation of love for God. If therefore indifferentists refuse to admit that these saintly men are immeasurably the most virtuous of mankind, they are compelled to avow (what is most undoubtedly the case) that their real moral standard and ideal are far lower than they themselves suppose. And truly, as F. Newman shows in that powerful sermon from which we have already quoted, the moral standard of the indifferentist is nothing else than that of the Pharisee and the heathen.

These thinkers, in fact, may *profess* that the highest virtue consists in generous and unreserved self-devotion to the happiness of mankind; but if they were to meet *in real life* a man thus self-devoted,—even though they suspected him of no proclivities whatever to the habit of faith and prayer,—they would still recoil from him as an eccentric and crotchety philanthropist. They feel no moral disapprobation of one who devotes the whole energy of his will exclusively to self-advancement in the world; nor is there any man for whom they feel profounder moral respect, than for some statesman, e.g., who may be perhaps notoriously loose in his personal morals, but who labours zealously and successfully for his country's aggrandisement. All this, as we have said, is not Christianity but heathenism.

But why call this modern heathen by the particular name of

* We do not for a moment admit that even on the hypothesis of atheism —which indeed, in one shape or other, is a rapidly growing form of speculative error just now—such a moral code as above described is other than self-contradictory and intellectually contemptible. But it would carry us too far to consider this.

"indifferentist"? This is the question we are next to consider. We are to contrast such a man with the saintly Theist above described, in regard to their respective attitudes towards revealed dogma. And we shall perhaps make our reasoning clearer, if we suppose in the first instance that not the whole body of Catholic dogma, but only one most prominent portion of it, is offered to their acceptance. This portion shall be the full doctrine of the Incarnation, with all its details, including the promise of forgiveness through the Blood of Christ. And we further suppose, of course, that the two men whom we are contrasting receive alike abundant and incontrovertible evidence of the doctrine we have named.

To the devout Theist then this is a message of joy, which will thrill through him with delight unspeakable. He has been long looking about for every possible means, which may assist him towards the great objects nearest to his heart; towards the living more habitually in God's presence, the cultivating more energetically mortification of intellect and of will, the obtaining clearer knowledge of God's commands and wishes, above all —for he is weighed down by a sense of sin—the receiving some practical assurance of God's merciful intentions. His one dearest wish—his consuming passion we may almost say —has been the discovery of some such means. And now behold these aspirations are satisfied, in a degree which could not have been reached by his highest imaginings. God then, he now knows, so tenderly loved His creatures, that, rather than not suffer for them, He took to Himself a passible nature for the very purpose of suffering. The Creator, for love of the creature, has Himself assumed a created nature; has acted and spoken in that nature; has left us such a large number of His Acts and Words, which are the very Acts and Words of Almighty God; has undergone excruciating torment and death for man's redemption. To a devout Theist, we say, the knowledge of such a truth as this—in proportion as he gradually grasps its full significance and bearing—is among the most priceless of possessions: second indeed in preciousness only to that intellect and that will, which enable him to apprehend it and put it to due account. He feels that those who know this unparalleled doctrine, live (so to speak) in incomparably a higher and more privileged sphere than those who know it not; and that those who should devote the whole labour of their life to preaching it where it has hitherto been unknown, or to maintaining it where it is in danger of being lost, would render one of the most invaluable services which man can confer on man.

On the other hand, to an indifferentist this truth of the

Incarnation seems of no account whatever. What assistance will such knowledge give him, towards the multiplication of physical conveniences, or the rising in life of an individual, or the aggrandisement of a nation? "He is as little stirred as if he heard that a great man had risen at the antipodes, or that there is a revolution in Japan."*

Here then, it would appear, we have arrived at the characteristic contrast between what may respectively be called the "dogmatic" and "indifferentist" principles. Of course whenever God may think fit to reveal a dogma and command its acceptance, nothing but invincible ignorance can exempt from mortal sin those who reject it. But, over and above this, there are certain great dogmata so priceless, that ignorance of them, were it ever so absolutely inculpable, would be among the most serious calamities with which man can possibly be afflicted. It is this truth which the dogmatic principle affirms and its rival denies: the truth, viz., that belief in certain dogmata is conducive, in a degree unparalleled and unappreciable, to attainment of the highest virtuousness.

To explain more clearly our drift, we have confined our remarks to an individual though very fundamental dogma, that of the Incarnation. But there are many others taught by the Church, which give indefinite assistance in the task of living consistently on Theistic moral principles. Her body of Marian doctrine, e. g., possesses a singular power of fixing the thought of our Lord's Divine Personality firmly and efficaciously on the intellect and imagination: a power indeed entirely analogous to the effect produced by the dogma itself of the Incarnation, in teaching and enforcing with such unparalleled vividness the attributes of Almighty God. In a former article we drew out an imperfect but still important list of other doctrines and authorized usages of the Church, which are intimately connected with the interior life and with the attainment of high virtuousness.† We added also, that any one of her children who is not sufficiently instructed to master these doctrines one by one, yet may obtain for himself their full moral influence, by opening his heart fully to her practical teaching. By unreservedly surrendering himself to the Church's influence in every shape; by being diligent in the Catholic duties of his station; by reading those books which have the Church's sanction; by seeking the company of priests, and of those laymen who are called abroad in

* Newman's "Occasional Sermons," p. 92.

† July, 1865, pp. 163-168. The passage is contained in Dr. Ward's volume on "Doctrinal Decisions," pp. 98-106.

derision "clericals"; by avoiding familiar intimacy, whether with Protestants or minimistic and disloyal Catholics; by exercising extreme caution and reserve in intercourse with non-Catholics, and in study of non-Catholic literature;—by these, and a thousand similar methods, he may derive the full moral benefit of Catholic dogma. On the other hand, those who do *not* thus yield their heart to the Church's practical guidance—whether they be or be not actually heretical—whether their ignorance of Catholic Truth be culpable or inculpable—at all events occupy a position of very serious moral calamity. They are at most signal disadvantage, as compared with orthodox Catholics, in regard to the means at their disposal for practising true virtue. There are doubtless very many Catholics who lead less pious lives than this or that non-Catholic; but these deserve additional reproach, from the very circumstance that they possess such peculiar *helps* to piety.

Such is the dogmatic principle. Very differently thinks the indifferentist. If he professes Catholicity, he will take up some extreme theory of invincible ignorance, which shall whitewash the whole mass of Protestants; and will then proceed to consider them as standing on the same platform with himself. If he do *not* profess Catholicity, he will see far more clearly than in the former case what the Church really teaches, and will hate or despise her accordingly. He will consider that, in inculcating so earnestly the Faith, she imposes on her children a mere burdensome and utterly unprofitable ritual: just as though she made it an obligation in conscience that her children should recite the alphabet one hundred times every day, neither more nor less; or that they should always place themselves in some particular bodily posture at certain numerous fixed moments.

See, as one instance, how this whole contrast applies to the question of mixed education; on which we shall have more than once to speak in the sequel. Certain young persons, we will say, have been trained by their parents to see no harm in lying, in stealing, in reckless indolence, in certain indelicacies of conduct. The most determined indifferentist would account it a serious calamity to admit such young persons into intimate relations with his own children; and though, from philanthropic motives, he might admit a certain number of them into a school under his management, he would regard their presence there with constant anxiety, and labour earnestly to protect the rest against their evil influence. Yet the same person, though professing Catholicity, will promote intimacy between his own children and those of Protestants, and will press forward mixed education as a special blessing. Why is

this? Because he is zealous for certain moral principles in quite a different sense from that in which he is zealous for the Faith. He does not account the Faith a priceless possession; he does not admit that misbelief is among the gravest impediments—the graver because the more subtle—against man's growth in virtue; and that for this very reason corrupt human nature naturally gravitates in its direction.

We need hardly point out that, as regards the educated class, indifferentism is the special error of these modern times. In days of old, even Catholics who led bad lives were zealous for the Faith; and those men revered sanctity who did not practise it. The indifferentist Catholic regards his ancestors as bigots and persecutors; while they on their side, if they could have imagined such a person as himself, would have with far greater justice denounced him as unworthy of the very name "Catholic" which he bears.

We have spoken of indifferentism as bearing on the approval of mixed education; let us now pursue it into a further consequence. We have already adverted to the fact, that neglect of interior piety produces deplorable results on the very standard of external morality. The indifferentist counts it no part of his religion to consider carefully in the presence of God what God would have him to do; while on the other hand, either he is in no sense a Catholic, or, if he professes Catholicity, he does not come to the Church's authorities for practical instruction in his conduct. He sees therefore no moral harm, as we have already pointed out, in devoting his whole undivided energy to his own personal advancement in life. But from this intense and absorbed selfishness the progress is easy to small, and thence by degrees to great, dishonesties. Even in England, which undoubtedly is as yet much less polluted by indifferentism than most European countries, the moral decay of late is very perceptible. Mr. Stuart Mill, no prejudiced judge, declares that veracity is very far less generally than of old an Englishman's virtue; while the collapse of commercial morality is the theme of universal comment.* Such evils, however, are exhibited on a far larger scale in those continental countries, which are most infected with the indifferentist and revolutionary spirit. But the general downfall of moral

* The Holy Father thinks this evil of covetousness so very serious in its consequences, that he has inserted a warning against it in the Syllabus, prop. 58. The passage in one of the original Acts is very striking. In the "Quanto conficiamur" of Aug. 10, 1863, he speaks of that "unbridled and disastrous self-love," whereby men "regard and pursue exclusively their own interests," and, "assiduously given up to earthly things," are "unmindful of God, of religion, and of their own soul."

principle has as yet shown itself far more prominently and unmistakably—as indeed might have been expected—not so much in national as in international morality. One might indeed almost say that there is now no sense of international morality whatever. Treaties are regarded as waste paper; the rights of an independent nation as non-existent; a war of mere aggression as not intrinsically unjust; the law of nations as synonymous with the power of the strongest. These are the evils against which Mr. David Urquhart and his friends so ably and eloquently protest; against which, however, they might have much greater hope of successfully contending, if they looked more deeply than they do for the true source of the calamity.*

We can see then that the indifferentism, now so widely prevalent, is a far more deadly enemy to the Church and to Christian society than any individual heresy; than Pelagianism, Lutheranism, Unitarianism. They assailed individual dogmata, but this would overthrow the very dogmatic principle itself. Yet even this is but a small part of the evil which it threatens. Numbers indeed are more or less infected by it, who little dream of its real issue; but its ultimate tendency, if unchecked, would be to the overthrow of morality, internal and external, national and international.†

Yet it has incidentally produced one signal blessing. At no previous time perhaps in the Church's whole history has the body of bishops been so loyally and unreservedly devoted to the Holy See. When political maxims become so obviously anti-Christian, the bishops of each country have no available rallying-point save Rome herself.

In reciting those evils which have led to the summoning of the Council, the Holy Father lays his principal stress on the violent and shameless aggressions of modern statesmen against the Church. It is necessary therefore to estimate, as best we can, the cause, the intensity, and the precise direction of that animosity and disgust, with which she inspires indifferentist statesmen in those countries where Catholics are proportionately numerous. And we will begin with a very obvious remark. If I find my neighbour predominantly, nay absorbingly, interested in some view which to me appears

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* It is very curious to see the "Diplomatic Review" expecting so much from an Œcumenical Council: for the editor, not being a Catholic, must account the members of that Council as unscrupulous pretenders to a Divine authority which they do not really possess.

† "Hinc" scilicet, "ex putidissimo indifferentismi errore," "omnia erga Deum . . . officia penitus neglecta; hinc sanctissima religio planè posthabita; hinc omnis juris justitiæ virtutisque fundamenta concussa ac propemodum eversa."—Pius IX. "Singulari quidem," 17° die Martii, 1856.

valueless or even pernicious, I at once experience a negative antipathy. If I find that he does not account the issue between us a mere matter of taste, but on the contrary considers me in an inferior moral position to himself; if I find that he keeps his children carefully at a distance from mine precisely because he dreads the polluting effect of my principles;—my antipathy is no longer negative, but positive and bitter. Such must be the antipathy of all hearty indifferentists against all zealous and orthodox Catholics; and this is our first and partial answer to the proposed question.

But the indifferentist *statesman*, in a country largely inhabited by Catholics, has far stronger temptations to dislike the Church. Nothing indeed can be more unreasonable than this dislike. It cannot be contended with any show of justice that Catholics, as such, are disloyal and disaffected to their civil rulers, even where those rulers are Protestant. Take those very Pontifical Acts which enlarge most on the civil prerogatives of religious truth; take the "Mirari vos" and the Syllabus: they urge with prominent emphasis the sacred and indispensable duty of obedience to Cæsar in that which is Cæsar's. Lamennais, on the contrary, who claimed for all men as their due unbounded liberty of conscience, had nothing more warmly at heart, than to unite peoples in organized resistance against constituted authority through a large portion of Europe. In proportion as a Catholic is loyal to the Pope, he is free from that spirit of turbulence and revolution which is the throne's greatest enemy; and, moreover, he loves his country in a far higher and truer sense than that in which a worldly patriot can love her, from the very fact that he knows wherein her true welfare exists. If a statesman really aims at his country's temporal welfare—even putting religion out of the question—he will find Catholics, of all men living, the most serviceable co-operators for his purpose.

The evil however is, that an indifferentist statesman does *not* ordinarily aim at his country's welfare, but (what is most different) at its temporal aggrandisement; and that this perverted patriotism leads him to swell with indignation at the thought of what he calls external interference. Now his Catholic fellow-countrymen own what the Protestant world loves to denounce as "a divided allegiance." In their judgment the most exalted potentate on earth lives, not in their own country, but in Rome. That potentate—it is no matter of opinion, but a simple matter of fact—has at his disposal a large and admirably disciplined army of priests, of nuns, of religious orders, who have peculiar facilities

for obtaining influence over the masses, and who, in proportion as they gain influence, unanimously teach such lessons as the following. They teach that the Catholic inhabitant of any country has a closer and truer corporate connection with Catholics of other countries, than with his Protestant fellow-countrymen at home; that as to these Protestant fellow-countrymen, even such of them as are invincibly ignorant of Catholicity, occupy nevertheless a position of moral disadvantage, and are no fit intimates for the Church's children; that the one paramount object of a true patriot will be converting his fellow-countrymen to the Faith, and reforming his country's institutions on a strictly Catholic standard; that as to foreign policy, the Holy Father's firm establishment on his temporal throne is the one central end to which all else should be subservient. Nay, and as if all this were not enough, Pius IX., the general of this teaching army, has quite of late been reasserting the Church's claim to at least indirect temporal power (Syllabus, prop. 24); and has taught that offences against the Catholic religion deserve material chastisement at the State's hands, even though they do not interfere with public order and tranquillity.* An indifferentist king will be tempted to exclaim, "If I do not exert myself here, my Catholic subjects are not *my* subjects, but the Pope's;" and an indifferentist statesman will be tempted to unite with the royal exclamation.

There cannot indeed be a greater mistake than to suppose that the Church has ever put stringent restraint on the free movement of kings and of civil society. This should be carefully remembered. Even when her power was greatest,—where the king was a true Catholic and obeyed her fixed and definite laws, it was always her wisdom to allow him the widest latitude, as to the means he might adopt for his people's spiritual welfare. Witness the whole history of S. Louis. And in modern times, as all the world knows, she has repeatedly made extensive sacrifices, for the sake of union between Church and State.

But to return. We have now said enough to show the kind of State attack which the Church experiences and has to fear. The indifferentist is really indifferent (as his name imports) whether or no certain men do or do not hold the doctrines of the Incarnation, Transubstantiation, Purgatory:

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* Contra [sanam] doctrinam, asserere non dubitant, optimam esse conditionem societatis in quâ Imperio non agnoscitur *officium* coercendi sancitis pœnis violatores Catholicæ religionis, nisi *quatenùs pax publica postulet.*—(Encyclical, "Quantâ curâ.")

possibly in some vague sense he holds them himself. What he cannot endure is, that men shall *lay stress* on dogma; that they shall give it a first place in their interests and affections; that they shall regard their non-Catholic fellow-countrymen as occupying an inferior position in God's sight. His great object is therefore to lessen, by every means in his power, the influence of Rome over clergy, and clergy over laity. He would defeat his own end by directly persecuting the Catholic body in general, or by withholding from them the free exercise of their religion: such a course would alienate their affection from the State, and cause them to cling more closely to their religious superiors. But he wishes that their dealing with priests should be brought down as nearly as possible to the level of mere routine. His chief weapon of all—indeed, in these days it is by far the devil's most powerful instrument—is the promotion of mixed education, whether among the lower or the higher classes. He will not be at all unwilling that religious instruction shall be given by priests at stated times to Catholic children or youths. All which he desires is that the school's and college's moral atmosphere be essentially heterogeneous from the Church's spirit: knowing well that it is the habitually surrounding practical spirit, and not the occasional speculative teaching, which will really influence the pupil's character. For a similar reason he will use every severity in his power against religious orders; being conscious how powerful is their influence in teaching Catholics to prize the Faith as their dearest possession. Above all things he will set himself against free communication between Rome and the local bishops. But indeed we cannot do better than use the Holy Father's own emphatic words, when we would express the calamities inflicted on the Church's well-being by these her bitter enemies.

> By the most bitter enemies of God and men, the Catholic Church, and her salutary doctrine and venerable power, and the supreme authority of this Apostolic See have been opposed and trodden under foot; and all sacred things despised; and ecclesiastical possessions plundered; and bishops and most excellent men devoted to the divine ministry, and men remarkable for their Catholic spirit, in every way harassed; and religious houses overthrown; and impious books of every kind, and pestilential journals, and most pernicious many-shaped sects everywhere spread abroad; and the education of unhappy youth almost everywhere taken away from the clergy, and—what is worse—in no few places committed to the teachers of iniquity and error.

And while such as we have described is becoming more and more the attitude of kings and statesmen towards the Holy

See, what fruit do they themselves reap from their disloyalty? Civil authority, in rebelling against the Church, forfeits its strongest safeguard against the rebellion of its own subjects. The normal condition of Christian society is that Church and State shall be intimately united; that each shall use its appropriate weapons against turbulence and license. But if the two powers, appointed by God to govern the world, are in a state not of mutual harmony but of mutual distrust, turbulence and license must be expected to assume fearful proportions. Reverence for religion is the civil ruler's greatest security for the stability of his power; and if he gives an example of setting at nought the Church's authority, he has only himself to thank for the inevitable result. But though his own personal requital is most just, this circumstance affords no mitigation of the terrible evils which he brings on civil society; the evils of revolutionism, reckless turbulence, and anarchy. Civil authorities disloyal to the Church—peoples disloyal to civil authority—these are the social evils now existing in a great degree, and impending in far greater.

Nor again should we forget the *intellectual* evils proceeding from the same pestilential source of indifferentism; though the Bull of Convocation does not distinctly refer to these. From ceasing to care for the Faith, one may easily proceed to doubt or reject it; and there are multitudes of professing Catholics, we fancy, who hardly themselves know whether they do or do not even speculatively believe Catholic dogmata. Then indifferentism is a most fruitful parent of false philosophies. Intellectual men, who do not prize the Faith, pursue their philosophical, historical, critical, and literary inquiries without any careful deference to its authority. The progress of speculative corruption has been most rapid. In the last century Atheism was very rare: but now, whether in its open form of Comtism or the more disguised form of Pantheism, it is the accepted philosophy of nearly all who deny our Lord's divine mission.

On the whole, then, it may be said perhaps without exaggeration or misstatement, that, as previous Councils have been summoned against Arianism, Nestorianism, Eutychianism, Lutheranism, so this has been summoned against indifferentism and the evils thence flowing forth. It has been summoned to take all possible measures against the miserable decay of faith on one hand; and against the vast collapse of external morality, the fearful development of anarchical and anti-social principles, which have resulted from that decay on the other hand. It has been summoned to witness publicly, before a world hastening to spiritual and moral death, at once the dogmatic principle so

cherished by the Church in every age,—and also those great duties (which have been for so many centuries invigorated and sustained by that principle) of obedience to authority, of international and national morality. It has been summoned to reassert and practically to enforce the Church's political supremacy over Christian society; and also her intellectual supremacy, as conservator of Christian dogma, over philosophical, ethical, historical, critical, and literary investigation.

But it may be asked, how the assembling of a Council can provide any remedy against these evils? Will it, as by a magician's wand, transform indifferentist politicians into good Catholics? revolutionists into loyal subjects? atheists into firm believers? Well, it certainly will not do this. And whether the terrible evils now impending will be averted at all;—whether society will move to its regeneration by retracing its steps or, on the contrary, by passing through that agony, as if of death, to which it is now rapidly hastening;—this is concealed from our eyes. But, as the "Civiltà" truly observes (Aug. 1, p. 264), *either* human society is about to perish, *or* it will be saved by the Council. The proverb says that when bad men conspire good men must combine; and the one hope of making head against the extremity of evil present and imminent, is unity of thought and action among loyal Catholics in regard to the present crisis. But unity of thought and action can of course be effectively promoted, on the one hand by doctrinal decrees, on the other hand by disciplinary regulations concerning education and the like.

This very statement indeed only the more forcibly brings to one's remembrance, how far more united Catholics would already be, how far more successfully they could already have contended with the evil influences against which they are called to battle, had any kind of due deference been paid to the Church's teaching. It is not worldly men alone or hardened indifferentists—these we could see without wonder fighting on the devil's side—but men earnestly loving souls and heartily prizing many revealed dogmata, who exhibit toleration, and even approval, of this or that condemned error. No fact can be more significant than this of the very serious and alarming intellectual mischief which has made progress even in the mind of pious Catholics. Take one instance. That a Syllabus should be sent round to all bishops by the Holy Father as containing "the chief errors of our time;"*—that

* The Syllabus itself indeed only purports to contain those, the "chief errors of our age." which are branded in *Pius IX.'s Allocutions and Apostolic*

the Episcopate shall have heartily accepted this sentence of condemnation;—and yet that Catholics, really intending to be orthodox and loyal, should be found doubting its infallibility;—this can only show how profoundly they must be attached to some of the tenets which that Syllabus condemns. Here again is seen one urgent reason for a Council being held. Though these persons exhibit so inexplicable an indifference to the most emphatic teaching of the Holy See and the Episcopate, at all events the solemn warnings of an Œcumenical Council—of the "Ecclesia Docens" combined as it were and presented before them visibly—will command their attention and interior assent.

Taking for our guide on one hand the "Æterni Patris," and on the other hand Pius IX.'s Syllabus and other Acts, we may now offer some vague conjectures, as to the character of those doctrinal decrees and disciplinary regulations which the Council may possibly adopt. Nothing indeed can be said which goes beyond vaguest guess-work. The words of the Bull are so large as to cover a vast deal of ground; and we can only profess to offer conjecturally a few gleanings from the field.

In this Œcumenical Council (says the Holy Father), all those things are to be most accurately weighed and determined which, especially in these most painful times, particularly regard the greater glory of God; and the integrity of the Faith; and beauty of Divine worship; and eternal salvation of men; and both discipline and salutary and solid instruction of the clergy, secular and regular; and observance of ecclesiastical laws; and reformation of morals; and Christian education of youth; and the common peace and concord of all. And also with most attentive study it is to be aimed at that, with God's good help, all evils be removed from the Church and civil society; that miserable wanderers be brought back into the straight path of truth, justice, and salvation; that (vices and errors being expelled) our august religion and its healthful doctrine receive fresh life over all the earth, and increase daily in extent and power; and thus that piety, honourableness, probity, justice, charity, and all Christian virtues abound and flourish to the vast benefit of human society.

1. It is impossible to doubt that the Council will put forth some solemn and well-weighed statement on the dominant evils of our time. But it is of such vital importance to unite Catholics in a just apprehension of those evils, that a further question has occurred to us. Is it not possible that portions of such a general statement should appear—not as the mere

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Letters; but then the "Quantâ curâ" explains that the errors branded in these Acts are *simply* "the chief errors of our most unhappy age."

preamble to doctrinal decrees—but as themselves doctrinal? The deplorable condition and tendency of modern society—the particular features which constitute it as so predominantly Anti-Christian—these are broad dogmatical facts; and the Church has of course full power, if she so determine, of infallibly declaring these facts.

2. There can be little question that the fundamental evil of indifferentism will engage the Council's earnest attention. Considering the very prominent and urgent warnings against this tenet which have been put forth, not by Pius IX. only, but by his predecessor, it is very singular that so little systematic attention has yet been given to it, whether by theologians or philosophers. We venture to think that no greater intellectual service could well be rendered to the Church, than by a detailed analysis of this error, and a detailed exposition of the contradictory Catholic doctrine. Many Catholics, who have no other wish than to accept what the Church teaches, are yet—and sometimes to a deplorable extent—infected with indifferentism; and many more, who may themselves be proof against it, are nevertheless far from alive to the fearful evils of which it is the parent. Here in England, e.g., it was truly wonderful, before the bishops spoke out, to observe how many Catholics whom one would never have suspected, were bitten by the deplorable proposal of a Catholic College at Oxford. Nay, incredible as it might have appeared, even now when the bishops and the Holy See itself *have* spoken, a Catholic is here or there to be found who sends his son not even to a Catholic, but to a Protestant College, in that practically infidel University.

In connection with this subject there may possibly enough, we suppose, be some doctrinal exposition of the intrinsic evils which necessarily accompany every scheme, however modified, of mixed education. It may be set forth how vitally important is an absolutely complete isolation of Catholic training from every non-Catholic influence.

3. The many references in the Bull to civil society, and the Holy Father's duty of watching over its welfare,* would seem to point out that there will be some express doctrinal declaration on the relations between Church and State. As to the Church's general doctrine on this subject, there can be no possible doubt. The "Unam Sanctam" most unmistakably

* For instance: "Supremum pastorale ministerium, nobis Divinitus commissum, exigit ut omnes nostras magis magisque exeramus vires . . . ad exitiales eorum impetus conatusque reprimendos . . . qui civilem societatem funditus evertere connituntur."

teaches the Pope's indirect power over things temporal, so far as they are connected with religion; and Suarez testifies that this is "a definition of the Pontiff received and approved by the Church's common consent." (De Fide, d. 20, s. 3, n. 22.) We may add that even so late as Benedict XIV.'s time, according to his well-known Pontifical Letter to the Spanish Grand Inquisitor, the "Supreme Pontiff's indirect right over the temporal rights of supreme princes" was a "doctrine *everywhere received except in France.*"

At the same time the doctrine in question, of late years, has been in the background among Catholics; and this may have been Pius IX.'s reason for inserting in the Syllabus, props. 24, 30, and 31. By condemning these propositions, he has infallibly declared both that the Church has a certain (at least indirect) temporal power; and also that clerics have, under certain circumstances, a certain claim, not arising from secular law, to immunity from secular tribunals.* This whole doctrine may appear at first sight unpractical at the present day; but last January (pp. 54-58) we pointed out various important purposes which may be answered by its emphatic reassertion.

Then there is another branch of the Church-State doctrine, on which there are special reasons that a Council should pronounce, because of the amazing disrespect to Pope and bishops which has been exhibited by "liberal Catholics." We refer to the "office" with which God has endowed the State of "chastising, with appointed penalties, offenders against the Catholic religion," even where "the public peace" does not "require" such chastisement ("Quantâ curâ"). The Church has shown by her practice in every age that she ascribes this office to the secular arm; and, not merely in the "Mirari vos" and "Quantâ curâ," but so far back as Luther's time, not to speak of Wicklyff's, she has put forth her infallible determination on the subject. (See Denz nn. 657, 535, 576). And it will evidently much conduce to unity of political action among Catholics, that all be deeply impressed with the truth of this doctrine.

We hardly know so perplexing a fact in all history as the treatment given to this portion of the Church's teaching by such excellent men as some of the "liberal Catholics." They do not seem even to take the trouble of informing themselves

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* Reference has recently been made in England to Professor Walter's "Manual of Canon Law," as maintaining that all "the civil privileges of the clergy" "presuppose an express or tacit grant from the State." But to hold this is to hold the 30th condemned proposition of the Syllabus.

what it *is*, which Popes have said, and bishops have heartily accepted. Last January (p. 244) we gave a signal instance of this in the case of M. de Falloux. We would be the last to underrate the great services which this zealous Catholic has conferred on the Church; but those very services make his conduct the more inexplicable. His recent life of Madame Swetchine contains this amazing and bewildering passage:—

> Lamennais's "obstinacy rendered it impossible for Gregory XVI. to hesitate longer. He found it necessary to search out, recapitulate, and call attention to whatever had seemed excessive in 'L'Avenir,' in the Encyclical Letter of Aug. 15, 1832. He did so with regret; and *in such moderate terms* that a few years later *many bishops adopted the general principles* of 'L'Avenir,' modified by experience and a clearer insight into the question involved."

Now Gregory XVI. condemned Lamennais's notion, that liberty of worships and of the press are, not the lesser of alternative evils, but positive goods; that they constitute a real social advance. And these principles indeed, we imagine, are what M. de Falloux understands, when he mentions "the general principles of 'L'Avenir.'" In what terms did the Pontiff condemn them? Firstly, it was Lamennais's opinion "that liberty of conscience is to be asserted and vindicated for every man": but the Holy Father pronounced this to be "a most pestilent error;" nay, "an insanity," rather than merely an "absurd and erroneous opinion." Lamennais praised the existing liberty of the press, and desired its increase; but the Pontiff declared that the existing liberty "is most foul and never sufficiently to be execrated and detested." If this is a mild censure, we are really curious to learn M. de Falloux's notion of a severe one. Our readers will think it very clear, as we think it, that M. de Falloux never even took the trouble of looking at the "Mirari vos"; and yet he did not think it beyond his competence last year to address confidently a Catholic assembly at Malines on liberty of the press. Nowhere is the Catholic doctrine on this head so expressly and unmistakably stated as in the "Mirari vos," yet M. de Falloux did not undertake the preliminary task of studying that Encyclical. In other words, he expressed confident opinions on a matter indissolubly bound up with the highest religious interests, without taking the trouble even to examine what the Church might have to say on the subject. It is really high time that a Council should speak.

It may be worth while to state, as bearing on the general argument of our article, that in the "Mirari vos" Gregory XVI.

ascribes the chief error of these "liberal Catholics" to that "most corrupt source, indifferentism."

4. We infer that the same reason which led Pius IX. to occupy so large a portion of the Syllabus with condemning errors on the Sacrament of Matrimony, will lead the Council to a similar procedure. The great encouragement given to "civil marriage" in States professedly Catholic, renders it a most important truth, both to statesmen and to private citizens, that a union of two baptized persons, which is not sanctioned by the Sacrament of Matrimony, is mere concubinage and mortally sinful.

5. The Holy Father accounts his civil princedom as the very corner-stone of Christian political society. He has enforced this very earnestly throughout his Pontificate; and has laid much stress on the obligation under which all Catholics lie, of interiorly holding the moral necessity of that civil princedom. One can hardly doubt therefore that the Council will explicitly reaffirm this obligation.

6. The revolutionary and anarchical spirit is so very prominent a part of those evils which the Council is summoned to encounter, that great stress will doubtless be laid on the obligation of obedience to civil authorities. It is possible that the Catholic doctrine on this subject may receive some further development; and that some statement may be authoritatively made, as to the degree and kind of malversation which makes "princes" cease to be "legitimate," and obedience to them cease to be a duty. The question also of "de jure" and "de facto" governments is of some practical moment. So again is the question of constitutional monarchies; for in a constitutional monarchy the supreme civil authority is not vested exclusively in the monarch, but in the governing body designated by the constitution.

7. There is another class of theoretical social questions on which the Council may think well to pronounce. Putting aside the Church altogether—what amount of authority has God given the civil ruler over family, over education, and again over property? How far, e. g., does the very notion of *compulsory* education imply an usurpation by the State of powers which do not belong to it?

8. Perhaps a recently presented petition on *international morality* will find acceptance; and some decisions on that head be authoritatively issued.

9. The Holy Father has of late years been particularly zealous in condemning philosophical tenets which tend to injure the Deposit. Philosophical questions may probably enough occupy a large share of the Council's attention; and

among these may be included some decisions on various controversies which have been started, concerning the relations of faith with reason and the like.

10. Will the doctrine of Scriptural Inspiration be in any way considered? We are not aware of any reason for supposing it, since Pius IX. has never (so far as we know) raised his Apostolic voice on the subject. At the same time, not Protestants only, but German Catholics and other Catholics of the German school, have busily advocated of late a very lax view of Scriptural inspiration; and it is just possible therefore that their view may be censured.

11. A great deal has been said both by Catholics and Protestants on the probability that some definition will be put forth on Papal infallibility. On the other hand we cannot find in the Bull of Convocation any reference, however distant, to such a project. One may confidently expect indeed, that the assembled bishops will express or imply the Church's infallibility in condemning all errors injurious to the Deposit, even though these be not directly theological; for the Council itself will doubtless condemn various errors of that character. But whether any definition will be put forth against Gallicanism, we are left entirely to conjecture. We are not aware of any reason for anticipating it, except (1) the undoubted maturity of Catholic conviction for such a step; and (2) that special devotion to the doctrine of Papal infallibility with the corresponding vow, which were started at Rome during the centenary of 1867. See the DUBLIN REVIEW for July, 1867, p. 208. We cannot be officious however in expressing our own firm conviction, that the Pope's infallibility when he speaks ex cathedrâ—that is, when he imposes on all Catholics an obligation of interior assent—was immediately revealed by God and is proximately definable. We may add that the very definition of the Immaculate Conception was hardly received with greater joy and acclamation, than (as we believe) would be a definition of Papal infallibility.

So much on doctrinal determinations. As to disciplinary regulations, there is even less room for conjecturing what will be enacted. Two particulars are however specified in the "Æterni Patris:" the "discipline and salutary and solid instruction of the clergy," and "the Christian education of youth."

As to the *discipline* of the clergy, by this we understand their moral training; the imbuing them with a thorough ecclesiastical spirit. Something, we suppose, may be done to hasten the foundation of ecclesiastical seminaries in the

dioceses which do not yet possess them, and to provide for their being animated with the highest ecclesiastical spirit where they do exist. But the *intellectual* training of clerics may possibly occupy a much larger part of the Council's attention. Among other matters to be considered, the general tenour of the Bull leads one to expect, that something may be done, for incorporating into the theological course a certain systematic instruction in the Church's teaching on Church and State, on the Pope's civil princedom, and on various matters of philosophy. In no other way can the Church's doctrine be so effectively enforced on Catholics, as through the agency of priests, and of confessors in particular. Further, as we pointed out in the earlier part of this article, the great endeavour of indifferentist statesmen and other "enemies of God and man"—to use the Holy Father's own emphatic language—is to lessen the ascendancy of clergy over laity. It becomes therefore a very vital matter indeed, that a sufficient number of priests in every country be fitted for influencing the educated classes; that such priests shall receive the very highest secular culture; and that they shall be carefully trained to apprehend the full extent of that authority over all secular studies, which appertains to dogma, and to the Church as the divinely appointed *custodian* of dogma.

Then as to lay education of the lower classes: there may possibly be an examination of existing catechisms, and suggestions or commands, whether for their uniformity or their improvement. Practical rules may be laid down as to the degree of concession permissible, under pressure, on the matter of mixed education. At all events, there will be most earnest denunciation of the evils involved in its *principle.*

On the higher education of laymen, there are one or two matters which press for consideration. In particular we would mention the kind and degree of *doctrinal* instruction which is necessary, in order to guard young Catholics of intellectual power and cultivation from the pestilence of indifferentism, and to preserve unharmed in them all Catholic instincts and the full Catholic spirit of docility to the Church.

Then there is the question, so greatly and increasingly important, of Catholic Universities. Nothing can be more full of grave peril, than to expose youths to the temptation of seeking from non-Catholic institutions a higher education than they can obtain from a more harmless source. On the other hand few things are more needed, than the establishment of some machinery for training Catholics of the higher class in a vivid and practical apprehension of the Church's full claims, both over the political sphere and the philosophical.

But all which we have said on possible measures of the Council is, as we have explained at starting, the vaguest conjecture. We have but looked at phenomena, to see what a Council can *imaginably* do to cope with them: we have no kind of data for an opinion as to what it *will* do, beyond those supplied by the Bull of Convocation. But no one who firmly believes in the promises made to S. Peter and the Church, can doubt that some momentous result will ensue. When the successor of S. Peter surrounds himself with the successors of the Apostles, and under patronage of the Immaculate Conception takes counsel with them on the extremity of evil now prevalent, we may well hope that, in one shape or other, a signal deliverance is at hand.

There is one thing however, which the world may be very certain the Council will *not* do: it will put forth no declaration against either the principle or the expediency of union between Church and State. We find it quite impossible to imagine what has induced some few Catholics to think otherwise: we can see literally nothing to countenance their notion, either in the nature of the case, or in any indication put forth by authorities. It is not merely, however, because this notion refers to the future proceedings of the Council, but far more because it is so closely connected with several parts of our present article, that we think it worth while to devote some little space to its consideration. And we must begin by inquiring what is the precise *sense* in which men speak of union between Church and State.

Firstly Catholics, when they use the expression, often mean to express what may be called the *normal* union between Church and State. This has had place, wherever the civil ruler has been a thoroughly loyal and well-instructed Catholic, and has had full power of carrying out his convictions. Such a ruler admits the Church to have every right which she herself may claim, of interfering in all those temporal matters which relate, however distantly, to man's spiritual welfare. All this however is now a thing of the past, or of the somewhat distant future. No civil ruler in these days—at least no European civil ruler—has the power of acting on such a conviction, however firmly he may himself entertain it.

Secondly, some persons use the term in an extremely opposite sense: they speak of Church and State being "united" whenever most close and intimate relations, whether for good or evil, exist between those two societies. But such a relation exists by absolute necessity, wherever the local Church is

sufficiently large to be taken into account at all. Wherever Catholics live on the face of the globe, the civil ruler may render considerable service to their spiritual well-being, or he may inflict on it incalculable mischief. To take a very strong case, he may proscribe the celebration of Mass, and inflict capital punishment on priests as such. But putting aside things that will not occur in contemporary Europe, let us make a supposition by no means extravagant. Let us suppose that he makes mixed education compulsory, or quasi-compulsory, on both the higher and the lower classes; that he prevents communication between the Pontiff and local bishops, or renders it very difficult; that he allows free circulation to immoral and indecent books; that he refuses to protect endowments given for Catholic purposes; that he makes it a penal offence for a priest not to disclose what he has heard in the Confessional, where such disclosure would serve to prevent or punish crime. Or let us suppose that various nations combine to place Victor Emmanuel on the throne of Rome; or again that some state, which has hitherto enforced the Catholic law of marriage, should abandon it. Very many other instances might easily be given: in all of them serious injury, in some of them most fearful injury, would be inflicted on the spiritual welfare of Catholics; while, by an opposite course, that welfare would be importantly promoted and advanced. If "union between Church and State" means the existence of *most intimate relations* between Church and State, such union cannot possibly be prevented by Pope, by Council, or by politician.

It is a third and intermediate sense then that we give to the phrase "union between Church and State," when we argue against our present opponents. It may be called the "union of covenant," or "official" union. In explaining however what this is, we must carefully guard against the supposition that in this union the State surrenders anything which of right is its own: for the Church is by God's Law supreme over all things temporal which bear on the salvation of souls. But in these days even statesmen who admit this doctrine cannot give it practical effect, and the Church resorts to the practice of concordats.

The principle on which this practice is based may be thus briefly and compendiously stated. The Holy Father, by conceding certain ecclesiastical privileges—by allowing, e. g., to a Catholic ruler, under certain restrictions, the appointment of bishops—may obtain in return such advantages as the following. (1) The ruler so favoured is much less likely than he

otherwise would be, to assume a hostile attitude towards the Church, and inflict such injuries on her as those of which we just now gave instances. Indeed where the Catholics of any country are proportionably numerous, a civil ruler, though he profess Catholicity, who is infected with the poison of indifferentism, must be carefully dealt with; he will be strongly excited to oppression and persecution by the attitude of Catholics, unless something be done to enlist his sympathy in the Church's cause. See our remarks in pp. 510, 511 on the offence he may probably be tempted to take against the position which his Catholic subjects must necessarily assume. Then (2), since by such Concordat the Supreme Pontiff will have acquired a certain official standing, so to speak, in the country's political order, he may the rather hope to effect that in far fewer cases, or even in none at all, Church and State shall issue contradictory commands. Thus will the former society be able to render the latter far greater service than would otherwise be possible, in checking turbulence and revolution; since nothing tends more powerfully to foster the spirit of anarchy and rebellion, than discord between those two great powers which God has commissioned to govern the world. (3) Lastly, in all those countries where the Church has been robbed of her possessions—i.e. in all the countries of Europe—the State will be induced to give a certain stipend to the clergy, by way of infinitesimal compensation.

Some few Catholics then are under an impression, that all such arrangements between Church and State will (whether abruptly or gradually) be brought to an end by the coming Council. We will not here attempt to treat the matter at length: it will be far more satisfactory that we devote an entire article to the question of Church and State; and we hope to do so in a very early number. For the same reason we will not here say more on the testimony of the "Mirari vos," which we alleged in our last number (p. 245), and on which we shall enlarge in our future essay. Here we will but most briefly, and in a kind of skeleton outline, say so much as is closely connected with the theme and the argument of our present article.

Those then with whom we are now to argue must consider that the official union between Church and State is a greater evil than that condition of affairs which would ensue on its overthrow. Now the chief ecclesiastical privilege conceded to Catholic kings, as we have already mentioned, is a potential voice in the nomination of bishops. We ask, in the name of common sense, whether any one will say that the main ecclesi-

astical evil of our time is the nomination of bad bishops. On the contrary, never was there a period when the Episcopate was more closely knit together in loyalty to the Apostolic See. On the other hand what *are* those religious evils of society, which the Holy Father and all good Catholics deplore? The "Æterni Patris" gives an answer. They are such as these: the withdrawal of education from control of the clergy; the persecution of religious orders, and generally of good Catholics; the flood of unbelieving literature to which States permit free circulation. The remedy gravely proposed for these fearful evils is the following: (1) that the Holy Father shall have no official dealings with the civil government; (2) that the civil ruler shall have no share in the appointment of bishops; and (3) that no state stipend shall be accepted by priests. A person who can think this the appropriate remedy for present evils, must surely be beyond the reach of argument.

So much on the intrinsic probability of Pius IX. proposing to dissolve all official connection between Church and State. But now what external indication has he given of so strange an intention? The only indication we ever heard of was this. On former occasions temporal princes have been earnestly invited to attend Œcumenical Councils, either themselves or through their ambassadors; whereas in "the Æterni Patris" they are but exhorted to throw no impediment in the way of bishops coming, and to co-operate with whatever may conduce to the welfare of the Council. By this marked contrast the Pope probably enough intends to express profound disapproval of the persecutions and oppressions inflicted on the Church by civil governments. But then no one ever doubted this disapproval. Their hostility to the Church undoubtedly is an unspeakable calamity, both to the Church herself and to society: the only practical question is, how that hostility can be diminished. Our inquiry then is this: whether the Holy Father ever expressed or intimated, directly or indirectly, any such opinion as the following—viz., that their loyalty to the Holy See will be made more fervent, by means of all official relations being broken off between that See and themselves. No one will attempt to answer this question in the affirmative.

In fact the notion entertained by "liberal Catholics," that a severance of the official connection between Church and State is the one panacea for existing evils, seems to us not less than astounding. Putting aside (for the moment and merely for argument's sake) all allegation of *theological un-*

soundness,—as a mere matter of *argument* we doubt if any other ecclesiastical theory, so shallow and so hollow, ever proceeded from Catholics who have had a name for culture and ability. But we are to consider their theory at greater length in our future article on Church and State.

One word in conclusion. Whenever a Catholic writer speaks on the unspeakable importance of regaining for the Church her supremacy over action and thought, there are certain Protestants who raise the cry that he wishes to bring back mediæval barbarism. Now certainly,—though the Church has never been able to exercise the *full* authority given her by Christ over things secular,—in the middle ages she approached indefinitely nearer to doing so than at any other time. But to admire the middle ages in one respect, is not to admire them in all respects. The mediæval period had two different characteristics. On the one hand it theoretically accepted something not unlike the normal relations of Church and State; on the other hand it was a time of rude and savage violence, of widely extended ignorance, of vehement and unrestrained passion. Protestants try to make out that any one who admires it for the former particular, admires it also for the latter; that he is expressing a preference for violence over gentleness, for rudeness over refinement, and for ignorance over knowledge. Such a preference, however, would not only be paradoxical, but actually disloyal to the Church; which has ever been, so far as society would permit, the great promoter of true and legitimate civilization, and which during the middle ages wrought marvels in that direction. We may refer our readers to some remarks on this subject which occur in our number for April, 1865, pp. 493-498; meanwhile we cannot do better than quote the emphatic words of the "Æterni Patris."

> No one will ever be able to deny that the efficacy of the Catholic Church and of her doctrine, not only regards men's eternal salvation, but also benefits the temporal welfare of peoples; and their true prosperity, order, and tranquillity; and the progress and solidity also of human sciences: as the annals of sacred and profane history clearly and manifestly show by most conspicuous facts.

Our present article has been occupied, as its name imports, with the coming Council and the evils to be therein encountered. On a future occasion we hope to speak of Œcumenical Councils in general; of their place in the Christian dispensa-

tion; and of the influence they have exercised on the events of Church history.

At the last moment, and when the preceding article had been some time in type, we receive Pius IX.'s Apostolic Letter addressed to the schismatical bishops of the East; and we hasten to subjoin it, with a translation, after the "Æterni Patris." It suggests a possibility, to which we did not refer in our article, but which the Archbishop treated with emphasis in his Pastoral on the Centenary: the possibility of this coming Vatican Council conducing to a reunion of Christendom. We hope in our next number to touch on this part of the subject.

SANCTISSIMI DOMINI NOSTRI PII DIVINA PROVIDENTIA PAPÆ IX.

LITTERÆ APOSTOLICÆ QUIBUS INDICITUR ŒCUMENICUM CONCILIUM ROMÆ HABENDUM ET DIE IMMACULATÆ CONCEPTIONI DEIPARÆ VIRGINIS SACRO AN. MDCCCLXIX INCIPIENDUM.

PIUS EPISCOPUS

SERVUS SERVORUM DEI

Ad futuram rei memoriam.

Æterni Patris Unigenitus Filius propter nimiam, quâ nos dilexit, caritatem, ut universum humanum genus a peccati jugo, ac dæmonis captivitate, et errorum tenebris, quibus primi parentis culpâ jamdiu misere premebatur, in plenitudine temporum vindicaret, de cælesti sede descendens, et a paternâ gloriâ non recedens, mortalibus ex Immaculatâ Sanctissimâque Virgine Maria indutus exuviis, doctrinam ac vivendi disciplinam e cælo delatam manifestavit, eamdemque tot admirandis operibus testatam fecit, ac semetipsum tradidit pro nobis, oblationem et hostiam Deo in odorem suavitatis. Antequam vero, devictâ morte, triumphans in cælum consessurus ad dexteram Patris conscenderet, misit Apostolos in mundum universum, ut prædicarent evangelium omni creaturæ, eisque potestatem dedit regendi Ecclesiam suo sanguine acquisitam et constitutam, quæ est *columna et firmamentum veritatis*, ac cælestibus ditata thesauris tutum salutis iter, ac veræ doctrinæ lucem omnibus populis ostendit, et instar *navis in altum sæculi hujus ita natat, ut, pereunte mundo, omnes quos suscipit, servet illæsos.* Ut autem ejusdem Ecclesiæ regimen recte semper, atque ex ordine procederet, et omnis christianus populus in una semper fide, doctrinâ, caritate, et communione persisteret, tum semetipsum perpetuo affuturum usque ad consummationem sæculi promisit, tum etiam ex omnibus unum selegit Petrum, quem Apostolorum Principem, suumque hic in terris Vicarium, Ecclesiæque caput, fundamentum ac centrum constituit, ut cum ordinis et honoris gradu, tum præcipuæ, plenissimæque auctoritatis, potestatis, ac jurisdictionis amplitudine pasceret agnos, et oves, confirmaret fratres, universamque regeret Ecclesiam, et esset *cæli janitor, ac ligandorum, solvendorumque arbiter, mansura etiam in cælis judiciorum suorum definitione.* Et quoniam Ecclesiæ unitas, et integritas, ejusque regimen ab eodem Christo institutum perpetuo stabile permanere debet, iccirco in Romanis Pontificibus Petri successoribus, qui in hâc eâdem Romanâ Petri Cathedrâ sunt collocati, ipsissima suprema Petri in omnem Ecclesiam potestas, jurisdictio, Primatus plenissime perseverat, ac viget.

Itaque Romani Pontifices omnem Dominicum gregem pascendi potestate et curâ ab ipso Christo Domino in personâ Beati Petri divinitus sibi commissâ utentes, nunquam intermiserunt omnes perferre labores, omnia suscipere consilia, ut a solis ortu usque ad occasum omnes populi, gentes, nationes evangelicam doctrinam agnoscerent, et in veritatis, ac justitiæ viis ambulantes vitam assequerentur æternam. Omnes autem norunt quibus indefessis curis iidem Romani Pontifices fidei depositum, Cleri disciplinam, ejusque sanctam, doctamque institutionem, ac matrimonii sanctitatem dignitatemque tutari, et christianam utriusque sexus juventutis educationem quotidie magis promo-

PIUS BISHOP,

SERVANT OF THE SERVANTS OF GOD.

For future memory of the thing.

The Only Begotten Son of the Eternal Father, because of the exceeding charity wherewith He loved us, in order that in the fulness of time He might deliver the whole human race from the yoke of sin, and of slavery to the devil, and of the darkness of error with which, through the fault of its first parent, it had long since been miserably oppressed, coming down from His heavenly abode, and [yet] not parting from His Father's glory, being clothed in human nature from the Immaculate and Most Holy Virgin Mary, manifested a doctrine and rule of life brought down from heaven; and testified the same by so many admirable works; and delivered Himself up for us an oblation and victim to God in the odour of sweetness. And having conquered death, before that He ascended triumphant into heaven to sit on the right hand of the Father, He sent the Apostles into the whole world to preach the Gospel to all creation, and gave them the power of governing that Church which had been acquired and established by His blood; which is the pillar and support of the Truth; and which, being enriched with heavenly treasures, shows to all nations the safe path of salvation and the light of true doctrine, and like a ship so floats on the surface of the world as to preserve unhurt, while the world perishes, all whom she receives. But in order that the government of the same Church should always proceed rightly and in order, and that the whole Christian people should ever stand firm in one faith, doctrine, charity, and communion, He both promised that He would Himself be present even to the consummation of the world, and also chose one out of all, Peter, whom He appointed Prince of the Apostles and His Vicar on earth, and head, foundation, and centre of the Church; that both in the grade of rank and honour, and also in the amplitude of principal and most full authority, power, and jurisdiction, He should feed the lambs and the sheep, strengthen his brethren, rule the whole Church, and be the keeper of the gate of heaven and the arbiter of things to be bound and loosed, so that the determination of his judgments should abide hereafter even in heaven. And since the Church's unity and integrity, and her rule, appointed by the same Christ, must remain unchanged for ever, therefore in the Roman Pontiffs, successors of Peter, who are placed on this same Roman Chair of Peter, this very supreme power, jurisdiction, primacy, possessed by Peter over the whole Church, most fully continnes and flourishes.

Therefore the Roman Pontiffs, exercising the power and care of feeding the Lord's flock divinely entrusted to them by Christ Himself the Lord in the person of Blessed Peter, have never ceased to endure all labours, to devise all counsels, in order that from the rising to the setting of the sun all peoples, races, and nations should accept evangelical doctrine, and, walking in the paths of truth and justice, should attain eternal life. And all men know with what unwearied care the same Roman Pontiffs have studied to protect

vere, et populorum religionem, pietatem, morumque honestatem fovere, ac justitiam defendere, et ipsius civilis societatis tranquillitati, ordini, prosperitati, rationibus consulere studuerint.

Neque omiserunt ipsi Pontifices, ubi opportunum existimarunt, in gravissimis præsertim temporum perturbationibus, ac sanctissimæ nostræ religionis, civilisque societatis calamitatibus, generalia convocare Concilia, ut cum totius catholici orbis Episcopis, quos *Spiritus Sanctus posuit regere Ecclesiam Dei*, collatis consiliis, conjunctisque viribus ea omnia provide, sapienterque constituerent, quæ ad fidei potissimum dogmata definienda, ad grassantes errores profligandos, ad catholicam propugnandam, illustrandam et evolvendam doctrinam, ad ecclesiasticam tuendam ac reparandam disciplinam, ad corruptos populorum mores corrigendos possent conducere.

Jam vero omnibus compertum, exploratumque est quâ horribili tempestate nunc jactetur Ecclesia, et quibus quantisque malis civilis ipsa affligatur societas. Etenim ab acerrimis Dei hominumque hostibus catholica Ecclesia, ejusque salutaris doctrina, et veneranda potestas, ac suprema hujus Apostolicæ Sedis auctoritas oppugnata, ac Sacrorum Antistites, et spectatissimi viri divino ministerio addicti, hominesque catholicis sensibus præstantes modis omnibus divexati, et Religiosæ Familiæ extinctæ, et impii omnis generis libri, ac pestiferæ ephemerides, et multiformes perniciosissimæ sectæ undique diffusæ, et miseræ juventutis institutio ubique fere a Clero amota, et quod pejus est, non paucis in locis iniquitatis, et erroris magistris commissa. Hinc cum summo Nostro, et bonorum omnium mœrore, et nunquam satis deplorando animarum damno ubique adeo propagata est impietas, morumque corruptio, et effrenata licentia, ac pravarum cujusque generis opinionum, omniumque vitiorum, et scelerum contagio, divinarum, humanarumque legum violatio, ut non solum sanctissima nostra religio, verum etiam humana societas miserandum in modum perturbetur, ac divexetur.

In tantâ igitur calamitatum, quibus cor Nostrum obruitur, mole supremum Pastorale ministerium Nobis divinitus commissum exigit, ut omnes Nostras magis magisque exeramus vires ad Ecclesiæ reparandas ruinas, ad universi Dominici gregis salutem curandam, ad exitiales eorum impetus conatusque reprimendos, qui ipsam Ecclesiam, si fieri unquam posset, et civilem societatem funditus evertere conniuntur. Nos quidem, Deo auxiliante, vel ab ipso supremi Nostri Pontificatus exordio nunquam pro gravissimi Nostri officii debito destitimus pluribus Nostris Consistorialibus Allocutionibus, et Apostolicis Litteris Nostram attollere vocem, ac Dei, ejusque sanctæ Ecclesiæ causam Nobis a Christo Domino concreditam omni studio constanter defendere, atque hujus Apostolicæ Sedis, et justitiæ, veritatisque jura propugnare, et inimicorum hominum insidias detegere, errores, falsasque doctrinas damnare, et impietatis seetas proscribere, ac universi Dominici gregis saluti advigilare et consulere.

Verum illustribus Prædecessorum Nostrorum vestigiis inhærentes, opportunum propterea esse existimavimus, in Generale Concilium, quod jamdiu Nostris erat in votis, cogere omnes Venerabiles Fratres totius catholici orbis Sacrorum Antistites, qui in sollicitudinis Nostræ partem vocati sunt. Qui quidem Venerabiles Fratres singulari in catholicam Ecclesiam amore incensi, eximiâque erga Nos, et Apostolicam hanc Sedem pietate et observantiâ spectati, ac de animarum salute anxii, et sapientiâ, doctrinâ, eruditione præstantes, et una Nobiscum tristissimam rei cum sacræ tum publicæ conditionem maxime dolentes, nihil antiquius habent, quam sua Nobiscum communicare, et conferre consilia, ac salutaria tot calamitatibus adhibere remedia. In Œcumenico enim hoc Concilio ea omnia accuratissime examine sunt perpendenda, ac statuenda, quæ hisce præsertim asperrimis temporibus majorem Dei gloriam, et fidei integritatem, divinique cultus decorem, sempiternamque hominum salutem, et utriusque Cleri disciplinam, ejusque salutarem, soli-

the Deposit of Faith, the discipline of the clergy and their holy and learned education, and the sanctity of marriage, and daily more to promote the Christian education of youth of either sex, and to cherish the religious piety and moral virtue of peoples, and to defend justice, and to consult for the tranquillity, order, prosperity, interests of civil society itself.

Nor have these Pontiffs omitted, when they thought it seasonable, especially in periods of grave confusion and in calamities of civil society, to call together General Councils; that comparing counsels and uniting strength with the bishops of the whole Catholic world, whom the Holy Ghost has appointed to rule the Church of God, they might wisely and prudently establish all those things which might conduce mostly of all to defining the dogmata of Faith, to overthrowing prevalent errors, to defending, illustrating, and developing Catholic doctrine, to preserving and reforming ecclesiastical discipline, to correcting the corrupt morals of peoples.

Now it is well seen and understood by all by how fearful a tempest the Church is at this time shaken, and with what and how great evils civil society itself is afflicted. By the most bitter enemies of God and men, the Catholic Church and her salutary doctrine and venerable power, and the supreme authority of this Holy See have been oppressed and trodden under foot; and all sacred things despised; and ecclesiastical possessions plundered; bishops, and most excellent men devoted to the divine ministry, and men remarkable for their Catholic spirit, in every way harassed; and religious houses overthrown; and impious books of every kind, and pestilential journals, and most pernicious many-shaped sects everywhere spread abroad; and the education of unhappy youth almost everywhere taken away from the clergy; and, what is worse, in no few places committed to the teachers of iniquity and error. Hence, to our own extreme grief and that of all good men, and to the never to be sufficiently deplored loss of souls, everywhere impiety has been so propagated, and corruption of morals also, and unbridled license, and the contagion of omnigenous evil opinions, and of all vices and depravities, and violation of divine and human laws, that not only our most holy religion, but human society also, is miserably disturbed and harassed.

Amidst so great a mass therefore of calamities wherewith Our heart is overwhelmed, the supreme pastoral ministry divinely entrusted to Us, requires that we more and more put forth all Our strength towards repairing the Church's ruins, towards procuring the salvation of the Lord's whole flock, towards repressing the deadly attacks and endeavours of those who labour to overthrow from the foundation the Church herself, if that could ever be done, and civil society. We indeed, by God's help, from the very commencent of Our supreme Pontificate, have never ceased, according to the duty of Our most weighty office, to raise our voice in Our many Consistorial Allocutions and Apostolic Letters and unflinchingly to defend with all zeal the cause of God and of His Holy Church entrusted to Us by Christ the Lord, and to defend the rights of this Apostolic See and of justice and truth, and to detect the treacheries of enemies, to condemn their errors and false doctrines, and proscribe the sects of impiety, and to watch over and provide for the salvation of the Lord's whole flock.

But treading in the footsteps of Our illustrious Predecessors We have

damque culturam, atque ecclesiasticarum legum observantiam, morumque emendationem, et christianam juventutis institutionem, et communem omnium pacem et concordiam in primis respiciunt. Atque etiam intentissimo studio curandum est, ut, Deo bene juvante, omnia ab Ecclesiâ, et civili societate amoveantur mala, ut misere errantes ad rectum veritatis, justitiæ, salutisque tramitem reducantur, ut vitiis, erroribusque eliminatis, augusta nostra religio ejusque salutifera doctrina ubique terrarum reviviscat, et quotidie magis propagetur, et dominetur, atque ita pietas, honestas, probitas, justitia, caritas, omnesque christianæ virtutes cum maximâ humanæ societatis utilitate vigeant, et efflorescant. Nemo enim inficiari unquam poterit, catholicæ Ecclesiæ, ejusque doctrinæ vim non solum æternam hominum salutem spectare, verum etiam prodesse temporali populorum bono, eorumque veræ prosperitati, ordini, ac tranquillitati, et humanarum quoque scientiarum progressui ac soliditati, veluti sacræ ac profanæ historiæ annales splendidissimis factis clare aperteque ostendunt, et constanter, evidenterque demonstrant. Et quoniam Christus Dominus iliis verbis Nos mirifice recreat, reficit, et consolatur : *Ubi sunt duo vel tres congregati in nomine meo ibi sum in medio eorum ;* iccirco dubitare non possumus, quin Ipse in hoc Concilio Nobis in abundantiâ divinæ suæ gratiæ præsto esse velit, quo ea omnia statuere possimus, quæ ad majorem Ecclesiæ suæ sanctæ utilitatem quovis modo pertinent. Ferventissimis igitur ad Deum luminum Patrem in humilitate cordis Nostri dies noctesque fusis precibus hoc Concilium omnino cogendum esse censuimus.

Quamobrem Dei ipsius omnipotentis Patris, et Filii, et Spiritus Sancti, ac beatorum ejus Apostolorum Petri et Pauli auctoritate, quâ Nos quoque in terris fungimur, freti et innixi, de Venerabilium Fratrum Nostrorum S. R. E. Cardinalium consilio et assensu, sacrum Œcumenicum et Generale Concilium in hac alma Urbe Nostra Roma futuro anno millesimo octingentesimo sexagesimo nono, in Basilicâ Vaticanâ habendum, ac die octavâ mensis Decembris Immaculatæ Deiparæ Virginis Mariæ Conceptioni sacra incipiendum, prosequendum, ac Domino adjuvante, ad ipsius gloriam, ad universi Christiani populi salutem absolvendum, et perficiendum hisce Litteris indicimus, annuntiamus, convocamus et statuimus. Ac proinde volumus, jubemus, omnes ex omnibus locis tam Venerabiles Fratres Patriarchas, Archiepiscopos, Episcopos, quam Dilectos Filios Abbates, omnesque alios, quibus jure, aut privilegio Conciliis Generalibus residendi, et sententias in eis dicendi facta est potestas, ad hoc Œcumenicum Concilium a Nobis indictum venire debere, requirentes, hortantes, admonentes, ac nihilominus eis vi jurisjurandi, quod Nobis, et huic Sanctæ Sedi præstiterunt, ac sanctæ obedientiæ virtute, et sub pœnis jure, aut consuetudine in celebrationibus Conciliorum adversus non accedentes ferri, et proponi solitis, mandantes, arcteque præcipientes, ut ipsimet, nisi forte justo detineantur impedimento, quod tamen per legitimos procuratores Synodo probare debebunt, Sacro huic Concilio omnino adesse, et interesse teneantur.

In eam autem spem erigimus fore, ut Deus, in cujus manu sunt hominum corda, Nostris votis propitius annuens ineffabili suâ misericordiâ et gratiâ efficiat, ut omnes supremi omnium populorum Principes, et Moderatores præsertim catholici quotidie magis noscentes maxima bona in humanam societatem ex catholicâ Ecclesiâ redundare, ipsamque firmissimum esse Imperiorum, Regnorumque fundamentum, non solum minime impediant, quominus Venerabiles Fratres Sacrorum Antistites, aliique omnes supra commemorati ad hoc Concilium veniant, verum etiam ipsis libenter faveant, opemque ferant, et studiosissime, uti decet Catholicos Principes, iis cooperentur, quæ in majorem Dei gloriam, ejusdemque Concilii bonum cedere queant.

Ut vero Nostræ hæ Litteræ, et quæ in eis continentur ad notitiam omnium, quorum oportet, perveniant, neve quis illorum ignorantiæ excusationem præ-

therefore thought it opportune to collect into a General Council (as We had long wished) all Our Venerable Brethren the Bishops of the whole world who have been called to a share of Our solicitude. Which Venerable brethren indeed, inflamed as they are with singular love towards the Catholic Church, and distinguished for admirable piety and observauce towards Us and this Apostolic See, and anxious for the salvation of souls, and excelling in wisdom, learning, erudition, and together with Ourselves grievously afflicted at the most unhappy condition both of sacred and of civil affairs, have nothing nearer at heart than to exchange communications with Us and combine counsels and apply salutary remedies to so many calamities. For in this Œcumenical Council all those things are to be most accurately weighed and determined which, especially in these most painful times, particularly regard the greater glory of God; and the integrity of the Faith; and beauty of divine worship; and eternal salvation of men; and both discipline and salutary and solid instruction of the clergy, secular and regular; and observance of ecclesiastical laws; and reformation of morals; and Christian education of youth; and the common peace and concord of all; and also with most attentive study it is to be aimed at that, with God's good help, all evils be removed from the Chucch and civil society; that miserable wanderers be brought back into the straight path of truth, justice, and salvation; that (vices and errors being expelled) our august religion and its healthful doctrine receive fresh life over all the earth, and increase daily in extent and power, and thus that piety, honourableness, probity, justice, charity, and all Christian virtues abound and flourish, to the vast benefit of human society. For no one will ever be able to deny that the efficacy of the Catholic Church and of her doctrine not only regards men's eternal salvation, but also benefits the temporal welfare of peoples, and their true prosperity, order, and tranquillity, and the progress also and solidity of human sciences; as the annals of sacred and profane history clearly and manifestly show by most conspicuous facts. And since Christ the Lord wonderfully refreshes, recreates, and consoles Us by those words, "Where two or three are collected in My name there am I in the midst of them," therefore We cannot doubt but that in this Council He will vouchsafe to be at hand in the abundance of His Divine Grace, that We may be able to determine all those things which appertain in any way to the greater advantage of His Church. Having poured forth therefore in the humility of Our heart night and day most fervent prayers to God the Father of lights, we have judged that this Council should by all means be assembled.

Wherefore, relying and resting on the authority of Almighty God Himself, Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, and of the Blessed Apostles Peter and Paul, which We also exercise on earth, according to the consent and advice of our Venerable Brethren the Cardinals of the Holy Roman Church, by this Letter We proclaim, announce, convoke, and appoint a sacred Œcumenical and General Council to be held in this fair city of Rome, in the year 1869, in the Vatican Basilica, to be begun on the 8th of December, sacred to the Immaculate Conception of the Virgin Mary, Mother of God, to be continued and by God's help to be completed and finished for His Glory for the [spiritual] health of the whole Christian people. And therefore We will an

tendat, cum præsertim etiam non ad omnes eos, quibus nominatim illæ essent intimandæ, tutus forsitan pateat accessus, volumus, et mandamus, ut in Patriarchalibus Basilicis Lateranensi, Vaticana, et Liberiana, cum ibi multitudo populi ad audiendam rem divinam congregari solita est, palam clarâ voce per Curiæ Nostræ cursores, aut aliquos publicos notarios legantur, lectæque in valvis dictarum Ecclesiarum, itemque Cancelleriæ Apostolicæ portis, et Campi Floræ solito loco, et in aliis consuetis locis affigantur, ubi ad lectionem et notitiam cunctorum aliquandiu expositæ pendeant, cumque inde amovebuntur, earum nihilominus exempla in ejusdem locis remaneant affixa. Nos enim per hujusmodi lectionem, publicationem, affixionemque, omnes, et quoscumque, quos prædictæ Nostræ Litteræ comprehendunt, post spatium duorum mensium a die Litterarum publicationis et affixionis ita volumus obligatos esse et adstrictos, ac si ipsismet illæ coram lectæ et intimatæ essent, transumptis quidem earum, quæ manu publici notarii scripta, aut subscripta, et sigillo personæ alicujus Ecclesiasticæ in dignitate constitutæ munita fuerint, ut fides certa, et indubitata habeatur, mandamus ac decernimus.

Nulli ergo omnino hominum liceat hanc paginam Nostræ indictionis, annuntiationis, convocationis, statuti, decreti, mandati, præcepti, et obsecrationis infringere, vel ei ausu temerario contraire. Si quis autem hoc attentare præsumpserit, indignationem Omnipotentis Dei, ac Beatorum Petri et Pauli Apostolorum ejus se noverit incursurum.

Datum Romæ apud Sanctum Petrum anno Incarnationis Dominicæ millesimo octingentesimo sexagesimo octavo, tertio kalendas Julias.

Pontificatus Nostri anno Vicesimotertio

✠ EGO PIUS CATHOLICÆ ECCLESIÆ EPISCOPUS.

[OMNIBUS EPISCOPIS ECCLESIARUM RITUS ORIENTALIS IN SEDIS APOSTOLICI COMMUNIONE NON EXISTENTIBUS.*]

PIUS PP. IX.

Arcano Divinæ Providentiæ consilio, licet sine ullis meritis Nostris, in hac sublimi Cathedra hæredes Beatissimi Apostolorum Principis constituti, qui *juxta prærogativam sibi a Deo concessam firma et solidissima petra est, super quam Salvator Ecclesiam ædificavit,*† impositi Nobis oneris sollicitudine urgente, ad eos omnes in qualibet terrarum Orbis regione degentes, qui christiano nomine censentur, curas Nostras extendere, omnesque ad paternæ caritatis amplexus excitare vehementissime cupimus et conamur. Nec vero absque gravi animæ Nostræ periculo partem ullam christiani populi negligere possumus, qui pretiosissimo Salvatoris Nostri sanguine redemptus, et sacris baptismi aquis in Dominicum gregem adlectus, omnem sibi vigilantiam Nostram jure deposcit. Itaque cum in omnium procurandam salutem, qui Christum Jesum agnoscunt et adorant, studia omnia, cogitationesque Nostras indesinenter conferre debeamus, oculos Nostros ac paternum animum ad istas convertimus Ecclesias, quæ olim unitatis vinculo cum hac Apostolica Sede conglutinatæ tanta sanctitatis, cœlestisque doctrinæ laude florebant, uberesque divinæ gloriæ et animarum salutis fructus edebant, nunc vero per nefarias

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* The original Latin of this incription does not happen to have reached us.

† S. Greg. Nyssen. Laudatio altera S. Steph. Protomart ap. Gallant. VI. 600.

command that all from every place, as well our Venerable Brethren the Patriarchs, Archbishops, and Bishops, as our Beloved Sons the Abbots, and all others to whom by right or by privilege, power has been granted of sitting in General Councils and declaring their opinions therein, should come to this Œcumenical Council proclaimed by Us: requiring, exhorting, admonishing, and none the less enjoining and strictly commanding them, by force of the oath which they have taken to Us and this Holy See, and in virtue of holy obedience, and under the penalties ordinarily enacted and proposed by law or custom in the celebration of Councils against those who do not come, that they be altogether bound to be present and take part in this Sacred Council, unless haply they be detained by just impediment, which nevertheless they will be obliged to prove to the Synod through their legitimate proctors.

And We cherish the hope that God, in Whose hands are the hearts of men, mercifully according Our petitions will by His unspeakable mercy and grace bring it to pass that all the supreme princes of all nations, and especially Catholic rulers, knowing daily more and more that the greatest blessings redound to human society from the Catholic Church, and that she is the firmest foundation of empires and kingdoms, not only will throw no impediment in the way of Our Venerable Brethren the Bishops and others above-named coming to this Council, but will even willingly help them and, as becomes Catholic princes, will co-operate in all those things which may tend to tha greater glory of God and the benefit of the said Council.

But in order that this our Letter, &c. &c.

TO ALL THE BISHOPS OF CHURCHES OF THE EASTERN RITE WHO ARE NOT IN COMMUNION WITH APOSTOLIC SEE.

PIUS IX. POPE.

Having been established by the secret council of Divine Providence, without merits of Our own, in this lofty Chair, as heir of the Most Blessed Prince of the Apostles who, according to the prerogative granted him by God, is that most firm and solid rock on which the Saviour built his Church, pressed by the urgency of the burden which has been placed upon Us, We most earnestly desire and endeavour to extend Our cares to all those in every region of the world who are called by the Christian name, and to draw all to the embraces of Our paternal charity. For We cannot, without grave danger to Our soul, neglect any part of that Christian people which, having been redeemed by the most precious blood of our Saviour and introduced by the sacred waters of baptism into the Lord's flock, justly claims for itself all Our vigilance. Therefore since We should unintermittingly bestow all our care and thought on promoting the salvation of all who know and adore Christ Jesus, We turn Our eyes and paternal thought to those Churches which formerly, being united in the bond of unity with this Apostolic See, flourished with so great renown of holiness and of heavenly doctrine, produced rich fruits for the glory of God and the salvation of souls, but which are now, to Our extreme grief, through the nefarious arts and machinations of him who in heaven excited the first schism, separated

illius artes ac machinationes, qui primum schisma excitavit in cœlo, a communione Sanctæ Romanæ Ecclesiæ, quæ toto orbe diffusa est, sejunctæ ac divisæ cum summo Nostro mœrore existunt.

Hac sane de causa jam ab ipso Supremi Nostri Pontificatus exordio Vobis pacis caritatisque verba toto cordis affectu loquuti sumus.* Etsi vero hæc Nostra verba optatissimum minime obtinuerint exitum, tamen nunquam Nos deseruit spes fore ut humiles æque ac ferventes Nostras preces propitius exaudire dignetur clementissimus ac benignissimus salutis pacisque Auctor, *qui operatus est in medio terræ salutem, quique oriens ex alto pacem sibi acceptam et ab omnibus acceptandam evidenter ostendens, eam in ortu suo Angelorum ministerio bonæ voluntatis hominibus nunciavit, et inter homines conversatus verbo docuit, prædicavit exemplo.*†

Jam vero cum nuper de Venerabilium Fratrum Nostrorum S. R. E. Cardinalium consilio Œcumenicam Synodum futuro anno Romæ celebrandam, ac die octavo mensis Decembris Immaculatæ Deiparæ Virginis Mariæ Conceptioni sacro incipiendam indixerimus et convocaverimus, vocem Nostram ad Vos rursus dirigimus, et majore, qua possumus, animi Nostri contentione Vos obsecramus, monemus et obtestamur, ut ad eamdem generalem Synodum convenire velitis, quemadmodum Majores Vestri convenerunt ad Concilium Lugdunense II. a recol. mem. B. Gregorio X. Prædecessore Nostro habitum, et ad Florentinum Concilium a fel. record. Eugenio IV. item Decessore Nostro celebratum, ut dilectionis antiquæ legibus renovatis, et Patrum pace, cœlesti illo ac salutari Christi dono quod tempore exaruit, ad vigorem iterum revocata,‡ post longam mœroris nebulam et dissidii diuturni atram ingratamque caliginem serenum omnibus unionis optatæ jubar illucescat. §

Atque hic sit jucundissimus benedictionis fructus, quo Christus Jesus nostrum omnium Dominus et Redemptor immaculatam ac dilectissimam Sponsam suam catholicam Ecclesiam consoletur, ejusque temperet et abstergat lacrymas in hac asperitate temporum, ut, omni divisione penitus sublata, voces antea discrepantes perfecta spiritus unanimitate collaudent Deum, qui non vult schismata esse in nobis, sed ut idem omnes dicamus et sentiamus Apostoli voce præcepit; immortalesque misericordiarum Patri semper agantur gratiæ ab omnibus Sanctis suis, ac præsertim a gloriosissimis illis Ecclesiarum Orientalium antiquis Patribus et Doctoribus, cum de cœlo prospiciant instauratam ac redintegratam cum hac Apostolica Sede catholicæ veritatis et unitatis centro conjunctionem, quam ipsi in terris viventes omnibus studiis atque indefessis laboribus fovere et magis in dies promovere tum doctrina tum exemplo curarunt, diffusa in eorum cordibus per Spiritum Sanctum caritate, Illius, qui medium maceriæ parietem solvit, ac per Sanguinem suum omnia conciliavit et pacavit, qui signum discipulorum suorum in unitate esse voluit, et cujus Oratio ad Patrem porrecta est: Rogo ut omnes unum sint, sicut et Nos unum sumus.

Datum Romæ apud S. Petrum, die 8 Septembris Anno 1868.

Pontificatus Nostri Anno Vicesimotertio.

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* Epist. ad Orient. *In suprema*, die 6 januarii an. 1848.

† Epist. B. Greg. X. ad Michaelem Palæologum. Græc. Imper. die 24 octobris an. 1272.

‡ Epist. LXX., al. CCXX. S. Basilii Magni ad S. Damasum Papam.

§ Defin. S. Œcum. Synodi Florent. in Bulla Eugenii IV. *Lætentur Cœli.*

and divided from the communion, dispersed through the world, of the Holy Roman Church.

On this account, at the very beginning of Our Supreme Pontificate, We spoke to you with full affection of heart words of peace and charity. But although these words did not obtain their most desired result, yet the hope never deserted Us that our humble and fervent prayers would be heard by that most merciful and benignant Author of salvation and peace, who wrought salvation in the midst of the earth, and Who, the Orient on high, manifestly showing forth peace as pleasing to Him and to be accepted by all, announced it at His rising by the ministry of Angels to men of good will, and while dwelling among men both taught it by word and preached it by example.

But at this time when, by the advice of Our Venerable Brethren the Cardinals of the Holy Roman Church, We have proclaimed and called together an Œcumenical Synod to be celebrated next year in Rome and to be begun on the eighth of December sacred to the Immaculate Conception of the Virgin Mary Mother of God, We again direct Our voice to you, and with the greatest possible earnestness beseech, admonish, and pressingly exhort you that you would come to the same general Synod, as your ancestors came to the Second Council of Lyons held by Our Predecessor Blessed Gregory X. of venerable memory, and to the Council of Florence held by Eugenius IX. of happy memory also Our Predecessor; in order that the conditions of former love being renewed, and the peace of our Fathers—that heavenly and healthful gift of Christ which has withered by lapse of time—having been once more revoked to vigour, after the long-continued cloud of grief and black and deplorable night of long-continued dissension, the light of desired union may shine upon all.

And may this be the most happy fruit of benediction wherewith Christ Jesus, the Lord and Redeemer of all, may console His immaculate and most beloved Spouse the Catholic Church, and soften and wipe away her tears in this bitter time, that all division having been entirely removed, voices hitherto at variance may with perfect unity of spirit praise God Who does not desire that schism may be among us but has commanded by the Apostle's voice that we all speak and think alike; and that endless thanksgivings be ever offered up to the Father of Mercies by all His Saints, and especially by those most glorious ancient Fathers and Doctors of the Eastern Churches, when from heaven they look down on the restoration and renewal of that union with the Apostolic See—the centre of Catholic truth and unity—which they when living on earth laboured with all their efforts and unwearied toils to cherish and daily to forward more and more both in teaching and example: through their love,—diffused in their hearts by the Holy Ghost—of Him Who broke down the middle wall of division, and through His Blood reconciled all things and brought them into peace; Who willed that the sign of being His disciples should consist in unity; and Whose Prayer went forth to His Father "I pray that all may be one as We are One."

Given at S. Peter's Rome, September 8th, 1868, in the twenty-third year of Our Pontificate.

Notices of Books.

Sanctissimi Domini Nostri Pii Divinâ Providentiâ Papæ IX. Allocutio habita in Consitorio Secreto, die 22° Junii, 1868.*

THERE are some excellently intentioned Ultramontanes, who see the monstrousness—from the Ultramontane standpoint—of supposing that

* "Nunquam certe fore putavissemus, Venerabiles Fratres, ut post Conventionem a Nobis cum Austriæ Imperatore et Rege Apostolico, bonis omnibus exsultantibus, tredecim fere ab hinc annis initam, cogeremur hodierno die gravissimas deplorare ærumnas, et calamitates, quibus inimicorum hominum opere nunc in Austriaco Imperio catholica Ecclesia miserandum in modum affligitur ac divexatur. Siquidem divinæ nostræ religionis hostes non destiterunt omnia conari, ut eamdem Conventionem destruerent, et maximas Ecclesiæ, Nobis, et Apostolicæ huic Sedi inferrent injurias. Etenim die vicesima prima mensis Decembris superiore anno infanda sane ab Austriaco Gubernio veluti Statûs fundamentum lata lex est, quæ in omnibus Imperii regionibus etiam catholicæ religioni unice addictis valere, et vigere omnino debet. Hâc lege omnis omnium opinionum et librariæ artis libertas, omnis tum fidei tum conscientiæ ac doctrinæ libertas statuitur, et civibus cujusque cultus facultas tribuitur excitandi educationis doctrinæque instituta, et omnes cujusque generis religiosæ Societates æquiparantur, et a Statu recognoscuntur. Equidem ubi primum id dolenter agnovimus, Nostram vocem statim attollere optavissemus, sed longanimitate utentes tunc silendum censuimus, eâ præsertim spe sustentati fore ut Austriacum Gubernium justissimis Venerabilium Fratrum Sacrorum in Austria Antistitum expostulationibus dociles præbens aures vellet saniorem induere mentem, et meliora suscipere consilia. Sed inanes Nostræ fuere spes. Namque idem Gubernium die vicesimâ quintâ Maii hoc anno aliam edidit legem, quæ omnes illius Imperii populos etiam catholicos obligat, et jubet, filios ex mixtis conjugiis natos sequi debere patris religionem, si masculi sint, si vero fœminæ religionem matris, et septennio minores debere parentum a rectâ fide defectionem sectari. Insuper eâdem lege plane omnis deletur vis promissionum, quas merito, atque optimo jure catholica Ecclesia omnino exigit, ac præscribit antequam mixta contrahantur matrimonia; et ipsa apostasia tum a catholicâ tum a christianâ religione ad civile jus elevatur; et omnis Ecclesiæ auctoritas in sacra cœmeteria de medio tollitur, et catholici coguntur humare in suis cœmeteriis hæreticorum cadavera, quando iidem hæretici propria non habeant. Ipsum præterea Gubernium eâdem die vicesimâ quintâ Maii hujus anni non dubitavit de Matrimonio quoque legem promulgare, quâ leges ad commemoratæ Nostræ Conventionis normam editas plane abolevit, et in pristinum vigorem restituit veteres Austriacas leges Ecclesiæ legibus vehementer adversas, et matrimonium etiam, uti dicunt, civile omnino improbandum asseruit et confirmavit, quando cujusque cultus auctoritas deneget matrimonii celebrationem ob causam, qu nec valida nec legalis a civili auctoritate recognoscatur. Atque hâc lege Gubernium idem omnem Ecclesiæ auctoritatem et jurisdictionem circa matrimoniales causas,

the Holy See has ever claimed rights which it did not really possess, and yet who are unwilling to admit that it has received from God certain prerogatives in the temporal order. They argue therefore, that when a Pope claimed such prerogatives in the middle ages, he did so, not in virtue of any such power conferred on him immediately by God, but in virtue of the public law then prevalent throughout Europe. The Allocution which we print at the foot of our page, and which was delivered on June 22, 1868, will supply some useful data on this matter. It refers to recent events in Austria.

"The enemies of our divine religion," says Pius IX., "have not ceased to put forth every effort for the purpose of destroying the said Concordat, and

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omniaque tribunalia de medio sustulit. Legem quoque de scholis promulgavit, quâ omnis Ecclesiæ vis destruitur, ac decernitur supremam omnem litterarum disciplinarumque institutionem, et in scholis inspectionem ac vigilantiam ad Statum pertinere, ac statuitur, ut religiosa dumtaxat institutio in popularibus scholis a cujusque cultus auctoritate dirigatur, utque variæ cujusque religionis Societates aperire possint peculiares et proprias scholas pro juventute quæ illam credendi normam profitetur, utque ejusmodi quoque scholæ supremæ Status inspectioni subjiciantur, ac doctrinæ libri ab auctoritate civili approbentur, iis tantum libris exceptis, qui religiosæ institutioni inservire debent, quique ab auctoritate cujusque cultus approbandi sunt.

"Videtis profecto, Venerabiles Fratres, quam vehementer reprobandæ, et damnandæ sint ejusmodi abominabiles leges ab Austriaco Gubernio latæ, quæ catholicæ Ecclesiæ doctrinæ, ejusque venerandis juribus, auctoritati, divinæque constitutioni, ac Nostræ et Apostolicæ hujus sedis potestati et memoratæ Nostræ Conventioni, ac vel ipsi naturali juri vel maxime adversantur. Nos igitur pro omnium Ecclesiarum sollicitudine Nobis ab ipso Christo Domino commissâ Apostolicam vocem in amplissimo hoc vestro consessu attolimus, et commemoratas leges, ac omnia et singula, quæ sive in his sive aliis in rebus ad Ecclesiæ jus pertinentibus ab Austriaco Gubernio seu ab inferioribus quibusque Magistratibus decreta, gesta, et quomodolibet attentata sunt, Auctoritate Nostrâ Apostolicâ reprobamus, damnamus, et decreta ipsa cum omnibus inde consecutis eâdem Auctoritate Nostrâ irrita prorsus nulliusque roboris fuisse ac fore declaramus. Ipsos autem illorum auctores, qui se catholicos esse præsertim gloriantur, quique memoratas leges, acta et proponere, vel condere, vel approbare, vel exsequi non dubitarunt, obtestamur et obsecramus, ut meminerint Censurarum, pœnarumque spiritualium, quas Apostolicæ Constitutiones et Œcumenicorum Conciliorum decreta contra invasores jurium Ecclesiæ ipso facto incurrendas infligunt.

"Interim vero summopere in Domino gratulamur, meritasque tribuimus laudes Venerabilibus Fratribus Archiepiscopis et Episcopis Austriaci Imperii, qui episcopali robore tum voce, tum scriptis Ecclesiæ causam, et prædictam Nostram Conventionem impavide tueri, ac defendere, et gregem officii sui admonere non destiterunt. Atque vel maxime optamus, ut Venerabiles Fratres Hungariæ Archiepiscopi et Episcopi, egregia eorum Collegarum exempla imitantes, velint pari studio et alacritate omnem in Ecclesiæ juribus tutandis et in eâdem Conventione propugnandâ impendere operam.

"In tantis autem, quibus Ecclesia luctuosissimis hisce temporibus ubique affligitur, calamitatibus, non desinamus, Venerabiles Fratres, ardentiori usque studio in humilitate cordis nostri Deum exorare, ut omnipotenti suâ virtute velit nefaria omnia suorum et Ecclesiæ suæ sanctæ inimicorum consilia disperdere, impiosque eorum conatus reprimere, impetus frangere, et illos ad justitiæ salutisque semitas suâ miseratione reducere."

inflicting most grievous injuries on the Church, on ourselves, and on this Apostolic See." The first instance he gives of such "most grievous injuries" is a certain "nefarious [infanda] law," whereby in parts of Austria which are exclusively Catholic, liberty of worship and of the press are henceforth to exist; while Protestants will be permitted to erect schools and otherwise to stand on the same footing with Catholics. It is remarkable, on the other hand, that the Holy Father does *not* complain of such liberty and equality as existing in any *other* regions, except those which have hitherto been exclusively Catholic.

Pius IX. further reprobates the law which now, in Austria, requires certain children of mixed marriages to be brought up in a non-Catholic religion; and that which requires children, being under seven years of age, of Catholics who may apostatize, to be brought up in their parent's new religion.

Another of Pius IX.'s rebukes falls on the sanction given to what are called "civil marriages." (See p. 519 of our present number.)

The Pontiff refers lastly with severity to the law which reserves to the State all supervision over popular schools, except as regards their directly religious instruction.

He calls these respective laws "abominable;" and declares them, by his "Apostolic authority," to be "utterly void and of no effect."

We leave our readers to consider these facts with the view of forming their own conclusions.

It has been suggested by some few Catholics, that the Bull convoking the expected Council implies some intention on Pius IX.'s part of breaking off the existing connection between Church and State, as no longer expedient. That Bull was issued only one week after the Allocution had been pronounced which we are noticing. The *Allocution*, at all events, does not bear marks of any such intention as these Catholics suppose.

Der Moderne Staat und die Christliche Schule. Von FLORIAN RIESS, Priester der Gesellschaft Jesu.

Die Encyclica Papst Pius IX. vom 8 *December*, 1864: *Stimmen aus Maria Laach, XI.* (The modern State and the Christian School, by FLORIAN RIESS, S.J., being No. 11 of the Voices from Maria Laach, on the Encyclical of December, 1864.)

A FEW weeks ago the "Saturday Review" was criticising the recent Papal Allocution on Austrian affairs. Baron Beust, we were told, had published an eloquent and convincing defence of the changes which he had been the principal means of introducing into the constitution. But the most perfect justification of the breach with Rome was to be found, not in the apology of the Prime Minister, but in the words of the Holy Father. It was necessary to read the Allocution itself if we wanted to know how far Papal arrogance could go, and how incompatible its pretensions were with the very existence of a free and independent Government. The writer en-

larged on the absurdity of objecting to the new marriage laws: but even that was reasonable compared with the language of the Allocution on State education. In England education is left mainly in the hands of individuals or free corporations, assisted by the State. In many continental countries it is under the direct control of the State. Either plan, the reviewer said, involves certain disadvantages, and he could understand a sensible man advocating the one or the other. But on what possible grounds the Church could interefere in a purely secular question, he was at a loss to conceive.

Such difficulties (and we believe there are persons in England ignorant enough to urge them in good faith) may receive a complete solution in the pamphlet of Father Riess. It forms the eleventh of the "Voices from Maria Laach," some of which have already been noticed in our last number. With a style less trenchant than that of Father Schneemann, he has the advantage of a subject confined within narrower limits, and is able consequently to treat it in a more exhaustive manner. His essay forms a sort of commentary on propositions, 45 to 48 inclusive, of the Syllabus. He begins by pointing out the special occasions which led to the condemnation of the errors in question. Propositions 45 and 46 originally referred to Italy. In 1848 the Sardinian Government claimed for itself the sole right of governing and administering schools. No one was allowed to open a school without ministerial sanction. The teachers became simply the officials of the Government; the clergy might be invited, if the Government thought fit, to give religious instruction, but even the purely spiritual part of the education was placed under the authority of the State. Episcopal seminaries had been grudgingly excepted: but in 1864 the shallow pretence of respecting the spiritual power of the episcopate was abandoned, and seminaries were put on a level with secular schools. Starting with the hypocritical profession of desiring a free Church in a free State, the revolutionary rulers of Italy have proved themselves the worst enemies of freedom in both. They have done their worst against freedom in the Church, by depriving her of her right to watch over secular science in its connection with faith and morals. They have made the freedom of the State a convenient pretext for subjecting individuals to the intrusive tyranny of the ministry. Christian parents are obliged to send their children to be educated by avowed infidels. "At present," says Peinetti (Del libro Insegnamento, Milano, 1865, p. 271), "the arch-enemy of the Catholic religion in Italy is public instruction. The school has turned itself into a sort of propaganda against the Catholic Church, her constitution, her history, and her doctrines. Of a hundred youths who leave the university, it is hard to find ten who have not lost their faith, and with their faith the principles of morality. Freedom of education has suffered utter shipwreck. Every institution for education or instruction, whether public or private, whether for boys or for girls, whether conducted by seculars or religious, is subjected to the approval of the ministers." It is true that this michievous work is carried on without expressly banishing all religious teaching. The State can trust to the effect of infidel lectures on philosophy, history, or natural science, without much fear of the half-hour's "dottrina Cristiana" which is given once a week.

The errors embodied in propositions 47 and 48 differ in form rather than in

substance from the two which precede. The Baden Government had to deal with a population, partly Protestant, partly Catholic ; and in 1862 imposed upon both confessions an education which, in the words of proposition 48, "had reference, primarily at least, to science of things in the natural order, and the ends of social life." But by the admission of its supporters, the object of the education law was distinctly anti-religious. "German culture," says a semi-official reply to the Archbishop of Freiburg's memorial on the subject, "is the work of science emancipated from the Church ; it is the mission of the school to destroy the separation between Protestants and Catholics ; and, therefore, the Government can never let the school slip out of its hands." In other words, the State supports schools as the best means of undermining dogmatic belief.

This introduction is followed by a sketch of the struggle which has been carried out between Catholic and liberal principles of education on the Continent, and particularly in France and Germany. Father Riess writes in the first instance for German readers ; and this has led him, rather unfortunately we think, to omit any detailed account of the state of education in his own country. In Bavaria, we believe, liberalism (the strangest surely of all misnomers) makes it impossible to employ a private tutor without Government sanction, and forces the candidate for sacred orders to spend two years at the mixed universities. Still the changes which education has undergone in France and Belgium justify Father Riess in selecting these countries as typical instances. It was, indeed, during the French Revolution, that the liberal principle was first proclaimed in its fulness. "Children," Danton declared in the Convention, "belong to the Republic before they belong to their parents" ; and under the influence of Robespierre a law was passed condemning to death every parent who did not send his children to the national schools. This characteristic law was modified a year or two later ; but still every teacher was required to possess a "certificat de civisme"—a privilege only granted to the professed enemies of revealed religion and legitimate government. The "rights of man" were taught instead of the catechism, and sacred history replaced by panegyrics on the French army. Napoleon was clearsighted enough to perceive that religion could not be ignored in this way. But the freedom which he did grant was dealt with a niggard hand The religious instruction at secular schools was the merest sham, and his University of France was the genuine child of the Revolution. Unlike the old universities, it was not a free corporation, and it was entirely severed from the Church. It was really the State in its teaching capacity. No private school could exist without its leave, and its degrees were a necessary qualification for the public service. This state of things outlasted the Restoration. When it was found that even social disadvantages did not prevent many Catholic parents from preferring the ecclesiastical seminaries to the Lycée, the former were forbidden to receive pupils who were not meant for the priesthood, and Jesuits were excluded from the theological chairs. All this was aggravated under the contemptible *régime* of Louis Philippe. "We do not ask," wrote the Cardinal Archbishop of Lyons, "for the abolition of the University : we claim for the clergy no exclusive right to teach : we only agitate for freedom of instruction as it exists in Belgium." The efforts of the clergy produced

their effect in the law of March, 1850. The popular schools are placed, not as formerly under the University, but under the préfet. The University is ruled, not by the ministry, but by a board, in which the Catholic bishops, the magistrates, the schoolmasters themselves, and the Protestant ministers are all represented. No obstacle is placed in the way of private schools, and the Jesuits even are not exempted from the permission to teach.

If France has passed from bad to what is comparatively good, Belgium is a striking example of a change the other way. Down to 1847, when the liberals came in power, Belgium was the envy of French Catholics. Between 1834 and 1844—*i.e.*, in the first decennium of emancipation from the anti-national and anti-Catholic government of Holland—thirty-three new colleges were founded for higher education, the number of middle-class schools was almost doubled, the number of pupils attending them *more* than doubled. While education was perfectly free and conducted mainly under the influence of the Church, conviction for crime decreased 33 per cent.; while in France, under liberal administration, crime was steadily on the increase. Nor can this progress of education be explained by the burst of life which followed the rise of Belgian independence. An inspection of the tabular reports which Father Riess gives shows that while the maintenance of the old colleges was due in greater part to the clergy, the erection of new colleges was owing to them almost exclusively. In 1849 the declension had fairly set in. Candidates for Government offices had to obtain a degree from a board directly nominated by the State. Higher and middle-class schools were erected everywhere at Government expense. At these the clergy are invited simply to make *remarks* on the religious instruction, and the Government may treat their remarks as it sees fit. Even this amount of interference is stigmatized as slavery by Edgar Quinet, who also urges the expediency of introducing gratuitous as a step towards compulsory education. The higher schools are already infidel, and the liberals make no secret of their ultimate object. Just now they are unable to do more than apply taxes collected from Catholics to promote unbelief. But they have no mind to stop here. "Let education," said the "National Belge" in 1857, "once penetrate the masses, and the constitution of Belgium will be placed on a rational basis, without salaried clergy, cloisters, Jesuits, or priestly interference in schools." The "Congrès Liberal" re-echoes the same sentiments; while the "Journal de Bruxelles" looks forward hopefully to a time when, by the organization of public instruction, the anti-Christian idea will be spread over the land, and teachers and scholars join in the chorus, "Away with dogma! away with the yoke of the Messias and the tyrants!"

So much, we may add by the way, on the admirable effects which were to follow from that separation between Church and State, of which Belgium has been held up by "liberal Catholics" as the great representative instance.

If further proof be needed of the effects of State education, it can be found in the declarations, not of those who may be called "extreme Roman partisans," but of Protestants like Gasparin, or Catholics like Montalembert. There are other, although less important respects, in which it is equally fatal. The principle of extreme centralization from which it springs destroys the very idea of personal freedom, and

enslaves the people to an unscrupulous bureaucracy. It is most injurious to the rightful freedom of science. A Catholic accepts with thankfulness the decisions of the Holy See in matters of philosophy and politics, because he recognizes the voice of an authority divinely commissioned to instruct him infallibly in all which is connected with faith and morals. But it is preposterous to have philosophical teaching regulated by the ministry of the day. It is insufferable that a spiritual philosophy should have to retire before Positivism, because the latter is considered more favourable to industrial progress ; or that the sub-Alpine Government should encourag Hegelianism, long after it has been abandoned in the land of its birth, simply because its doctrine on the absolute authority of the State is convenient at present. And apart from the fact that schools estranged from the Church necessarily tend to spread infidelity, ministries which are constantly replacing each other are clearly unadapted to superintend public instruction. Each enters on office with some doctrinaire scheme of organization, and the wretched schools are in a chronic state of revolution. Nobody will suspect the "Perseveranza" of writing in a clerical spirit. Yet, after recounting the miserable failures of Italian education, it concludes in the following words, quoted by Father Riess :—"The continued want of discipline in the schools; the number of subjects taught for the sake of show; . . . above all, the constant changes in organization, with the dread that any day all may be altered again ; the want of any permanency in persons or things, and of respect for merit in comparison with the deference paid to the recommendations of party men and deputies,—these are the reasons why we present so piteous a spectacle to the world." Contrast this with the condition of France since the unnatural fetters have been removed from education. In 1864 the number of children at school had risen above that of 1840 by about a million : every year the increase averages between 50,000 and 60,000. If the present state of things continues there will soon be more free than public schools. In every respect the pupils trained at Catholic, particularly at Jesuit schools, are able to stand comparison with those from the public Lycées. Four years ago, out of 250 canditates admitted from the whole of France to the military college of St. Cyr, 51 came from the Jesuit College of St. Genevieve, and the same college sent up 13 out of 28 successful candidates for admission to the Polytechnic School.

In the concluding part of the pamphlet the author draws out the positive principles on which education depends in its relations to Church and State. He holds that the father of a family has an inalienable right to decide on the kind and degree of education of his children, and that the theory which would deprive him of it ends logically in socialism. It is the interest of the state that children should be well brought up : but this, he says, no more justifies compulsory education, than the interest of the State that its subjects should marry well justifies compulsory marriage. We state these as his opinions, without committing ourselves to absolute agreement with them in their whole extent. But we do most heartily and unreservedly follow him where he traces the effect of the Reformation in sweeping away the authority of the Church in Protestant countries, and introducing an exaggerated separation between nature and grace. But into this and the general argument of

the third part we have not space to enter fully. Many of his arguments for the Church's liberty of action, needful as they are in many nominally Catholic countries, are not yet absolutely called for in England. But there is a spirit already active amongst us here in England, akin more or less to the idea of State supremacy prevalent on the Continent. Compulsory education is strongly advocated: and Oxford, which certain Catholic parents think an endurable place of education for their sons, has become more decidedly than almost any of the foreign universities an infidel propaganda.

Prospectus of the "Catholic Truth Society."

WE are much more surprised that such a society as this has not been started before, than that it is started now. The working classes have advanced prodigiously in knowledge and intelligence; and it is of no extreme importance that carefully and argumentatively written elucidations of religious truth should be brought within their means.

The prospectus of this society appears in our advertising columns. If we rightly understand it, in one respect a very wise course has been chosen: viz., the giving a smaller proportionate space than has sometimes been done to controversy proper, and a larger to such purposes as these: the exposition of Catholic doctrine; the exhibition of Catholic life; the evoking in Catholics a high and loyal Catholic spirit. The main reason, we are confident, which detains the more pious Protestants without the true fold, is not at all a deficiency of proof for the truth of Catholicity, but their strange misapprehension of Catholic doctrine. As to the matter of *proof*, it is difficult to imagine a more conclusive argument than is presented on the very surface of history. Christianity came into the world identified with a corporate society, indissolubly one, governed by an authority which was also infallible in teaching. Throughout the whole subsequent period a society has existed—at this moment a society exists—answering precisely to this description; while there is no other society which affords the slightest resemblance thereto. All Protestants possessed of common sense would take for granted that the Catholic Church is but a continuation of the original Apostolic society, were it not for what they account her doctrinal corruptions. And truly if she taught—as many of them think she teaches—that true religion consists exclusively, either in mere outward observances, or in addresses to this or that Saint which have no connection with morality and with obedience to God, they are not far wrong in considering that such a doctrine would effectually disprove her claims to a divine origin.

In proportion then as Catholics can place before their fellow-countrymen a true image of that practical religious life, which is led day after day by those who most faithfully listen to the Church, in that proportion will hostile prejudices be overcome. It is not so much what Catholics hold, e. g. on purgatory or indulgences, which should be emphatically set forth, but far more what they hold on death and judgment; on heaven and hell; on prayer, on grace, on the worship of our Blessed Lord, on devotion to His Passion, on

the love of God. Moreover since example is better than precept, the more clearly Catholics themselves exhibit to the world the real character of their religion, the more rapidly will the pure Gospel spread through the land. Now it seems from the prospectus that very many of these tracts will be directed to the purpose of instructing Catholics more thoroughly in the Church's doctrine, eliciting from them a still purer and heartier loyalty to her cause and her spirit, and training them into still higher Catholic sympathies. Ballads, e. g., we observe constitute an integral part of the plan.

A great deal will depend on the ability and judgment with which the whole thing is carried out. This is emphatically one of those projects which, unless executed thoroughly well, should not be attempted at all. But the names attached give every possible security and assurance that it *will* be executed thoroughly well.

The Society is "in honour of the Holy Family," and under the patronage of the English archbishop and bishops; its President is the Rev. Herbert Vaughan, D.D.; its "Council for the Selection of Tracts" consists this year of the Rev. R. G. MacMullen, F. Gordon of the Oratory, F. Mahon, S.J., and F. Lockhart of the Order of Charity. Its prospectus and letters of invitation to become members may be obtained from the secretary, Mr. P. A. Gugeri, 310, Strand, W.C. One great advantage of becoming a member is the obtaining of the Tracts at a considerable reduction from the current price.

We believe it is not improbable that this Society may commence its publications very shortly.

The Month. August and September, 1868. London: Simpkin, Marshall, and Co.

DURING this quarter the "Month" has contained two theological discussions, both possessing great practical importance at the present time, and both deserving of careful attention. On one of them, we most heartily agree with our contemporary, and think he has done excellent service to the Catholic cause; on the other, we are more or less at issue with him. We will begin with the latter, as it comes first in order of time.

It bears on that now well-worn theme, the object-matter of infallibility. "The Church does not assume," says this writer (Aug., p. 206), "and never has assumed, any power to discern and proclaim truths altogether unknown to the Church of the Apostles." Such a proposition ascribes less extension to infallibility, than does even F. Ryder; for the latter writer fully admits that the Church can infallibly draw any *logical consequences* she thinks fit from the Deposit. Then take that trite instance, the "Augustinus." That five certain propositions are contained in Jansenius's work according to its legitimate objective sense, this is surely a truth "altogether unknown to the Church of the Apostles"; a truth of which no Apostle had the most distant suspicion: yet the Church infallibly "discerned and proclaimed" it. Now we rather

guess from the context, that the writer whom we are criticising had in his mind only *definitions of faith*; that he did not at all intend to deny the Church's having put forth very many infallible determinations, which are *not* such definitions. But his words, at all events, are open to grave misapprehension. And in the present day every opinion which tends unduly to narrow the extension of infallibility is so peculiarly dangerous and malignant, that it will be worth while to consider the whole position assumed by the "Month," in reference to that passage from Mr. Liddon's Bampton Lectures which gave rise to the discussion. We will only premise that our estimate of those lectures is not less high than our contemporary's, as, indeed, we expressed last April (p. 548); and that we heartily agree with every word of his comment on them, except as regards that sentence of Mr. Liddon's which is here to be the groundwork of our brief remarks. That sentence ran as follows in the first edition. We understand from the "Month," that Mr. Liddon has somewhat modified his language in the second, but not so as to affect his substantial meaning.

"The Nicene decision is the act of a Church believing itself commissioned to guard a body of truth delivered from Heaven in its integrity once for all. The recent definition" of the Immaculate Conception "presupposes a Church which can do much more than guard the Faith; which is empowered to make continual additions to the number of revealed certainties; which is the organ, no less than the recipient, of a continuous revelation" (p. 650).

1. We thoroughly agree with our contemporary that Mr. Liddon exhibits in this passage a serious misapprehension of what the Holy Father did on Dec. 8, 1854. The "Ineffabilis" implies throughout that the Apostles themselves taught the Church the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception; and F. Harper, in his powerful essay on the dogma, abundantly vindicates that allegation.

2. Yet we think that Mr. Liddon was correct in drawing a marked distinction between the two definitions of faith which he brought into comparison; and here is one of our divergencies from the "Month." This distinction is forcibly drawn by F. Perone in his "de Locis" (pars 2ª, n. 339), though without particular reference to the Immaculate Conception. The truth which Arius denied, is the fundamental truth of the Gospel; and it has been consistently inculcated by the Church as divinely revealed, from the time of the Apostles: insomuch that Arius was accounted a heretic, from the very moment when he began to teach, and long before the Nicene Council. On the other hand, although the Immaculate Conception was immediately revealed by Christ to the Apostles and impressed by them on the Church's mind, yet the Ecclesia Docens never *proposed* it as revealed before Dec. 8, 1854. And whereas a denier of our Lord's Divinity would have been denounced as a heretic in every period of the Church's history, Catholics were even *prohibited* by the Church—before the definition of 1854—from expressing any theological censure whatever on a denier of the Immaculate Conception. Surely this does constitute a real, and indeed a most marked, distinction between the two cases. We think Mr. Liddon perfectly correct when he says that the Church's power of defining the "Homoousion" does not by itself prove her power of defining the Immaculate Conception.

3. We quite agree with the "Month" in holding that no doctrine is ever defined as *of faith*—though very many others are *infallibly* determined—which was not immediately revealed by Christ to the Apostles. But our contemporary seems to imply that this is the universal opinion, and indeed that no Catholic can think otherwise. Here again we are at issue. Great theologians, such as Suarez, Bellarmine, Viva, have held that the Church can define propositions as of faith, in such sense as to condemn their contradictories of heresy—which were not themselves immediately revealed, but which follow by legitimate *consequence* from immediately revealed dogmata. Such also is F. Ryder's view: and, though we differed from it, we have never thought of bringing against it any charge of theological unsoundness, as we have against certain other tenets for which he is responsible.

4. We fully accept Mr. Liddon's implied statement, that the Church possesses no further infallibility than is necessary or important for the work of "guarding" that "body of truth," which was "delivered from Heaven in its integrity once for all." But we maintain that the Church could not successfully guard the Deposit, unless her infallibility extended over a far wider sphere than that of merely *testifying* it. We allege that every Catholic is bound to consider her infallible,—not only (1) in testifying revealed dogmata, but also (2) in declaring truths logically *deducible* from revealed dogmata, and (3) in declaring truths which are necessary or important for the *protection* of revealed dogmata. We will not enlarge on a theme with which our readers have of late been so familiar, but will refer to Dr. Ward's "Brief Summary," pp. 10-12. Now it is plain that these "deducible" and "protective" truths, thus infallibly declared, were generally "unknown to the Church of the Apostles"; and we regret that our contemporary has used language, which can be understood by malevolent critics as if he did not consider the Church infallible in declaring such truths.

We turn with great pleasure from our point of difference to our point of agreement with the "Month." That periodical has already done excellent service in its comment on Anglican ordinations. In September it returns to the theme, reinforced by the arguments of F. Newman; and we heartily urge our readers to study carefully both the editorial article and F. Newman's appended letter.

Never was there any position more unfortunate, than that of High Church Anglicans as to the validity of their orders. If they could demonstrate everything which they even *maintain* on these orders, they could only so far put themselves on a level with the degraded Nestorian and Eutychian sects of the East; nor, for example, would they have made one step towards proving, that those clergymen can impart valid Absolution to whom the Roman Pontiff has given no jurisdiction. On the other hand if they *cannot* demonstrate the validity of their orders, their whole ecclesiastical status is the most pitiful and contemptible of shams. Now F. Newman raises the most fundamental question of all. Considering the deplorable slovenliness and incorrectness with which the Established clergy have so often performed what they have intended for baptism, it is simply incredible that there have not been numerous "bishops" who were never baptized: and all whom those

"bishops" ordained "priests" certainly remained mere laymen. Then several of these, in their turn, have doubtless been raised to the highest order, and have themselves conferred "orders" which were utterly null and void. It is simply impossible that the general body of Anglican clergymen can have the slightest approach to certainty, nay so much as reasonable probability, for their priestly character, unless you suppose a degree of constant Providential interposition, which would amount to a startling miracle. How can they be *certain* of possessing that, of which their possession is not even faintly probable, unless you suppose a quasi-miraculous Divine interposition? Do they even *allege* any promise, or any reasonable ground of expecting, such an interposition?

These words of F. Newman are very weighty, and will bear thinking of again and again. "There is a great presumption that, where evidently our Lord has not left a rigid rule of baptism, he has not left a valid ordination."

Then, secondly, no one will consider it certain (p. 260)—few will consider it probable—that persons can be really ordained priests in a communion which does not recognize priests at all; which not only makes no reference in its ordination service to "that which is the very essence of the priestly office," the offering of sacrifice, but which has carefully excluded mention of that doctrine from *all* its formularies: except indeed so far as it has called Roman Catholic masses "blasphemous fables and dangerous deceits."

Thirdly, were there a real Eucharist in the Establishment, the profanation and insults to which our Lord would have been exposed are so fearful to think of, tha the very notion of such Eucharist being real is horrible and appalling. 'Would our Lord," asks F. Newman (p. 271), "leave Himself for centuries in such hands?"

Fourthly, from the very time of the Reformation it has been the undeviating tradition of all Christian bodies, external to Anglicanism, that Anglicans have no priests. "The Catholics, in the days of persecution, knew that in the hour of death even a schismatical or heretical priest might give them Absolution; but *no one can be named who ever thought in that hour of sorest need, of turning to ministers of the Establishment as to priests*" (p. 251).

All this is antecedent to the "antiquarian argument," as F. Newman calls it, founded on examination into the details of past occurrences; into the interminable questions concerning Barlow, Scory, and Parker. On these questions, however, the writer in the "Month" expresses his opinion (p. 261) "that, all things considered, there is an absolute balance of probability *against* the supposition that any one of the four 'bishops' at Lambeth had received episcopal consecration."

The Irish Ecclesiastical Record. Sept., 1868. Dublin: Fowler.

THIS monthly journal has from the first displayed thoroughly excellent principles; and we are glad to observe its steady growth in solidity and power. We beg our readers' careful attention to the following admirable remarks. We have added a few italics of our own to those of the writer.

"But it is time we should come to the moral of our sad tale, and make its application to our own country. We have made these long extracts from the pamphlet of the Bishop of Orleans, because we are convinced that it behoves all, clergy and people, who are anxious to maintain religion in Ireland, to receive his words as addressed to themselves; not indeed that the storm, which has already come down upon France, has actually broken on Ireland, but because all who read the signs of the times may see the clouds gathering and may even hear the muttering of the thunder. *The danger for Ireland is not Protestantism, but unbelief.* Our educational danger is not open proselytism, but non-Catholic systems, which will weaken the hold of religion on the youthful mind, shut the priest out of the school, or admit him only at stated times, and thus estrange the lambs of the sheepfold from their pastors. It is true we have no 'professional schools for females,' the avowed object of which is to train the future mothers of our country 'in morality without religion,' under infidelteachers; but we have schools founded upon the principle which in the French 'professional schools' is the cloak for every evil, viz., that the schools '*should be open to children of all religious persuasions, without religious distinction.*'

"We have no 'Educational League' or courses of public lectures, established and promoted for the purpose of getting the education of the country into the hands of Freemasons and of other enemies of the Church; but we have, especially in England, *public men of great power and influence* who leave no means untried to divorce education from religion, and even to force upon the country (what is called) 'secular' education. Again, the most gigantic efforts are made—perhaps we, the Catholic body, and especially we of the clergy, do not realize the fact as we ought—the most prodigious efforts are made to spread licentious and irreligious writings, and even good and sincere men lend their support, without suspecting it, to this propagandism of evil. Thus we have seen that the London University has placed one of the books of the infamous George Sand on its list of works to be presented at matriculation. It has also put forward a work of Dumas, whose name, most assuredly, is not one to be introduced with approval to youth; while on the latest list of works to be brought up by the candidates for entrance we find the 'Heroides' of Ovid, of which the 'English Cyclopædia,' edited by Charles Knight, no bigoted witness it will be admitted, gives us the following judgment:—

"'The voluptuous pictures of Ovid are only concealed with a transparent veil, and even this is sometimes withdrawn. It is rather singular that the 'Heroides,' which abound in obscene allusions and in voluptuous imagery, and are often difficult to understand, should have been so much used as an elementary school-book in modern times.'—'English Cyclopædia,' article 'Ovid.'

"In fine, the degrading doctrines of the Paris School of Medicine are not professed in this country; the barefaced materialism and atheism taught there amidst the acclamations of the hearers are not heard in the lecture-rooms in Ireland; but is not the eternity of punishments in the other life denied by one of the Fellows of Trinity College, Dublin? Is not the inspiration of parts of the Sacred Scripture called into question by another teacher of youth in that same University, to which several unsuspecting Catholic parents deem it *useful and respectable* to entrust the completion of their children's education? Worst, perhaps, of all, is it not well known that Auguste Comte and the 'Positive Philosophy,' of which he is the founder, have a large and increasing school of followers in the University of Dublin; that philosophy, of which the infidel doctrines of the French teachers and their pupils are the legitimate consequences; that philosophy to which

those materialists and atheists look for the regeneration of society: '*Society must be radically reformed by means of Positivism*'?

"As we have mentioned the philosophical system of Auguste Comte, we beg to recommend to our readers the articles on 'Positivism' which appeared in this journal in March and April, 1866. The poisonous principles with which it inoculates the mind, and its wide-spread influence even in English literature at the present day, are there clearly explained. Almost unconsciously many a person adopts its formulas; and while speaking of '*Providence*' and '*Nature*' and a hundred such phrases, seems to avoid the mention of the Great God, whose personal existence, as indeed the existence of anything beyond the material world, Positivism calls in question. Philosophical systems, it is true, are born and grow in schools; but the experience of the past, and especially of the French Revolution last century, shows that in a generation after their birth they leaven for good or evil the literature of their native place: and in the second generation the principles on which they rest become the moving principles of the nation. Positivism has worked it way and is constantly working its way each day more and more into English literature: let us hope that, as far as our people are concerned, it will not effect the end which one of Comte's chief disciples set before himself, viz., '*to set humanity free from illusions*,' that is, from a belief in Providence and in a Creator; '*from vague disputes*,' that is, from disputes regarding man's origin and final end; and '*from deceitful idols and powers*,' that is, from the living God. '*University Education*,' we have been told by those who desire its advent, will bring upon us, if it be uncontrolled by religion, this torrent of deadly evils: there is no dyke to prevent the bitter sea from pouring in upon us and overspreading the land, save CATHOLIC EDUCATION."

We have ourselves italicized the writer's remark on "public men of great power and influence." We are heartily glad of our contemporary's frank admission, that *Conservative* politicians are not the *only* "public men" from whom the Church has most grave danger to apprehend.

The Union Review for September, 1868. London: Lyall.

IT is said in this number (p. 440) that "Dr. Manning considers Anglican virtues to be only gifts of nature," not of grace. If the writer of this sentence is to be acquitted of conscious and formal mendacity—as we willingly acquit him—it must be by ascribing to him a moral fault only a little less serious. He has put forth a statement which he considers very disparaging to an opponent, without taking the very slightest trouble to inquire whether it be not false, and which is in fact monstrously false. There is no Catholic of this country, or of any other, who has enlarged so consistently, prominently, emphatically as Archbishop Manning, on the doctrine that the Holy Ghost often works powerfully and energetically among persons external to the Church; and not less among Anglicans, than among Presbyterians, Wesleyans, or Baptists.

We regret this grave offence the rather, as there is some excellent matter in the present number. The very article which we have been criticising points out with much ability the contrast between modern "Evangelicals" and the

founders of that singular movement. "The unsparing searching mental discipline prescribed by Fletcher and Cecil disappears among their later followers" (p. 435). "Both our Lord and the Apostles," says Mr. Cecil, "seem to establish it as a principle that a single state, when it can be chosen and is chosen for the sake of the Gospel, is the superior state." "The carriage and horses, greenhouse and croquet-ground, which would never have been tolerated by such men as Cecil and Martyn, are every-day appendages to the establishment of an Evangelical clergyman now. When he does not have them it is because he cannot afford them" (p. 439). The great argumentative defect of the article is that its writer appears blind to the detestably heretical character of that tenet—justification by faith only—on which the Evangelical system is built. It is the later, and not the earlier, Evangelicals who are more faithful to the true spirit of their creed.

In p. 451 there is expressed a far stronger doctrine about our Blessed Lady than has hitherto, so far as we know, been seen among Protestants. The writer solidly defends that most Catholic appellation "Co-redemptress," which even some members of the Church have apparently desired to repudiate. Nay, he says that "those *only* advance in devotional fervour to our Blessed Lord, who seek a union with His Sacred Heart through the sacred heart of Mary." Even the most Marian of Catholics would demur to this word "only": he would rather say that those advance "very far more rapidly," "very far more surely," or the like; but he would not say that no others advance *at all*.

F. Bottalla, it is said (p. 473), is one of those "rash Ultramontane fanatics," who put forth "preposterous claims for the Pope." As such is the language usually found in this periodical concerning the DUBLIN REVIEW, it is a comfort to think that we are placed in such good company.

The Doctrine of Holy Indulgences explained to the Faithful. By the ABATE DOMENICO SARRA. Translated by F. AMBROSE S. JOHN, of the Oratory, Edgbaston. London: Burns, Oates, & Co.

WE mentioned in July that one of the greatest services rendered in our time to Catholic devotion was F. S. John's translation of the "Raccolta." This service did not consist only in facilitating the obtainment of indulgences; but perhaps even more in making English Catholics acquainted with so many most solid and touching prayers which, as recommended by successive Pontiffs, possess the very highest sanction. The little volume before us does not, of course, confer this particular benefit. But considering how large a portion of Protestant objections to Catholicity are based on the doctrine of indulgences, it is highly useful that English Catholics should possess in a compendious shape a most fair and trustworthy exposition of that doctrine. In this notice we will not speak of Sarra's remarks so far as they occupy the ground of Scripture and history, but so far only as they treat the *practical bearing* of the doctrine in question.

Heretics, says the author (p. 49), "profess to see in the wide concession of

indulgences the seeds of laxity ; nay, the door opened to the depravation of morals in the Christian people." When pressed to explain themselves more clearly, they say that indulgences make the doctrine of purgatory practically inoperative. It is curious indeed to observe, that many impugners of the Faith have said precisely the opposite : they have said that Catholics have their thoughts so intently fixed on purgatory as to forget hell. However, Catholics must deal with one objection at a time.

Now at all events no one can say that *in practice* indulgences have this effect. No one e. g. ever heard of such a thing as that the friends of a departed Catholic, having once obtained for him a plenary indulgence, care nothing about masses for his soul. In fact, they are found to lay a good deal more stress on masses than on indulgences.

We are here to argue that this practical impression is the legitimate result of Catholic doctrine. We will begin with indulgences gained for themselves by the living ; and we do not of course deny that these are most beneficial. So soon as a sinner obtains remission of the guilt of mortal sin—which of course he cannot do without efficacious repentance and propositum—he has no difficulty whatever in gaining, by means of a plenary indulgence, remission of all the temporal punishment *due* to such sin. But his mortal sins have been accompanied by a very large number of venial ones ; and the practical question is, how far a plenary indulgence will avail in clearing him from *their* temporal punishment.

It is a first principle of the Faith, that no sin whatever is remitted "quoad pœnam," until it has been remitted "quoad culpam." And it is a first principle of the Faith, that no sin can be remitted "quoad culpam" until there has been efficacious repentance as regards the past, and efficacious propositum as regards the future. In the case of venial sins, then, it is necessary for their forgiveness that there be an efficacious propositum of avoiding in future sins similar to them in gravity and in species. It is evident then that forgiveness even of the gravest venial sins requires a higher and rarer act of propositum than is necessary for the forgiveness of mortal sins ; and that forgiveness of the lighter venial sins requires a still higher and rarer act. But higher and rarer acts of propositum are always found in company with higher and rarer acts of the other supernatural virtues. It is in proportion then as a Catholic elicits higher and rarer acts of supernatural virtue, that he gains forgiveness for a larger number of past venial sins, and that he reaps larger fruit from a plenary indulgence. How can any Protestant say that such a doctrine as this encourages laxity ?

A question has been asked, whether it is possible to reap the *whole* fruit of a plenary indulgence ; or, in other words, whether it is possible to have efficacious repentance and propositum in regard to *all* venial sin. We quote from F. Sarra a very interesting reply to this question :—

From this it follows, that in order to enjoy the full fruit of a plenary indulgence, since the entire remission of venial sins is required, the efficacious determination of avoiding them is requisite. Some explanation may be necessary to make this clear. The Council of Trent, after having declared "that saints and the just do in this life fall sometimes into at least venial sins, and into daily transgressions, and yet do not therefore cease to be just,"

defines, fulminating its anathema against those who profess a contrary opinion, "that man, once justified, is unable in the whole course of his life to avoid all sins, even venial, except by the especial privilege of God; as the Church holds to have been the case with the Blessed Virgin." It is, however, no fair deduction from this truth that the adult faithful, not being able to form an efficacious resolution to avoid all venial sins, cannot by parity of reasoning gain fully a plenary indulgence. For the resolution required in the case before us does not extend to all venial sins taken together and in the mass, *in globo* as it is said, which would be an absurdity; but to each venial sin taken by itself, and according as it may be presented to us in its own particular subject-matter. Such a resolution as this is not impossible, with the help of divine grace. Hence, applying this maxim practically, if any one of the faithful, in this ordinary and actually present Providence, shall be able truly and firmly to resolve to avoid absolutely and without reserve all venial sins, taken as they occur, one by one, and as they are severally prohibited by the law of God, and not taken altogether and in the mass (in which way they never do actually present themselves to us, or are prohibited by law), and having made such a resolution, shall, with perfect contrition for the said venial sins, visit a church with the intention of gaining a given plenary indulgence, then it is not to be doubted that he will reap the fruit of that indulgence entirely (pp. 65, 66).

The same answer to the question may possibly be expressed in a somewhat different way. An efficacious propositum of avoiding all venial sin is evidently an act incompatible *while it lasts* with the commission of any venial sin whatever. Since therefore no man, without such a special privilege as was granted to the Most Holy Virgin, can always avoid all venial sin, it follows that no man (without such special privilege) can preserve throughout his waking life an efficacious propositum of avoiding all venial sin. But it does not ever so distantly *tend* to follow from the Tridentine doctrine that a man may not, by help of grace, elicit *for a few moments* that most high and rare act of which we are speaking; that he may not thus reap the *whole* fruit of a plenary indulgence and wipe out his *whole* debt of temporal punishment.

It may be objected however, that at all events when a soul leaves this life in a state of grace, it will immediately elicit a most vivid act of efficacious repentance for all past venial sins. A plenary indulgence, it may be argued, gained by the living for a soul departed in grace, must infallibly produce its *whole* effect, however worldly and tepid that soul may have been, and however given up to fully deliberate and grave venial sins. We answer however at once that an indulgence gained for the dead is by no means infallibly applied, but only so far as God in each particular case may determine. This has indeed been denied by some very grave theologians, such as Suarez and Lugo: still it is accounted by F. Perrone the "common opinion," and is now indeed practically certain from an answer of the Sacred Congregation. We will conclude our notice with a passage of Sarra, in which he mentions that answer (p. 95). The Italics are ours:—

The privilege of an altar consists in this, that "when the unbloody sacrifice of the Mass is celebrated there by the priest for a soul departed, the soul of that person (supposing it to have been united with God in charity when it passed out of this life) is thereby aided by the suffrage of a plenary indulgence." These words, explaining as they do in what the nature of the privilege consists, were declared by an answer of the Sacred Congregation, July 28,

1840, to mean as follows: "By the indulgence annexed to the privileged altar is meant, *as far as regards the mind of the granter and the use of the power of the keys*, a plenary indulgence, which forthwith liberates the soul from all the pains of purgatory. As regards, however, *the effect of the application*, such an indulgence is meant as corresponds in its extent with *the good pleasure and acceptation of the Divine mercy.*"

The Reign of Law. By the DUKE OF ARGYLL. Fifth Edition. London: Strahan & Co.

IN this edition of his very able work, the Duke of Argyll replies to some of his critics, and among the rest to ourselves. Nothing can be more courteous than the tone of his remarks; but as to their substance we think he has left the matter where it was. We will not take the very unnecessary trouble of here giving so long an explanation, as would be required for making the matter intelligible to those who did not read our article: we will only say a few words for those who may have read that article, and also the Duke's reply to it. (April, 1867, pp. 414–425.)

Our article was purely defensive. There are certain Catholic doctrines on "prayer, free will, and miracles," which are considered by some to be at variance with certain conclusions of modern "science." It was no part of our purpose to prove those doctrines, but exclusively to answer this objection. Take any such alleged truth of science: we say, *either* it does not contradict Catholic doctrine, *or* it is not really established by science.

That proposition of the Duke's with which we were brought into contact, is one which he holds in common with many most able men; viz., that human actions are abstractedly calculable. We explained what we understood by this in pp. 284-5 of our article, nor does the Duke at all deny that he holds the proposition which we ascribe to him. He considers, however, that there is no contradiction whatever between that proposition and the doctrine of Free Will in any of its legitimate applications. On the contrary our own view is (p. 285)—and here he has a little misapprehended us—that though his proposition is not inconsistent with the doctrine of Free Will in every imaginable shape, it *is* inconsistent with the doctrine of man's *probation* by means of Free Will. We are obliged therefore to hold further, that no Catholic could accept the Duke's proposition, without sacrificing by legitimate consequence the Catholic Faith.

We were not surprised at all, as we said, that the Duke of Argyll should hold this proposition; for many most powerful minds have held it: but we were extremely surprised that he should account it "a mere truism." We could not see before, and we cannot see now, that the Duke has brought forward any argument which even tends to establish, we will not say that his proposition is a *truism*, but even that it is a *truth*.

He considers us (p. 417) "to regard with horror the idea of the will being considered part of the constitution of the mind." We cannot think what has led him to credit us with an opinion, which undoubtedly, as he says, would imply "strange confusion of thought." Our position is this. At any

given moment—the intrinsic constitution of my mind (and my will of course inclusively) being given—and the extrinsic motives which are acting on it being also given—I not only a physical power, but (within certain limits) a real moral power of acting in this or that direction, or of not acting at all. We hold this position, because we consider it to result necessarily from the doctrine of man's probation by means of Free Will; and we cannot see that the Duke of Argyll has yet adduced any argument which tends to disprove it.

History of Philosophy from Thales to Comte. By GEORGE HENRY LEWES. Third Edition, in two volumes. Longmans.

FOR the last three centuries, the distinguishing religious peculiarity of England has been a determination to combine the maintenance of a certain self-chosen standard of orthodoxy with the denial that there exists upon earth any one capable of giving a certain answer to the question "What is Truth?" No thinking man, we imagine, can doubt that this strange illogical position is now numbered with things of the past. Englishmen of the present day more and more practically feel that if it is true that there is no infallible teacher, then any such sins as heresy or infidelity are a mere bugbear. Day by day they are choosing their sides in the coming contest. Some, resolved to hold fast the Faith, see that they can do it only by submitting to the Vicar of Christ; some, resolved to retain the Protestant principle, are daily reconciling themselves to be consistent by rejecting the authoritative teaching of a Church which professedly knows no more than themselves of the things it professes to teach. The result is already seen in a new readiness to give a hearing, on the one side to Catholic arguments, on the other to those which assail all that used to be regarded as orthodoxy. Under George III. it was little less difficult to obtain a hearing for an avowed infidel as such than for a "Papist" himself. Hence it was that Hume's attack upon Christianity is accompanied throughout with expressions of reverence for "our holy religion," and that Gibbon again opens the well-known chapter of his history in which he explains the success of Christianity by merely human causes, with a protest that the true explanation is "the convincing evidence of the doctrine itself, and the ruling providence of its great author:" and asks to be "permitted, though with becoming submission, to ask, not indeed what were the first, but what were the secondary causes of the rapid growth of the Christian Church."

What makes this manner of speaking in those days more marked is, that Christianity was the direct and immediate object of attack on the part of those who thus met it with professions of profound reverence. They were always equally ready with professions of belief and with anti-Christian arguments and sneers. Such was the character of the anti-Christian writers of the eighteenth century. In our own time things are wholly different. We doubt whether any anti-Christian writer thinks it necessary to make professions of reverence towards Christianity, and acknow-

ledgments of its truth. They are no more necessary to his obtaining a wide circle of readers than they are to avert legal prosecutions. On the other hand, he quite as little thinks of making any direct attack upon it, still less of attacking it with the jeers and jibes of the age of Voltaire. The received way at present is to leave it on one side, taking no more notice of it than if it had never existed. The assailants of Christianity seem to have imitated the tactics of Napoleon. Instead of stopping to besiege a strong hold, they leave it behind them, and dash on to occupy the whole country. Nothing less is their object. The whole field of human knowledge, human interests, duties, and affections is to be occupied by a philosophy which claims to be a full and sufficient guide to man—to "give unity to his life" in the phrase of Mr. Lewes.

Such a mode of writing is much less offensive to the good feelings, especially of unsuspecting readers, than that of the ribald assailants of revelation. We are not sure that it is really less mischievous. The work before us is a specimen of this mode of warfare against Christianity. We can well imagine an intelligent man reading it through without perceiving that it is intended for warfare at all; although there are, here and there, expressions which prove that whatever may be the case with others, the author at least well knew what he was doing. Its object, he tells us, is "to trace the slow rise of the objective method, and its gradual extension into regions formerly occupied by the subjective method. The exposition will be twofold, showing the failures of the one method and the successes of its rival. Thus will be established the conclusion that no problem merits our attention, unless its solution is verifiable, and all problems are unverifiable on the subjective method." Elsewhere he tells us that there is, of necessity, a conflict between science and theology, because the methods of theology are subjective, those of science objective. The sense in which he contrasts the two is, that subjective reasoning is theory coming to conclusions without verifying them by comparing them with facts; objective reasoning is when each step of the theory is compared with facts. The conclusion, from which the author does not in any degree shrink, is that the attention of man ought to be confined to those subjects, with regard to which, from their nature, every separate step can be tested by some experiment cognizable by the senses.

Viewing matters thus, he decides that metaphysical inquiries are utterly vain and useless; and the main object of this book is to prove that conclusion by the experience of all philosophers who have devoted their minds to them from the age of Thales downward.

The volumes themselves show a very great amount of study and thought, although, as we have already seen, the whole is tainted by a fundamentally false and destructive assumption—for assumption in truth it is, and nothing more—that the whole region of thought, which treats of man as a being who has aspirations and destinies higher than this world, and relations to God and an unseen world, is merely a vision, upon which—to use the author's own illustration in speaking of metaphysics—it is as unreasonable to spend any thought or attention, as it is upon the question whether or no Sirius is inhabited: nay, even more unreasonable, because, in fact, we cannot possibly know so much of the matter as we do of Sirius.

We propose in a future number to point out the fundamental error in reasoning upon which this assumption rests. It cannot be too carefully considered, because in truth it lies at the root of all the philosophical infidelity of our own day. We will only say here that the work before us comprises two very large octavo volumes; the first treats of "ancient philosophy." After an introductory chapter, undertaking to answer the question, "What is Philosophy?" and to explain the theory of the objective and subjective methods, and the like; the author gives a sketch of the lives and teaching of Thales, and the other early philosophers down to the time of Socrates. In this he gives an estimate of the Sophists agreeing with that of Mr. Grote. The remainder of the volume is given to Socrates, Plato, Aristotle, and the later schools of philosophy; the intent of it is to show that all attempts to solve questions as to the real nature of things, beyond their phenomena, especially as to God and the soul, were merely vain, and in every case led by reaction unto entire scepticism.

The second volume treats of "modern philosophy." The author, as he says, "traverses with seven-league boots" the period commonly known as the "middle ages," devoting about thirty pages to scholasticism, as much to "the Arabian philosophy," and then tracing what he calls "the positive philosophy," from the rise of "positive science" in the thirteenth century with Roger Bacon, &c., through Francis Bacon, Descartes, Spinoza, Hobbes, Locke, Leibnitz, Berkeley, Hume, and others, to Kant, Hegel, and Comte. So strictly does he confine himself to those whose history and writings bear upon his avowed object, viz., that of warning students not to waste their time on theology and metaphysics, but to confine their philosophical studies to subjects which admit of the verification of every separate step by experiments cognizable by the senses; that he gives us a detailed history of philosophy in a biographical form, in which, not to mention many others, the very names of St. Thomas and of the Protestant Bishop Butler are not mentioned For the rest, there is much which proves both ability and diligent study; and the book will be useful to all students who are sufficiently masters of the subject and of themselves, not to take for granted what the author assumes, and to bear in mind the point of view from which he looks at all persons and things.

Lehrbuch der Philosophie. Von Dr. ALBERT STÖCKL, Professor der Philosophie an der Akademie Münster. Mainz. F. Kirchheim.

A Text-book of Philosophy. By Dr. ALBERT STÖCKL, Professor of Philosophy in the Academy of Münster. Mayence. F. Kirchheim.

THE author of this work is already favourably known in Catholic Germany as having written a very learned "History of Philosophy during the Middle Ages," and the present book will probably greatly increase his reputation. It is chiefly intended to supply students with a basis for their philosophical studies; and the author states that he endeavours to do so by

"taking up again the principles, proved long ago, of Christian philosophy, and connecting them with the established results of modern experimental research.

The magnitude of the author's task may be judged of, when we say that, besides all the subjects usually discussed in a manual of philosophy, the book contains, under the head of "Cosmology," a tolerably full account and critique of the various theories invented in modern times to explain the origin and diversity of both organic and inorganic nature; and, under that of "Rechtsphilosophie," a brief but sufficient treatise on politics. No man could be reasonably expected to fill up, with equal care, every part of this vast scheme, which embraces almost "omne scibile"; and, in this sense, we should say that the formal Logic and Ethics are the least well done parts of the book; the Politics, too, seem to have suffered from want of space. But even from these a beginner might acquire a very adequate knowledge of his subject, while the author has done his best, by great clearness of language and arrangement, to make a difficult subject easy. The more advanced student might desire references to the various authors whose opinions are quoted; these Dr. Stöckl has suppressed for the sake of his younger readers, and to economize space. The various theories which the fertile German intellect has produced in almost every department of philosophy are very clearly stated and fairly examined; and the scientific materialism which, introduced from France in the shape of "Positivism," has spread with such marvellous rapidity among the lately transcendental Germans, is frequently refuted, in all its various forms, by the author. These parts of the book will be the more interesting to English readers, because materialism will probably long remain a very prevailing school of thought in this country.

A further merit of the "Lehrbuch der Philosophie" is that the physical questions, which have a bearing on metaphysics and psychology, and which are slurred over, or miserably treated, in most books of the kind, have been more carefully studied. Thus, the account of the nervous system of man is accurate; there is a correct, although needlessly long, refutation of phrenology; and Serre's and Darwin's theories as to the origin of organic species are fairly stated, if not fairly answered.

We cordially recommend the volume to our readers, and hope that Professor Stöckl may soon carry out his intention of adding to it a History of Philosophy.

Life of S. Thomas à Becket of Canterbury. By Mrs. Hope, Author of "The Early Martyrs." With a Preface by the Rev. Father Dalgairns, of the London Oratory of S. Philip Neri. London: Burns, Oates, & Co.

THIS little work will form a valuable addition to the collection of historical books for Catholic youth. It will tend to supply a want which has long been felt amongst Catholic instructors, of books of history and biography, written in an orthodox spirit, and calculated to counteract

the pernicious effects of those Protestant works of a similar character which for want of publications like the one before us, have necessarily too often found their way into our schoolrooms and libraries.

The Preface to this little "Life of S. Thomas of Canterbury," as it stands first in order, shines also first in excellence; and we are glad to see Dean Stanley's Protestant ideas and prejudices on S. Thomas for the first time so thoroughly and ably refuted.

The book itself contains a large collection of interesting facts, gleaned with great industry from the various existing lives of S. Thomas of Canterbury and other documents. These facts are put together with a care, which well merits for Mrs. Hope the encomium lately passed on her works by a Catholic journalist, when he compared them to those of Mrs. Markham amongst Protestants. This little work will be found a very clear narrative, not only of the life of the Saint himself, but also of the varied historical events inevitably interwoven with that life; and, as we have already said, it will be very serviceable in schools and colleges.

We subjoin the following passage from F. Dalgairns's preface, which admirably expresses the cause for which S. Thomas died. The Archbishop of Westminster has lately been dwelling on the same truth, and has been exposed in consequence to the strangest misconceptions from the Protestant press:—

"Henry wished practically to sever England from the Holy See, and to cripple the spiritual power of the Church—the only power on earth, besides material force, which the king and his wicked barons respected. Now, wherever the Church of a country is enslaved by the State and separated from Rome, one of two things follows. In a country like ours at this day, which believes in no Church, the State allows the wildest and most ridiculous licence of opinion. In a believing nation on the contrary, as England was then, the State wields the authority of the Church for her own purposes, and *enslaves the intellect and the soul of its subjects, as Russia does now.* It was to avert the latter degradation from England that S. Thomas died.

The Life of S. Philip Neri, Apostle of Rome, and Founder of the Congregation of the Oratory. Second Edition. London: Thomas Richardson & Son.

WE are glad to see that the Fathers of the Oratory have brought out a second edition of the "Life of S. Philip Neri," which has been for some time out of print, and which the Preface reminds us was the first of the series commenced by Father Faber in 1847. It was originally in two volumes; but is now published in one good-sized volume of nearly five hundred pages, the last two books, which contained the miracles before and after the saint's death being omitted.

The Preface informs us also that "several details introduced into the

latest Italian edition of Bacci, published at Florence in 1851, have been incorporated in the present volume. The whole of the text has undergone a careful revision, and considerable changes have been made in the translation . . . Lastly, an index and a table of contemporary Popes have been added for the reader's convenience."

Innovations. A Lecture delivered at Liverpool by R. F. LITTLEDALE, LL.D., D.C.L. London: Simpkin, Marshall, & Co.

DR. LITTLEDALE is well known as a leading Ritualist, and this is a most lively and spirited brochure. The author indeed would hardly profess, we suppose, that he intends all his statements "au pied de la lettre": such, e. g., as that no Anglican clergyman is an honest man who does not recite the Prayer-Book service regularly twice a day (p. 23); or that Cranmer is "*the most* infamous personage in English history, compared with whom John Plantagenet and Henry Tudor have light shades in their characters" (p. 36); or that to deny the communion of saints is no less malignant an error than to deny a future life (p. 35). Still it will be easy for his readers in each case to take off the necessary discount; and we have nowhere seen the misdeeds of the Anglican Reformers at once so briefly and so effectively exhibited as in Dr. Littledale's various notes.

We append a few spicy passages, to whet our reader's appetite for the whole.

"A Church which could produce in its highest ranks such a set of miscreants as the leading English and Scottish Reformers, must have been in a perfectly rotten state" (p. 15).

"Robespierre, Danton, Marat . . . . merit quite as much respect as Cranmer, Ridley, Latimer" (*ib.*).

"That young tiger-cub Edward VI." (p. 17).

"That frivolous old heathen Lord Palmerston" (p. 21).

"The Broad Church party, as a party, will nether believe anything nor do anything; . . . . it is about as useful for propagating Christianity as the Board of Trade is" (p. 26).

The Irish Establishment "does less work and inspires less affection than any religious body of its size in the world" (p. 28).

"We," the Ritualists, "don't mean to be quiet, and we don't mean to secede, and we don't mean to be put down" (*ib.*).

"Cranmer and his accomplices founded the Church of England just as William Lloyd made the Portland Vase: that is, they did not break and shatter it so completely as to prevent honest men from repairing it" (p. 62).

The Barnet Catholic Magazine. Edited by the Rev. G. BAMPFIELD, B.A. Oxon. Vol. i., June, 1867, to May, 1868. London: Burns, Oates, & Co.; Barnet: W. Baldock & Son.

WE gladly call attention to this modest volume which lies before us, and especially to two of its characteristics. First, Mr. Bampfield is the pastor of Barnet and its neighbourhood; he is in the midst of a bigoted population, in which dissent is perhaps even more strongly marked than total neglect of religious worship. The difficulty for a Catholic priest is, and always must be under existing circumstances, to get an audience of his fellow-men who are not of his flock. He has a message to deliver, prejudices to remove, gifts and blessings to offer; but he is as much a solitary as though, like S. Simon Stylites, he dwelt upon a column. He is not seen, unless men look up; he is not heard, unless men come and question him. As a rule, he is not in contact with the mass of the people, because their prejudices, like the quills of a porcupine, are set against him. But people who will not come and listen will sit and read: they would not be seen talking to the priest, but they would not mind looking into his magazine on the quiet.

Nothing can be more important in a missionary country than that the priest of the place should become known: known by the interest he takes in the people, in the town, and the neighbourhood; known by his taking his part in all local matters of common interest. He obtains thus a thousand opportunities of doing the greatest good—the good his Master sent him to do to men.

Now Father Bampfield has thoroughly understood this: he has multiplied himself in the interest he takes in Barnet, has made himself known, and has introduced the Catholic Church to the people, through the instrumentality of his little magazine, in a way he could hardly have done by any other procedure.

The magazine costs one penny, comes out once a month, consists of twelve pages of good type. It contains such articles of general interest as "Sunday Amusements," "England's Children," "The Teaching of the Priests with regard to Stealing," "Bad Catholics," "England's Children and England's Parents," "Charity to the Poor;" and the end of each number contains a page or two of local news.

We venture to think that an arrangement might be made, whereby the magazine might be adapted and made local to missions all over England. We all know how certain daily prints, which appear under various names in various parts of England each morning, are stereotyped in one office in the Strand, and sent out at a small cost. The local news is then inserted by the local printer, and the name suited to the place is emblazoned on the top of the paper. Why not attempt the same economy of brains and money, with so clever and well got up a penny magazine as that which is edited by Father Bampfield at Barnet?

The second characteristic we call attention to is the pure English in which this periodical is written, and the interesting topics which it treats of. There

is a vein of simplicity and gentleness running through it: and yet withal, when an unhappy bigot, like Mr. Dowe, lectures against the Church, and in behalf of Foxe's "Book of Martyrs," the gentleness is drawn, as it were, out of the pickle; he is sure to get the worst of it, and to have to retire, as Mr. Dowe has done, confused and crestfallen, even amid the non-Catholic population.

Lectures on the Life, Writings, and Times of Edmund Burke. By J. B. Robertson, Esq., Professor of Modern History and English Literature at the Catholic University of Dublin. London: Philp.

IT is one of the strongest proofs of the surpassing greatness of Edmund Burke, that he acquires at this day an ascendancy even over powerful minds which devote themselves to the study of his writings, something similar to that which he wielded during his life over those who came under his personal influence. William Wilberforce records in his Journal, April 17, 1797, three months before Burke's death, an interview with him, adding, "the attention showed to Burke by all that party was just like the treatment of Ahitophel of old. It was as if one went to inquire of the oracle of the Lord." The party referred to was that of which Windham was a sample, that which had been drawn around him by his conduct with regard to the French Revolution, and which consisted chiefly of old Whigs, who followed him, when he found himself compelled by his deepest convictions to abandon the party of Fox, side by side with whom he had so long fought. During the greater part of his life Burke was a subordinate member of that party, and his political influence could not without absurdity have been compared even to that of Fox, much less to that of Pitt. How great has been the change! Fox, nay even Pitt, are now only names. The memory of Pitt is still toasted at meetings of clubs, whose members in many cases are absolutely opposed to all the great principles of his life; but who sits at the feet either of Pitt or of Fox, as a disciple? Burke was more than a politician; he came into Parliament at a period of life comparatively late, with a mind already stored with vast and varied learning, and with power of thought exercised by long discipline. His very greatness was during many years an impediment to his political success. It was too far above the level of his audience. They often despised him only because they did not understand him. If he had died ten years earlier than he actually did, this would have been the full amount of his Parliamentary career. But the events of the French Revolution during the last ten years of his life, set on fire not only the inflammable imagination of this great man but the ordinarily cool feelings of the English nation. The anti-gallican enthusiasm needed a leader, and it found in him more than a leader, for his writings unquestionably gave direction to the public feelings as well as expressed them; and the history of England during the last few years of the eighteenth century is in great measure the history of the influence of Burke's vast mind.

Lord Macaulay was so earnest a party man, and the party he represented

was so strictly that of Fox, that it was impossible he should do justice to Burke. It is remarked by M. Guizot, that his later writings were much less tainted by the spirit of political party than the earlier. And it was in 1829, the year before he took any actual part in political life, that he wrote his well-known estimate of Burke, in which, while admitting that he "assuredly possessed an understanding admirably fitted for the investigation of truth, an understanding stronger than that of any statesman, active or speculative, of the eighteenth century; stronger than everything except his own fierce and ungovernable sensibility," he goes on to say,—"that he chose his side as a fanatic, and defended it like a philosopher." "His course was not determined by argument, but he could defend the wildest course by arguments more plausible than those by which common men support opinions which they have adopted after the fullest deliberation. Reason has scarcely ever displayed, even in those well-constituted minds of which she occupies the throne, so much power and energy as in the lowest offices of that imperial servitude."

Such was the estimate formed of Burke by an enthusiastic, but far from ungenerous, opponent, for it was Macaulay's peculiarity to be so familiar with every period of English history, and to feel so keenly about the interests and actors of each period, that, whatever might be the period of which he wrote, he wrote rather as a contemporary than an historian. In the present instance we are sure he was most unjust to Burke. He attributes his hostility to the French Revolution "principally to the vexation he felt at having his old political associations disturbed, at seeing the well-known landmarks of states obliterated, and the names and distinctions with which the history of Europe had been filled for ages at once swept away. He felt like an antiquary whose shield had been scoured, or a connoisseur who found his Titian retouched."

Such an estimate of Burke, left by a writer so justly popular as Macaulay, makes the labour undertaken by Professor Robertson the more necessary. It has been evidently a labour of love. We much doubt whether Burke was worshipped with more love and reverence by any of those who in his old age watched the words that fell from him as an oracle, than by him. We observe that a literary contemporary accuses Professor Robertson of making "Burke a peg whereupon to hang a world of matter." No accusation, it seems to us, could be more unjust. The Professor might with more plausibility be accused of having given us Burke entire rather than a criticism upon him. For we have here not only an account of the chief events in his life, but an analysis of most of his writings, and the discussions upon political science are just those without which it would be hardly possible to fulfil the object the Professor has in view—that of preparing the members of the University for an intelligent study of the writings of this great man. Most young men are perplexed when, desiring to make acquaintance for themselves with a great man, whose name is so familiar to them, they find before them a row of goodly octavo volumes, filling by themselves a wide shelf. And the difficulty is increased by the great variety of subjects which were enlightened in turn by the genius of Burke. Are they to study his philosophical works, or his political, or his historical? If they turn to politics, are they to begin with

his earlier political struggles, or with the great speeches, or the impeachment of Warren Hastings, or with the works on the great revolution? Perplexed by these doubts, many a man, we are sure, has turned away from the study altogether. We know no book which would be so useful to a student in such a state of mind as that of Professor Robertson. For instance, the lecture in which he gives a sketch of the history of India may very usefully be studied by any man who wishes to do justice to Burke's Indian speeches.

Unless we are mistaken, our author carries his acceptance of Burke's principles farther than we could go with him. As an exemplification of our meaning he seems to think that the rejection of all Parliamentary Reform in the eighteenth century was wise. For ourselves, we believe that in all probability the violent organic changes of 1832 and 1867 would never have taken place if the eighteenth century had not taught men to forget the principle of our ancient constitution, which gave from time to time the elective franchise to new towns as, one after the other, they rose into importance; accompanying this by a corresponding increase in the county representation. In this matter, enlightened as we are by experience, we cannot but think that Pitt acted as a more sound statesman than Burke, although Burke was beyond question the greater man.

Our lecturer, while not failing to mark circumstances of hope in the social condition of England, considers on the whole that our dangers are as great or greater than those of France in 1789. There is no lesson so much impressed upon men with the *albescens capillus* as the utter uncertainty of human foresight. Strange would be the list of utterly falsified predictions made by the most longsighted statesmen. But we cannot think that he gives the weight it deserves to the practical experience in such things as elections and parliamentary government which so large a proportion of the English people has gained in past years. When the States-General of France was summoned in 1789, there was in all France no one man who had any such practical experience either as a member or an elector, not one whose father, grandfather, or any ancestor for several generations had ever had any. We derive an immense benefit here from the spirit with which our ancestors maintained the ancient freedom of our institutions, and from the circumstances of their insular situation what enabled them to do so with success.

On one point it was impossible that Burke, who had the misfortune to be a Protestant, should form a just estimate. He urged the importance of the Union of Church and State; but what the Church is he did not, could not, know. Professor Robertson, of course, does not forget this momentous distinction; he more than once refers to it; but he does not seem to mark it so strongly as is desirable in order to avoid misconception. For instance, after speaking of "the close union between the spiritual and the temporal powers, religion and civil society in all ages, and in all countries, and under every variety of creeds," he sums up his argument by a note. "The doctrine of the separation of Church and State, which I have here combated on philosophical grounds, has been censured by a solemn judgment of the Holy See in the Encyclicals *Mirari vos* and *Quantâ curâ* accepted as they have been by the whole Church." We would not on any account be supposed to

mean that the Professor supposes that the censure of the Holy See upon the proposition "the Church ought to be separated from the State, and the State from the Church," could have anything to do with the relations of any State to a sect which falsely calls itself a church, much less to the relations of a Catholic nation to such a sect. But at a moment when the whole world is debating the separation of a noble Catholic nation from such a sect—the freeing a great national life from the dead carcass to which it has long been bound by law, we could wish that the contrary had been more emphatically expressed, especially as Burke himself, with all his Catholic learning, was unhappily himself ignorant of the fundamental difference between the Church and an established sect.

But our space obliges us to hasten; we will therefore only add that Professor Robertson's volume contains six lectures. The first, on Burke's earlier years, down to 1773; the second, on his policy during the American war, Lord George Gordon's riots, &c.; the third, on Burke's earliest writing against the French Revolution, November 1, 1790; the fourth, on the later course of the Revolution and Burke's relations to it; the fifth, on the History of India, and on Burke's Indian policy, especially on the impeachment of Warren Hastings; the sixth, on the concluding years of Burke's life, and especially on his exertions on behalf of the Catholics of Ireland. Burke's history forces upon us the conclusion that the injustice towards Ireland, of which by the judgment of the whole world England has so long been guilty, is really to be explained only by the one fact that Ireland is before all things a Catholic nation. But for this the good sense, as well as justice, of England would long ago have made her practically feel that her interest as well as her duty required her not to prevent Ireland from being governed so as to satisfy the Irish. Her fundamental error has been that of treating the Orange faction as if it were the Irish nation, and so enabling that vile faction to trample upon a whole nation. That Irishmen were hated in England (not because they were Irish but because they were Catholics) Burke's history shows. For he, though an Irishman, made himself the most deeply revered of English statesmen. Lord Cairns has proved that the same is still the case, for he, as an Irishman, has been made by the Tory party the head of English law, and leader of the Peers of Great Britain. And hence the real importance of Mr. Gladstone's proposal to sweep away the Protestant Establishment of Ireland. It is a pledge that henceforth Ireland is to be treated with justice not only in other relations, but in those which directly touch her religion. Its immediate effects may be less than some expect; but it will be a pledge of just government in future—a pledge, and henceforth whenever it pleases God to bestow on another Irishman talents like those of Lord Cairns, or even (we feel as much as any man the absurdity of putting the two together) like those of Burke, his being a Protestant shall no longer be a condition of his obtaining the political or social position to which they entitle him.

Since this notice was written Professor Robertson has published an unanswerable reply to the objections of the *Athenæum*. He mentions an interesting fact, that he was one of those who sat at the feet of Lamennais before his fall, a group which contained some of the most illustrious names

of our day, Montalembert, Lacordaire, Gerbet, &c. In answer to one of his critic's objections, he says:—

"You take exception to my statement, 'that a nation's chief strength lies not in its political, but in its religious institutions.' I should have thought that even a Pagan philosopher, provided he were not a sceptic or an epicurean, would not have called so obvious a truth in question. You tell me, with a sneer, that I might have illustrated my statement by the example of Spain. I accept, Sir, your illustration. The religious institutions of Spain are so vigorous, so excellent, that they have made her people (in the words of Fox's nephew, the late Lord Holland, who was anything but friendly to the Catholic Church), 'the most virtuous people in Europe.' And this assertion is cited, and apparently approved of, by the infidel Buckle. In my last work, entitled 'Lectures on Modern History and Biography,' I showed the excellence of Spain's political institutions down to the middle of the sixteenth century, as well as the valuable remnants which had been preserved even down to our times."

Memorials of those who suffered for the Catholic Faith in Ireland in the 16th, 17th, and 18th Centuries. Collected and Edited from the Original Authorities. By MYLES O'REILLY, B.A., LL.D. London: Burns, Oates, & Co.

THIS volume is a very valuable compendium of the martyrology of Ireland during the three, or rather two, centuries of active Protestant persecution; and, considering Major O'Reilly's excellent abilities, the strong attraction which the subject evidently had for him, and the extensive studies he has made in connection with it, we much regret that he contented himself with producing a mere compendium. His preface and various passages throughout the book show that he is not unequal to original historical narrative. He has modestly preferred, however, to state, as often as possible in the words of the original records, the sufferings of those who bore witness to the faith in blood or chains, between the year 1537, when the new heresy was forcibly inflicted on Ireland, and the year 1745, when the public celebration of Catholic worship was once more and finally tolerated. He has gone to the original sources of record in almost all cases; and some of them are exceedingly rare. Of the original edition of the *Pii Antistitis Icon*, the Life of Bishop Lynch of Killala, for example, only one copy is known to exist. It is in the Grenville Library, British Museum. But many and very valuable books and documents are not accessible in this country at all; and Major O'Reilly repeatedly refers to researches in the Bollandist and Burgundian Libraries at Brussels, and the Propaganda Library, and that of S. Isidore, at Rome. The language of many of these original records, written often by a friend or relative of the martyr, is inexpressibly touching, often quite heroic in its tone.

The following passage from Major O'Reilly's Preface will give an idea of the spirit in which his work has been conceived and executed, and of his

style, which we will hope to see more fully exercised in studies which have so strong an attraction for him :—

"The natural development of political society in Ireland was arrested at the end of the twelfth century by the English invasion, ere the country had been consolidated under one government, and for some four hundred years the English did not succeed in reducing the whole island under one rule ; thus, since 1200, Ireland, as a whole, has never had a national government or national life ; and, since 1600, even the local Irish governments, or rules of the great chiefs, had disappeared. Thus we may say that since 1200 we have no great consecutive national political history or national government, to the gradual development of which we can look back with pride and content ; but, on the other hand, we can trace with unalloyed satisfaction the history of our Church alike in tempest and in calm—her struggles in the dark and stormy ages of persecution, and her renewed youth and vigour in the serener atmosphere of our own days. Hence it is, I confess, that the history of religion in Ireland has always had peculiar charms for me ; and although I have ever felt the deepest interest in the gallant, but gradually less successful, struggles for independence of my own race, I have dwelt with still deeper interest on the religious history of the same race, a history of progress and development alike in prosperity and in adversity, a history which links the past with the present and the future—a past to which we can revert with well-grounded pride, a present in which we recognize with gratitude the fruit of the struggles and sufferings of our forefathers, whose example we are called on to imitate, a future to which we may look forward with humble but well-grounded hope."

By an unavoidable accident we are obliged to postpone to our next number our notice of a recently published volume—"The New Testament in the words of the sacred writers, translated according to the Vulgate." London : Burns, Oates & Co.

Correspondence.

THE "MONTH" ON CHURCH CHOIRS.

To the Editor of the Dublin Review.

Dear Mr. Editor,—You think, and so do I, that an article which appears towards the end of the current number of the *Month*, on Church choirs and collateral topics, should receive some notice at the hands of writers who have lately come before the public on those subjects. I could have wished that you had given effect to this opinion in some way which would have relieved me from the necessity of writing again on a question on which, after all, I have no official claim to speak, and about which I

have really said, and even repeated, all that I am capable or desirous of saying. There is also another and still better reason for holding my peace at this moment. I am most anxious to avoid the appearance of any personal resentment against the article to which you refer, and although my conscience is entirely clear of any such motive, I am yet fearful lest my act in criticising it, and still more lest any words into which I might be betrayed, should favour such a construction. To all this you reply that, although the cause is indeed a public one, no one is so fit to defend it as the person who has bestowed upon it the amount of attention it has received from me. You have thus put the matter before me in a point of view which obliges me either to take up the subject, or to acquiesce in its being dropped; and of the two I prefer, however reluctantly, the former course. Nor have I any doubt that, if I am to write at all, I had better do so with my name, than under the shelter of the anonymous, even though I do so with the disadvantage of foregoing your editorial protection.

My objections to the article in question refer far more to the mode of controversy which it exemplifies than to the substance of its contents, though in different measures to both together. With regard to the line of argument adopted by the writer, I have no desire to deny his right both to maintain and to publish it; but for several reasons I could have wished that he had put it forth at an earlier period of the discussion. He had an excellent opportunity of developing his views on the appearance of my pamphlet in September of last year, and one advantage among others of using this opportunity would have been, that while on the one hand he would have had sufficient materials before him for a judgment on the question, he would on the other have avoided the appearance of opposing recommendations which have been strongly seconded in a public letter of our Diocesan. I do not deny that in the Notice of my pamphlet which appears in the *Month* of last November, the views of the recent article are foreshadowed, but in a spirit so remarkably different, that one would think the periodical had changed editors in the interval.

Returning now for a moment from the argument itself to the mode in which it is conducted, I feel bound in the cause of literary justice, to say nothing of literary charity, to enter against that mode my deliberate and most earnest protest. It is one by which a controversial assailant is able to deal his blows at random in the dark, without enabling the objects of his attack to know whence they come, or for whom they are intended. Persons who must have a real existence, if not their correlatives in the assailant's mind, are aimed at, not by name, but by insinuation, and in classes. There is enough in the description to point the reference, or at least to suggest an appropriation of it in the judgment of those who are in the writer's confidence, or who share his opinions, but not enough to justify those who think themselves to be aimed at in defending themselves, unless they choose to incur the taunt familiarly indicated in the phrase, "the cap fits." This is precisely the practice which is forbidden by the rules of Parliament. When a speaker alludes in general terms to some person who is in his mind, and on whom he wishes to cast odium without the safeguard of responsibility, he is instantly met by cries of "Name." There is more than one passage

in the article before us which, did it form part of a speech in the House of Commons, instead of being found in a periodical, would elicit this clamorous demand for identification. Who are "our volunteer reformers," who have come forward, in the exercise of their private judgment, and on the mere impulse of their own wills, to disturb the unobjectionable *status quo* of our Church choirs? Who again are they about whom "we silently wonder whether they have ever heard of a certain saying about a gnat and a camel"? (p. 304). Who, lastly, are those "importunate blunderers who will force on, at all costs, the discussion of delicate questions in matters of doctrine, who will not leave the Church to her own instincts in developing the conclusions logically connected with acknowledged truths, and who are always calling down fire from heaven on people who may have imperfect notions on certain disputed points?" (p. 301).

The preceding instances, more especially the two latter, are extreme specimens of a practice which in a less blameworthy form, but still to a very objectionable and inconvenient degree, pervades the whole of this article. From one end of it to the other no name of any writer in the late discussion is mentioned, but a sweeping attack is made upon all those writers together, without even so much as an attempt to distribute its various points among the persons intended, except by a quotation here and there from some of their writings. Now anyone who has taken the pains to read what has been written during the last twelvemonth on Church choirs and music, is aware that all those writers have acted independently of one another, some differing materially from each other; some disclaiming interpretations put by others on their words, or withdrawing themselves from supposed participation in some of the sentiments expressed by those who generally agree with them, and all of them together thus giving proof of the entire absence of anything like cabal, or formal co-operation. Yet, owing to the unhappy method of argument adopted in the article, I, for instance, seem to be made responsible for certain unwarrantable reflections on the *personnel* of our existing choirs, which I distinctly repudiated in a letter to one of the Catholic newspapers, signed with my name; or for opinions on music held, not by me, but by Mr. Nary; or for a wish to restrict the liberty of the clergy in matters not ruled by authority; or for a desire to precipitate an inconsiderate change; in short, for a number of opinions which I am quite sure the writer never intended to attribute to me, but which his indiscriminate mode of criticism prevents the reader from appropriating to the right quarter. I am ready to believe that this avoidance of names and tangible references, may have been suggested by a kind motive; but I must think that the opposite plan is incomparably the kinder, while that of which I complain undoubtedly affords the opportunity of saying what would never have been said if names had been substituted for intangible generalities.

I now come to a pleasanter part of my subject, which is that of discussing with my opponent the leading arguments of his paper. He begins by citing the actual practice of Rome as corresponding, if I understand him, with his *beau ideal* of musical worship and devotion. In much that he says under this head I am disposed to agree. I am strongly in favour of every possible concession to popular tastes in matters of this kind, which is consistent with

a dutiful regard to the prescriptions of authority, though I cannot say that I hold with my opponent in liking to see churches turned into concert-halls, or to hear music, however beautiful, performed in them, excepting in immediate connection with offices or other forms of devotion. Still and far less can I agree with him, in thinking that honour can be done to God by music which, either as respects its own character or the mode in which it is conducted, the Cardinal Vicar of Rome has officially condemned within the limits of his own jurisdiction, or that we can be justified in sympathizing either with the people who approve, or with the clergy who allow such music or such arrangements. I am far too ignorant of Rome and Italy to know whether the orders of authority are thus habitually contravened, and I am inclined to doubt it. But if it be indeed so, instead of being glad, I am sorry to hear it. Again I receive, on this writer's testimony, that every species of music from that of the severe Palestrina to that of the most florid of our modern composers is tolerated, or, at any rate, prevails in Rome. But there is one practice which does *not* prevail in Rome, excepting only in convents, where no one ever disputed its propriety, and that is the practice of admitting female voices into the choir. The more surely we enlarge with this writer upon the latitude permitted by the Church, the more strongly do we insist on the force of this remarkable exception. The Church at her centre is, according to this writer, indulgent to an excess, yet there is one point on which she has never given way, and that is the point for which my opponent argues. But this picture of Roman practice is important in another light, and the more highly coloured it is, the more it tells against the writer's argument. The Church music of Rome is not only, he says, of the most varied and elaborate character, but it is executed with such skill as to captivate the ears of the most musical of peoples. This, too, is the case not only in the Papal choir, which is in some respects exceptional, but everywhere in Rome and Italy. The most beautiful and artistic Church music in the world it appears, therefore, is easily and universally performed without the aid of female voices. Yet the writer, who admits this somewhat startling fact, so far forgets himself as to tell us a little further on, that the probable consequence of banishing female voices from our own Church choirs, would be to extinguish even the ordinary High Mass. On this subject I shall have a word or two to say later.

My warrant for originally entering on the discussion is contained in the two following admissions:—1. "We think it cannot be denied that, speaking of choirs in their normal state, ecclesiastical propriety and rule are uniform in the preference of the voices of men and boys to the exclusion of all others" (p. 302). 2. "The men of whom we speak have an undeniable right to urge on public attention . . . . the carrying out of a recommendation made some years ago by one of our provincial synods, that musical instruction should be carefully given to boys in order that female voices might be dispensed with" (*excludantur*) "in the choirs—improperly so-called—of our churches" (*ibid*). It may be remarked, by the way, that the writer here criticizes the wording of the synodical decree, but without reason. For by the "choir" (*choro*), the Synod evidently means not the part of the church in which the singers are placed, but the body of which they consist. It obviously means that

females may sing in the congregation, but ought to be excluded (especially where hired) from the choral body, wherever placed. The distinction drawn between the "choir" in its most proper sense, as the continuation of the sanctuary, and its less proper sense as a gallery or *loggia*, is very just in its way, but has no application to the present question; since by the rule and practice of the Church, females are excluded alike from the choir in either sense. Their admission among the surpliced choristers near the sanctuary would be a notion too preposterous to require legislation, and the writer himself admits that choirs in the most proper sense of the word are uncommon even at Rome, where, nevertheless, females are not allowed to form part of the choral body. Now if I had both the general law of the Church and the particular authority of a National Synod on my side, one does not quite see how I can deserve the name of a "*Volunteer Reformer*;" and if I were to state the motives of my first appearance in the controversy, it would be found that I deserve that reproach even less than appears from facts open to the public. The state of the case was simply this. Here was a recommendation which had a definite meaning, but which had become all but a dead letter, because hardly a single priest in the kingdom regarded it as practicable. I had too great a reverence for the judgment of the Church, to say nothing of the wisdom of our own hierarchy, aided by the counsel of the clergy, and presided over by our late sagacious and large-minded Cardinal, to feel that what the Church, by the confession of all parties, prefers, and what our National Synod accordingly recommends as an object to be gradually worked up to, could be unattainable in practice; and I was confirmed in this conviction by my own experience. It has, I know, been said over and over again that my own case is purely exceptional, on account of personal and local peculiarities. It is implied, moreover, that the system I have advocated requires an amount of attention on the part of priests, which is inconsistent with their more important avocations. Both of these objections I regard as futile. In this church the musical education of the boys is under the direction, not of a priest, but of a lay professional instructor; and the choir, so far from engaging more attention, and causing more anxiety than elsewhere, occasions, as I have reason to believe, far less trouble, and proceeds far more smoothly, than where a different system is adopted. Again, I have never advocated any process for improving our choirs, except that, which the Synod recommends, of recruiting the treble parts from a class of boys constantly kept under training. This provision for a regular supply, and what I may call a succession-crop, effectually prevents such disasters as that so graphically pictured in the somewhat hackneyed story of "little Tommy's jacket." I have never consciously staked the question on the ground of mere propriety, or on the comparative moral qualifications of ladies and boys. I have never said that all boys were angelic and so forth, or denied, but on the contrary distinctly affirmed, that the ladies who take part in the choirs are virtuous and well conducted. I have indeed applied the epithet "formidable," not to all of them, but to the particular class of professional celebrities; but I did so in a playful way, and, as the context of the passage shows, in a way no otherwise derogatory from their merits than as implying

that, on account, whether of their eminence or of the observance naturally due to their sex and profession, they have a tendency, as I know from experience, to deter singers of inferior merit, who yet are very useful in supplementing a choir, from joining it so readily as they do where there are only boys. My position has always been, not that any system is free from defects, or secure against abuses, but that exclusively male choirs, whether composed of men and boys, or of men alone, are most accordant to the institution and spirit of the Church, and are actually capable of being carried into effect. Hence it moves me not, to see ludicrous pictures drawn of "possible," though not actual, nor even probable, abuses incident to choral or orchestral arrangements at variance with our usual practice. No system in the world, however excellent, could be maintained if the argument derived from its possible abuses were suffered to prevail against it.

The pictures of evils to be apprehended from exposed choirs might easily be matched by pictures equally frightful, or equally amusing, of concealed ones, if the argument for the former could gain either in cogency or respectability by such an illogical condescension to prejudice. Yet of some unnamed "persons," who are supposed to object to females in the choir, and to defend certain arrangements that are by "possibility" liable to grave abuses, this writer is bold enough to affirm that they are either ignorant or oblivious of a certain saying about a gnat and a camel; the strain at the gnat, be it observed, consisting in the objection to what the Church also objects to, and what is undoubtedly open by possibility to conceivable abuses of a serious kind; and the swallowing of the camel, in the defence of what the Church does not object to, were secured by proper regulation from abuses equally incident to all systems.

But we are threatened with the extinction of High Mass, as a consequence of introducing male choirs. So far as this is merely a prospect held over us *in terrorem*, it may fairly be left to the pious instincts of our people, and to the regard which those instincts will always receive at the hands of a zealous clergy who will never disappoint them, and of a wise episcopate who will never push things to extremities. But so far as it is meant for an argument, it has received one very powerful answer from its own author. For since there is no Catholic country in the world in which female singers form part of the choir, while yet there is also no one in which High Mass is not sung at least once on every Sunday, and on many days besides, it would be strange indeed if the gradual introduction of male choirs into England were to necessitate so disastrous a result. In truth, the alternative is not between females and boys, but between females and male choirs. Many beautiful masses admit of being sung without treble voices at all, so that if there were not a boy in the kingdom, we should not be obliged to drop High Mass because ladies were excluded from the choir; and, if the worst comes to the worst, we should always have the poor despised Plain Chant to fall back upon, in the last resort.

I had intended to say something about the tone and taste of this article, which seems to me to form so great an exception to the refined and classical elegance of style usually characteristic of the periodical in which it appears. It describes gentlemen who may be giving to the Church the gratuitous

benefit of their musical services, as "an army of fiddlers," and the person who directs the time of the choir, as "a baton-wielding chief." It holds up to ridicule as "little Tommies," boys whom, in our præ-Catholic days, we should have called "choristers," and who, in the graceful and paternal phrase of our French neighbours, are "*enfans de chœur*." All this savours of vulgarity, very foreign to the spirit of the *Month*. I do not see what is gained to any cause by such appeals *ad invidiam*. Indeed, I do not see what is gained even to the writer's own cause by the article on the whole. The discussion into which he has thrown these new ingredients had aroused no angry feelings in those who took part in it. It had elicited no violent or inconvenient action on the part of authorities. It had led to no abrupt or inconsiderate changes, as indeed it had no tendency to occasion such changes. It had either produced no great public effect at all, or produced that effect in a quiet, healthy, and amicable way. I earnestly hope, and to the best of my ability will strive, that a situation so peaceful and so promising may receive no shock or disturbance from what I cannot but think an untimely, however well-intended, interposition. And if, lastly, I may be permitted to mingle personal feelings of regret with those of a more public nature, I must add the expression of my own deep sorrow that anything should have occurred to create even the semblance of disunion between myself and those whom I so sincerely regard and venerate as the conductors of the periodical which has thus for the first time come before me under an unfriendly aspect.

Ever yours sincerely,

Sept. 10. F. OAKELEY.

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A BRIEF SUMMARY

OF

THE RECENT CONTROVERSY ON

INFALLIBILITY;

BEING A REPLY TO

REV. FATHER RYDER ON HIS POSTSCRIPT.

BY

WILLIAM GEORGE WARD, D.PH.

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A BRIEF SUMMARY,

&c.

My dear F. Ryder,—

From the beginning of our controversy you have frequently complained that, from my peculiar temperament, I am quite unable to understand an opponent's position. I have hitherto not been indisposed to acquiesce partially in the justice of this complaint; but your recent postscript has made me strongly suspect that (in *our* controversy at least) the fault lies partly with yourself. It does seem to me that you have an unconscious habit, when pressed by adverse argument, of importantly shifting your position. At all events, there are various statements in your postscript which render it necessary—before I proceed to say what little I *have* further to say on doctrinal expositions—that I should review, as a whole, that theory of infallibility, which you have expressed in your three successive publications. To criticise this theory worthily would occupy, not a large pamphlet, but a large volume. I shall not, therefore, allow myself any kind of amplification, but for the most part state the points at issue in a kind of skeleton outline.

I must begin however, by repeating the two relevant data on which you and I are agreed. We are agreed—(1) that whatever infallibility is possessed by Pope and bishops collectively, is possessed by the Pontiff speaking ex cathedrâ; we are agreed also (2) that he speaks infallibly whenever he imposes on Catholics the obligation of absolute interior assent. And now, passing from our points of agreement to our points of difference, in my first section I will state, as drily and briefly as I can, what appear to me your gravest errors, and my reasons for thinking them thus grave. You will understand me all through as admitting most fully (what I expressly stated in my second letter) "how high and loyal are many of your

Catholic instincts"; and as recognizing most vividly that your *opinions* are indefinitely higher than what I must consider the legitimate outcome of your *principles*.

I.

1. The foundation of your whole theory—or, to change my metaphor, the deadly virus (as I think it) poisoning your whole theological stream—is your view on "the authority indemnatorum theologorum." (Postscript, pp. 13, 14.) You hold, in fact, that whatever tenet any Catholic theologian may have advocated in any of his works without being actually censured, that tenet may be embraced by us without our violating any grave obligation imposed on all Catholics. Your reason for so strange an opinion is simply this:—If all Catholics, you argue, were under a grave obligation of repudiating some given tenet, that tenet would be gravely censurable; but if it were gravely censurable, it would certainly have been censured.

Now let me first consider a view immeasurably more moderate than yours, and possessing indeed considerable plausibility. It may very naturally be supposed that if some tenet have been actually *brought before the notice of the supreme authorities*, and they have not thought fit to condemn it, such tenet certainly does not *deserve* condemnation. Yet even this view is demonstratively false. Thus Innocent XI., while condemning various lax propositions (March 2nd, 1679), expressly states that he must not be considered as in any way approving *other* propositions, which have been delated and *not* condemned.* By the fact of thus emphatically withholding approbation, he plainly implies that they may very possibly be worthy of censure. And you know of course very well Benedict XIV.'s celebrated letter to the Grand Inquisitor of Spain, in which he states that there had been serious thought in Rome of condemning a certain work of Bossuet's. The reason which he gives why that work was *not* condemned, is not at all that it did not *deserve* condemnation; but (1) that Bossuet had done great services to the Church, and (2) that (after all) greater mischief might probably be done by condemning it, than by letting it alone.

Opinions then may be truly censurable, which have been actually brought before the notice of authority and yet *escaped* censure. But if this be so, do consider the very extreme and

* "Non intendens per hoc decretum alias propositiones . . . Sanctitati suæ . . . . exhibitas vel exhibendas ullatenùs approbare."

(I must say) extravagant character of your own position. In truth, professing yourself a minimizer, you exaggerate the Church's infallibility in a degree which may be called portentous. It is the ordinary Ultramontane doctrine, that whenever the Supreme Pontiff teaches the Universal Church, the Holy Ghost, by a quasi-miraculous intervention, sedulously guards his words of instruction from all intrusion of error. But if your view be correct, not the Pope only but all the bishops of Christendom;—not only at particular periods but permanently;—nay not bishops only but all theological censors—are visited by the Holy Ghost with a quasi-miraculous intervention. The Holy Ghost, it seems, infallibly secures, that every bishop shall appoint thoroughly effective censors of theological books; and secures also that the censors shall never, through carelessness, allow any one censurable passage to escape their vigilance. You laugh in your "Idealism" (p. 6) at those "worthy and able men" who "assert that the Pope must necessarily be preserved from mortal sin." I never heard of these men; but certainly you have yourself succeeded in inventing a theory, not *less* irreconcilable than theirs with the most undeniable facts.

Nor need I travel beyond your own pages to find instances of (what I must call) the frightful results of your view. The Church laid down at Trent, in certain capitula, the Catholic doctrine on Justification; and she then expressly declared that "unless every one shall have received faithfully and firmly" this doctrine, "*he cannot be justified.*" She may speak however as loudly and emphatically as she will: you will not believe that she means what she so unmistakably says, because (Letter, p. 13) you think you have found two theologians who hold a different opinion. You directly deny that every Catholic is under any obligation of doing what the Council bids him, and of accepting these capitula with unreserved assent. And on what possible ground do you deny this? Because one theologian (Amort) has expressed, without being actually censured, the truly monstrous proposition, that these capitula legitimately generate no more than a "violent presumption" of their truth.*

My second instance shall be taken from the Church's minor censures. As I pointed out in my first letter to you, both in the "Unigenitus" and in the "Auctorem Fidei" the Pontiff, totidem verbis, "*commands all Christians* not to think other-

* F. Ryder himself indeed, as he now explains (Postscript, p. 5), accepts portions of these capitula as infallible: but he expressly says (Letter, p. 13), that Amort's "view" is "tenable;" or in other words, that it is not at variance with Catholic obligation.

wise" than he therein teaches. And yet (Letter, p. 32) you will not admit that any such command has been imposed, because its non-existence "is maintained with impunity by sundry grave theologians." (See also p. 38.) I cannot admit that these theologians in any way merit the appellation of "grave." But were the case otherwise, I must insist that such paltering with the Church's most solemn declarations, in deference to individual theologians, tends legitimately to results from which you would yourself recoil startled and alarmed.

You are obliged indeed here to face the Pontifical command; and in order to elude its force, you resort to an expedient more singular perhaps than any other to be found in all the records of controversy. You say (Letter, p. 32) that the Pope's precept need not be understood as applying to *all* his censures, but only to *some* of them. Take the eighty-five propositions condemned in the "Auctorem Fidei." Certain of these—the 1st, 2nd, 3rd, 4th, &c.—are censured as heretical; while certain others—the 6th, 7th, 8th, 9th, &c.—are branded with lower censures. After reciting the whole eighty-five propositions and qualifying them with their respective censures, the Pontiff at once proceeds by "commanding all Christians" "not to think of these propositions contrarily to what is declared in the Constitution." He does not throw out the most distant hint of any distinction between any one class of these propositions and any other. And yet you maintain that a Catholic is at liberty to interpret the above command, as applying indeed to the 1st, 2nd, 3rd, 4th, &c., but as *not* applying to the 6th, 7th, 8th, 9th, &c.: in fact, to the great majority. Now here I hope you will not think me wanting in personal respect and kindly feeling, if I express myself plainly. I do think that you would have inflicted far less injury on the cause of religion had you openly resorted to some violent resource—had you maintained, e.g., that the "Auctorem Fidei" was not ex cathedrâ, or that its wording has been falsified—than you have inflicted by availing yourself of (what I must call) so unworthy an evasion. You have given the sanction of your name alas! to a principle of interpretation, which would enable Catholics to disobey every commandment of God and the Church, however explicit and articulate such commandment may be.

As to your argument (p. 32) about preambles and obiter dicta, to me it is as surprising as the conclusion for which it is adduced. The Pontiff prohibits all Christians from thinking, as to the eighty-five propositions, contrarily to what "is declared" in his Constitution; and no one can possibly doubt that the express *censures* of the eighty-five are so many "declarations"

concerning them. It is of course possible that in the body of the Constitution there may be this or that incidental phrase or sentence on one or more of them, concerning which phrase or sentence there may be legitimate doubt whether it amounts to a "declaration." But no undoubted *declaration*, therein contained concerning the propositions, can possibly be an obiter dictum; or a *mere* preamble; or a *mere* argument: all are comprised within the universal precept with which the Pontiff concludes.

This thesis I must account your fundamental error: viz., the inference which you continually draw, for the permissibleness of some tenet, from the Church's non-proscription of some individual theologian who has advocated it.

2. Your second grave error (as I consider it) has been to so great an extent criticised in treating your first, that but few additional words are necessary. I refer of course to your opinion—(1) that certain doctrinal censures pronounced by the Church are not infallibly deserved; and (2) that there is no grave obligation incumbent on all Catholics, of accepting as infallible *any* censures milder than that of "heretical." As I have just pointed out, both in the "Unigenitus" and in the "Auctorem Fidei" this obligation is most unequivocally expressed. I must repeat indeed, what I said in my recent letter, that only by a happy inconsistency do you account the Church infallible in her very definitions of faith. Her possession of that infallibility (as you say yourself) is only proved by her claim of *absolute assent* for those definitions. But she cannot possibly claim that assent in more unmistakable terms, than in those of the "Auctorem Fidei" which you would explain away.

I should add, that the obligation on which I am insisting has been recognized by every moral theologian, without exception, who has treated the matter at all. You admit this in your letter, p. 36. I had mentioned in October the names of Viva, S. Alphonsus, Bouvier, Scavini: you candidly add on your own account, "that even authors such as La Croix and Reuter, who . . . contemplate the holding that a condemned proposition may be true, still condemn of grave sin such as hold the injustice of its condemnation."

For myself—on grounds which I expressed in October, 1867 (pp. 360–365)—I cannot but follow Viva and S. Alphonsus in considering it actually *heretical* to doubt the Church's infallibility in these minor censures; though I hasten most fully to admit, that the Church has er expressly nor equivalently determined this. But sp (as becomes me) under correction, I must maintain that

attitude, towards such Constitutions as the "Unigenitus" and the "Auctorem Fidei," is gravely censurable and in itself mortally sinful. You will not, I am sure, misunderstand me as saying this in personal disrespect and disparagement of yourself; for it is one of your very complaints against me that I extend so widely the doctrine of invincible ignorance.

3. I must next refer to your language concerning the "Mirari vos," and concerning certain capitula of Trent. In both these cases the Church claims from Catholics an absolute interior assent, in language so unequivocal and peremptory that nothing can possibly be more so. In both these cases you persistently deny that all Catholics are under any such obligation. Your position (as I have more than once said) has no legitimate issue, short of denying the Church's infallibility altogether.

4. I have maintained confidently throughout, that the Church can infallibly condemn errors which are *injurious* to the Faith; even though they do not *contradict* any portion of the Deposit, either in themselves or by legitimate argumentative consequence. In other words—since the condemnation of an error as such is the affirmation of its contradictory—I maintain that the Church can infallibly teach certain doctrines, which neither are immediately revealed, nor yet follow by legitimate argumentative consequence from revealed dogmata. As I must return to this question more than once, it will be a great convenience if I give once for all a particular appellation to these two classes. I will call those doctrines then "deducible," which may be inferred from the Deposit by legitimate argumentative consequence: and I will call those "protective," which are not *deducible* indeed from the Deposit, but which are regarded by the Church as importantly serviceable for its *protection*. You deny her infallibility in teaching these "protective" doctrines; and I cannot but consider your denial a very serious error. I may add that while there is perhaps no point on which you so earnestly insist as on this, there is none (as will immediately be seen) on which you are so curiously inconsistent.

Here I must pause for one moment to express a fact which, however obvious, has from time to time (I cannot but think) escaped your notice. Of course, according to my own view of the case, [illegible] Church has determined these doctrines, their infallible truth follows, by most indubitable and immediate consequence, from the revealed dogma of infallibility: unless indeed we should speak still more correctly by saying, that their truth is [illegible] in that dogma. Yet I do not call these doctrines "deducible": because, *before the Church's*

determination of them, they are not argumentatively deducible from the Deposit.

My first reason for accounting your opinion on this head a serious error, is its bearing on such *dogmatical facts* as the sense of Jansenius's book. Take the following thesis: "Certain five propositions are contained in the 'Augustinus,' according to the legitimate objective sense of that work." It is quite impossible to say that this thesis, before the Church affirmed it, followed by argumentative consequence from revealed dogmata. You cannot draw out a chain of syllogisms leading to the conclusion, which shall contain any one revealed dogma as any one premiss of any one syllogism. If then you would be consistent, you must deny that the Church is infallible on such facts. And you do indeed explicitly deny (Letter, p. 8) that all Catholics are under the *obligation* of accounting her therein infallible. Yet all Catholics are confessedly under the obligation of accounting the Church infallible, when she decrees that Jansenius's first four propositions are heretical *in his sense.* And it is plain that Catholics cannot possibly fulfil that obligation, unless they also consider her infallible in determining what that sense is.*

My second reason for speaking so severely of your opinion, is its bearing on the Church's constant practice of anathematizing the *persons* of heretics. The Church has claimed a power of deciding, not merely that certain tenets called Arian or Nestorian are heretical, but that the individual Arius, or Nestorius, or Theodore, is objectively (if I may so express myself) a heretic; that he has displayed himself as a heretic in his various external manifestations. In your "Idealism" you frankly admit this, and argue with much force in its favour. "All who deny" Catholic dogma, you say, "are at least material heretics; but if the Church must stop here, and cannot go on to *identify the deniers,* her knowledge of the truth is practically worthless" (p. 42). Excellently said. The Church's knowledge of the Deposit then is "practically worthless," unless her infallibility extends *beyond* the Deposit. Take this thesis: "Arius and Nestorius, in their public career, were upholders of such and such tenets." You cannot possibly allege that this thesis is deducible from re-

* It may be worth while to reprint extracts from certain canons of the Fifth Ecumenical Council, to which reference was so constantly made in the Jansenistic controversy: "Si quis defendit impia scripta Theodoreti . . . et ea omnia quæ conscripsit pro Theodoro et Nestorio impiissimis. . . . et non *anathematizat* prædicta impiissimè conscripta . . . ta an sit." "Si quis predictam epistolam [Ibæ] defendit et non e submittit . . . anathema sit." (Denz, 183-4.)

vealed dogmata; and yet you say yourself (ib.) that the Jansenists, by denying the Church's infallibility on such matters as this and the preceding, were "applying a solvent to the whole principle of Church authority which, if allowed its way, could have ended in nothing short of universal scepticism." The thing cannot be better put. In rejecting the Church's infallibility on "protective" doctrines, you are overthrowing her authority and smoothing the way to universal scepticism.

My third reason for accounting this opinion of yours a serious error, is its bearing on the language in which the Church expresses her dogma. On this matter also you speak expressly. All Catholics, you say (Letter, p. 7), are under an obligation of believing that "this language is infallibly a proper and efficient expression of the doctrine." Here again take in illustration a definite thesis: "The word 'homoousion' was suitably chosen for the purpose of expressing a certain doctrine." This thesis does not follow from revealed dogmata; it might be fully accepted by an atheist. It is a "protective," not a "deducible" thesis.*

My fourth reason for assailing your opinion was stated by me in October, p. 352. Various "errors," censured by the Church as such, do not contradict the Deposit, either point blank or by way of argumentative consequence. You cannot therefore consistently—as in fact you do not—accept their condemnation as infallible. And here, since you dwell so much on the testimony of theologians, it is important to observe their language. (See Oct. 1867, p. 345.) The one recognized definition of a censurable proposition is—not a "propositio Fidei contraria" or the like—but a "propositio Fidei *nociva*."

So much then on "deducible" and "protective" doctrines.

* After such quotations as these, my readers may well doubt whether F. Ryder can possibly in other places have denied the Church's infallibility in declaring "protective doctrines." Yet what can be more explicit than the following? "The Church neither proposes nor can propose anything to be absolutely believed, but what is either immediately or mediately revealed." (Letter, p. 6.)

But my opponent's whole argument indeed implies this opinion. "The Church's infallibility," he everywhere says, "extends only to verities which should be accepted with Divine faith; and nothing can be accepted with Divine faith which is not 'contained in a revealed premiss.'" (Letter, p. 30.) If this argument had any weight whatever against my own view of the Church's infallibility, it would tell with precisely the same force against that infallibility which *F. Ryder* ascribes to her on the three particulars recited in the text.

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rable "definitions of faith." According to your view, Pius IX., in his one Letter "ad Apostolicæ" (see my second letter, p. 7), put forth sixteen decisions, which were all as simply and fully definitions of faith as that contained in the "Ineffabilis." On December 8 1854, Pius IX. put forth *one* definition of faith; but on August 22 1851, he had put forth *sixteen*. My belief is that here you stand absolutely alone; that you cannot find one theologian in your favour, ancient or modern, approved or suspected. Nor indeed can I consider *this* an open question; though it would carry me too far if I gave my reasons for thinking otherwise.

III.

These various differences—those very serious ones recited in my first section, and those far less serious recited in the preceding—have been elicited as our controversy went on. But the polemical circumstances of the moment have led us to lay particular stress on particular instances. Thus in your letter (p. 21) you speak of "the two cases *in which we are specially interested:* the 'Mirari vos' and the 'Quantâ curâ,'" with its appended Syllabus. Now *doctrinal expositions*, such as the two former, shall be considered in my next section; but the Syllabus is in some sense sui generis, and this will be my best place for treating it.

There could never have been, I think, a moment's serious doubt concerning the infallibility of the Syllabus in any Catholic not utterly disloyal, except for the unconscious influence of a certain notion to which I referred in my first section (see p. 13, supra). That notion is, that the Supreme Pontiff is tied by God's law to certain particular forms and methods of exercising his office as Universal Teacher. Such a view does not ordinarily colour a Catholic's thought concerning the *first* Universal Teachers, the Apostles; and in my second letter therefore (p. 35) I introduced the imaginary case of S. Paul's commanding the issue of a similar Syllabus. You call this argument of mine a "coup de théatre" (Postscript, p. 14): a comment which I do not understand, and therefore cannot answer. You proceed—not to deny my statement that Pius IX. is as infallible as S. Paul in the condemnation of errors—but to say in effect that the first Christians, from want of due experience, credited the Apostle with larger infallibility than he really possessed.* Well at all events you are speaking out.

* These are F. Ryder's words:—"Could we annihilate the intervening space of ecclesiastical history which separates us from the Apostolic age, it might well be that we should be under a moral obligation of assenting to much that experience has taught both you and me to regard with doubt."

My second argument was (p. 36) that Catholic bishops are united by God with the Supreme Pontiff in the office of teaching the Church; that many of them in the strongest language proclaimed the infallibility of the Syllabus; and that not one of them has publicly called it in question. If the Syllabus were not infallible, the Ecclesia Docens would be united in one vast conspiracy to "teach" not truth but dangerous error.

You reply (1) (Postscript p. 15), that this is a "most dangerous" "figure of speech." I rejoin that it is no "figure of speech" at all, but a very direct and (as I think) unanswerable argument.

You reply (2) (Postscript p. 14), that some of the bishops denounce rejection of the Syllabus as "forfeiting the name of Catholic" for those guilty of such rejection. Certainly two out of the twenty-four French bishops whom I cited use this language, and in a most intelligible and true sense. The obligation of interior assent to the Syllabus has been imposed by the Holy Father on all Catholics without exception; nor is there, as I maintain, any probability whatever, intrinsic or extrinsic, on the other side. Those who reject an important portion of universally and certainly obligatory doctrine, cannot in the fullest sense of the word be called Catholics; though instead of being actually heretics, they may be merely "contumacious and rebellious against" the Church's teaching.

My third argument was that "our one model as to the suitable manner of accepting the Syllabus, is most assuredly the way in which it was accepted at Rome under the eye of the very Pontiff who issued it" (p. 69). But the Cardinal Vicar of Rome declared it was to be received "as the very Word of God." Ergo, &c. You reply that I do not myself *maintain* it should be so received. But I do. If God has conferred on Pius IX. the gift of infallibility, then we are bound to accept all his infallible utterances, "as the very Word of God," Who guarantees them from error.

My fourth argument was that on June 17, 1867 Pius IX. expressly "confirmed" the Syllabus, and "set it again before" the bishops as "the rule of their teaching." To this argument, which alone would be conclusive, you have attempted no reply.

On no better grounds than those above set forth, you deny a grave obligation to be incumbent on all Catholics of accepting the censures of the Syllabus as infallible; nay, you yourself call that infallibility into question. I must charge you with here exhibiting in effect—though assuredly not in intention—grave disloyalty to the Teacher of all Christians.

IV.

In your "Idealism" you admit that various theologians advocate the same general view of infallibility which I follow myself; but you add that I have appended to that theory a "peculiar increment," "new, unauthorized, and productive of much mischief." In January 1868 (pp. 124-5), I put together various passages of your pamphlet which might throw light on this enigmatical statement; and in my second letter (p. 45) I added similar extracts from your letter, which were far more clearly and unmistakably expressed. It appeared then that my "new and mischievous theory" was the theory that a Pontiff may speak infallibly in some prolonged and sustained exposition of doctrine. Your own adverse contention was, that he is only infallible where he marks out for approval or censure a distinct proposition or a series of such propositions.

But you have now totally changed your ground. In p. 5 of your postscript you admit that S. Leo's Dogmatic Letter may possibly enough be ex cathedrâ, because "it deals exclusively with the res revelata." You regard (ib.) portions of the Tridentine capitula as infallible, particularly (as your argument requires) those concerning Justification: and yet these are all expressed by way of *exposition*. Nay in p. 3, where expressly stating the point at issue, you do not deny infallibility to any doctrinal expositions, except to those which inculcate "protective" and not "deducible" doctrines. (See p. 10, supra.) The same view is repeated in p. 10. If this is your deliberate meaning, then the points of difference between you and me are confined to those stated in the previous sections; for you deny infallibility to *pro*positions, no less than to *ex*positions, which inculcate doctrines merely "protective." Your change is most remarkable. In your letter you said (p. 28) that "definiteness" is an "essential test of infallibility," in such sense that "*a certain definite proposition* must be expressed equivalently as de fide Catholicâ." In your "Idealism" (p. 39), you require "precise definitive forms" as necessary for an universal obligation of absolute interior assent. All this is now tacitly and unostentatiously surrendered. In your letter (p. 11) you said that "the main . . . the single question at issue between us" is that of doctrinal Apostolic Letters; whereas now it appears that this is not even *part* of the issue between us. The truth of my remark will appear still more irrefragably, when I have repeated once more that explanation of my thesis, which I have given again and again,

but for which I have unfortunately not succeeded in obtaining your attention.

My thesis then may be thus summed up: (1) The Pontiff may speak infallibly no less in expositions than in propositions. (2) His expositions are infallible always and only, when they are intended for the purpose of inculcating doctrine on the Universal Church. Yet (3) they need not be addressed *formally* to the Universal Church, but may be otherwise authenticated as obliging the absolute assent of Catholics. There remain behind, no doubt, a large number of very important inquiries; but on these I have either not spoken confidently or not spoken at all. How are we to know that some given Pontifical Act is intended for the purpose of inculcating doctrine? How are we to know whether some Act, confessedly doctrinal but addressed to an individual, is intended for *his* instruction or for that of the whole Church? When the Act is confessedly ex cathedrâ, how are we to know whether some given statement be a doctrinal instruction or an obiter dictum? or whether the doctrine it contains be inculcated as infallibly certain or only as infallibly the more probable? These questions cry aloud for discussion. On several of them I put forth some humble suggestions in January 1868; but I took care to state that I spoke on them with great diffidence, and entirely under correction.*

And here, in consequence of your remarks at Postscript p. 3, I must once more repeat what I have said again and again. By the term "doctrinal instruction" I have never meant *any* doctrinal statement directly expressed in a Pontifical Act; but only a doctrinal statement put forth *for the purpose of teaching doctrine*. See my second letter, p. 45, note.

Now as to my various instances of doctrinal expositions. I adduced them against the thesis which you have now tacitly surrendered; viz. that no teaching is ex cathedrâ except the approval or condemnation of distinct and definite propositions. It is abundantly possible however, just as you have now unconsciously abandoned your original position, that you may

* In my second letter (p. 45) I drew attention to these expressions of diffidence. Again, in p. 52, where I expressed my own idea that those Acts are ex cathedrâ from which the Syllabus is compiled, I added that I expressed this idea "with unfeigned diffidence." I should also add another explanation. I never thought or implied by my language, in the case of *all* these Acts, that their ex cathedrâ character had been sufficiently testified before the Syllabus appeared. See January 1868, p. 163. In regard to some few of their number, my notion was (whatever its value) that the Syllabus for the first time *authenticated* their having been *intended* as ex cathedrâ all along.

wise" than he therein teaches. And yet (Letter, p. 32) you will not admit that any such command has been imposed, because its non-existence "is maintained with impunity by sundry grave theologians." (See also p. 38.) I cannot admit that these theologians in any way merit the appellation of "grave." But were the case otherwise, I must insist that such paltering with the Church's most solemn declarations, in deference to individual theologians, tends legitimately to results from which you would yourself recoil startled and alarmed.

You are obliged indeed here to face the Pontifical command; and in order to elude its force, you resort to an expedient more singular perhaps than any other to be found in all the records of controversy. You say (Letter, p. 32) that the Pope's precept need not be understood as applying to *all* his censures, but only to *some* of them. Take the eighty-five propositions condemned in the "Auctorem Fidei." Certain of these—the 1st, 2nd, 3rd, 4th, &c.—are censured as heretical; while certain others—the 6th, 7th, 8th, 9th, &c.—are branded with lower censures. After reciting the whole eighty-five propositions and qualifying them with their respective censures, the Pontiff at once proceeds by "commanding all Christians" "not to think of these propositions contrarily to what is declared in the Constitution." He does not throw out the most distant hint of any distinction between any one class of these propositions and any other. And yet you maintain that a Catholic is at liberty to interpret the above command, as applying indeed to the 1st, 2nd, 3rd, 4th, &c., but as *not* applying to the 6th, 7th, 8th, 9th, &c.: in fact, to the great majority. Now here I hope you will not think me wanting in personal respect and kindly feeling, if I express myself plainly. I do think that you would have inflicted far less injury on the cause of religion had you openly resorted to some violent resource—had you maintained, e.g., that the "Auctorem Fidei" was not ex cathedrâ, or that its wording has been falsified—than you have inflicted by availing yourself of (what I must call) so unworthy an evasion. You have given the sanction of your name alas! to a principle of interpretation, which would enable Catholics to disobey every commandment of God and the Church, however explicit and articulate such commandment may be.

As to your argument (p. 32) about preambles and obiter dicta, to me it is as surprising as the conclusion for which it is adduced. The Pontiff prohibits all Christians from thinking, as to the eighty-five propositions, contrarily to what "is declared" in his Constitution; and no one can possibly doubt that the express *censures* of the eighty-five are so many "declarations"

to the Council itself he tells them (see also Dr. Murray, De Ecclesiâ, vol. iii. p. 589), that his Letter to Flavian has "most fully and lucidly declared what is the pious and sincere confession" concerning the Incarnation. He referred them to it, you see, as to his one authentic and solemn declaration of the doctrine which he habitually taught. Baronius further tells us, as I have quoted more than once in the "Dublin Review," that he sent this letter round to all the Western churches "as an antidote against the new heresy": while in reply the Western bishops wrote to him that they accepted it as their *symbol of faith*, and the Easterns declared that he who does not assent thereto is a *heretic*. Further, there is the completest harmony on this matter of all theologians, both Ultramontane and Gallican. You quote indeed one sentence from Bellarmine; and I admit that he made therein an indefensible concession to the tenets which were afterwards called Gallican. But on the question *between you and me* there is no reason whatever to suppose (as I shall immediately show) that he is any exception to the theological unanimity. It was from the time however of Bossuet—as you have yourself observed—that these questions have been more profoundly sifted; nor has there been any one more renowned and constant battle-field than S. Leo's Letter. But the combatants on both sides have agreed as one man in accounting that Letter, after its reception at Chalcedon, a true infallible definition of faith. "It is proposed," says Bossuet, as "*a Rule of Faith most perfect and certain and irreformable* (non ampliùs retractanda)." *

Now for Bellarmine's sentence. I admit that I had quite forgotten it; though I suppose I must once have observed it. He certainly concedes that, before its reception at Chalcedon, S. Leo's Dogmatic Letter was not an infallible Rule of Faith. His reason for thinking so was doubtless the circumstance, to which I have myself so often drawn attention, that it contains no *intrinsic* marks of its definitive authority. But I cannot for a moment accept your interpretation of Bellarmine's meaning. His words are these: "Leo Epistolam suam miserat ad Concilium, non ut continentem ultimam et definitivam sententiam, sed ut instructionem quâ Episcopi adjuti meliùs judicarent. Postquàm autem omnes *consenserunt Epistolæ* Leonis, tunc demùm edita est definitio ultima nomine Pontificis et Concilii." According to you, he expresses by these words that S. Leo's Letter was never, from first to last, more than an *instruction* used as the *basis* for a subsequent infallible *definition*. According to my apprehension, Bellarmine's view

* Quoted by Muzzarelli.

is this: that S. Leo, by his legates, proposed his Letter to the Council *for their adoption as an infallible Rule of Faith*, and that the Council accepted that proposal. There is more than one reason which convinces me that this was Bellarmine's meaning. Take *either* interpretation of it indeed, it is inconsistent with the history of Chalcedon. But as *you* understand Bellarmine, his view contradicts facts, which stand out more prominently and emphatically on the very surface of that history than almost any others which can be named. Then "consenserunt Epistolæ" will very naturally signify "consented to it as to their Rule of Faith"; but cannot easily mean "accepted it as a basis for their subsequent definition." Lastly it is quite incredible that Bellarmine can have stood absolutely alone among theologians, in thinking that even in subsequent centuries, up to Bellarmine's own day, S. Leo's Letter had been no infallible Rule of Faith.

I have dwelt the longer on S. Leo's Letter, because (as I mentioned in April 1868,) it throws so much light on various portions of our controversy. For instance it proves demonstratively that there may be a true judgment ex cathedrâ, which does not *express*, either directly or equivalently, its own obligatory character. Moreover, since the whole body of theologians—Ballerini and Cappellari inclusively—admit the Letter's ex cathedrâ character as an indisputable fact, they cannot be understood literally if they seem anywhere to say that there *is* a necessity for such expression.

3. The capitula of Trent, beyond all possible question, teach the doctrine of Justification expositionally and not propositionally; yet they assert in the most explicit terms imaginable that their firm interior acceptance is necessary for salvation. See my second letter, p. 48. Then as to the Tridentine capitula generally, the passage you quote from Pallavicini (Postscript, p. 5) does not refer to any doubt concerning their *infallibility*; and I am persuaded indeed that no such doubt ever existed. The question incidentally discussed was entirely different. It was between that more extreme view, which condemns as *heresy* a dissent from any part of their instruction;—and that more moderate view, which I follow myself (see second letter, p. 48, note), that such dissent (though mortally sinful) is deserving only of some *minor* censure.

4. I maintained that the doctrine taught in the "Unam Sanctam" is infallible, though not *de fide*; and you objected that many Catholics have denied this doctrine with impunity. I replied that where tenets, though infallibly condemned, are not condemned as actually heretical, the Church very often (for fear of greater evils) abstains from visiting their

determination of them, they are not argumentatively deducible from the Deposit.

My first reason for accounting your opinion on this head a serious error, is its bearing on such *dogmatical facts* as the sense of Jansenius's book. Take the following thesis: "Certain five propositions are contained in the 'Augustinus,' according to the legitimate objective sense of that work." It is quite impossible to say that this thesis, before the Church affirmed it, followed by argumentative consequence from revealed dogmata. You cannot draw out a chain of syllogisms leading to the conclusion, which shall contain any one revealed dogma as any one premiss of any one syllogism. If then you would be consistent, you must deny that the Church is infallible on such facts. And you do indeed explicitly deny (Letter, p. 8) that all Catholics are under the *obligation* of accounting her therein infallible. Yet all Catholics are confessedly under the obligation of accounting the Church infallible, when she decrees that Jansenius's first four propositions are heretical *in his sense*. And it is plain that Catholics cannot possibly fulfil that obligation, unless they also consider her infallible in determining what that sense is.*

My second reason for speaking so severely of your opinion, is its bearing on the Church's constant practice of anathematizing the *persons* of heretics. The Church has claimed a power of deciding, not merely that certain tenets called Arian or Nestorian are heretical, but that the individual Arius, or Nestorius, or Theodore, is objectively (if I may so express myself) a heretic; that he has displayed himself as a heretic in his various external manifestations. In your "Idealism" you frankly admit this, and argue with much force in its favour. "All who deny" Catholic dogma, you say, "are at least material heretics; but if the Church must stop here, and cannot go on to *identify the deniers*, her knowledge of the truth is practically worthless" (p. 42). Excellently said. The Church's knowledge of the Deposit then is "practically worthless," unless her infallibility extends *beyond* the Deposit. Take this thesis: "Arius and Nestorius, in their public career, were upholders of such and such tenets." You cannot possibly allege that this thesis is deducible from re-

* It may be worth while to reprint extracts from certain canons of the Fifth Ecumenical Council, to which reference was so constantly made in the Jansenistic controversy: "Si quis defendit impia scripta Theodoreti . . . et ea omnia quæ conscripsit pro Theodoro et Nestorio impiissimis. . . . et non *anathematizat* prædicta impiissimè conscripta . . . talis anathema sit." "Si quis predictam epistolam [Ibæ] defendit et non eam anathemati submittit . . . anathema sit." (Denz, 183-4.)

vealed dogmata; and yet you say yourself (ib.) that the Jansenists, by denying the Church's infallibility on such matters as this and the preceding, were "applying a solvent to the whole principle of Church authority which, if allowed its way, could have ended in nothing short of universal scepticism." The thing cannot be better put. In rejecting the Church's infallibility on "protective" doctrines, you are overthrowing her authority and smoothing the way to universal scepticism.

My third reason for accounting this opinion of yours a serious error, is its bearing on the language in which the Church expresses her dogma. On this matter also you speak expressly. All Catholics, you say (Letter, p. 7), are under an obligation of believing that "this language is infallibly a proper and efficient expression of the doctrine." Here again take in illustration a definite thesis: "The word 'homoousion' was suitably chosen for the purpose of expressing a certain doctrine." This thesis does not follow from revealed dogmata; it might be fully accepted by an atheist. It is a "protective," not a "deducible" thesis.*

My fourth reason for assailing your opinion was stated by me in October, p. 352. Various "errors," censured by the Church as such, do not contradict the Deposit, either point blank or by way of argumentative consequence. You cannot therefore consistently—as in fact you do not—accept their condemnation as infallible. And here, since you dwell so much on the testimony of theologians, it is important to observe their language. (See Oct. 1867, p. 345.) The one recognized definition of a censurable proposition is—not a "propositio Fidei contraria" or the like—but a "propositio Fidei *nociva*."

So much then on "deducible" and "protective" doctrines.

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II.

In this section I will recite various other points at issue between us, on the Church's infallibility. As regards these

however, I have no wish at all to speak with any severity; and on some of them, undoubtedly, you have fully as much right to your opinion as I to mine.

1. Theologians often speak of some truth as "mediately" or "virtually" revealed. For myself, as I said in October, 1867 (p. 350), I think they would limit this expression to truths which are consciously and syllogistically derived by combining revealed premisses, either with each other, or with truths indubitably certain by the light of reason. The non-revealed premiss, I think, must be "in such sense certain, that all cultivated intellects will at once accept it as true; that its acceptance is as simply a matter of course, as is acquiescence in the very validity of a logical process." But *you* would include, among the non-revealed premisses of a verity "mediately" revealed, *any* truths of the natural order, whether metaphysically, physically, or but morally certain. Moreover (Letter, pp. 6-7), you would admit a verity to be "mediately" revealed, even where "unassisted reason cannot verify" any process of inference whatever. I cannot but strongly think that it is my opinion on this matter, and not yours, which is in accordance with the language of theologians.

2. You consider that doctrines may be defined as de fide—defined in such sense that their contraries are condemned as heretical—which were not immediately revealed by God, but which follow by *logical inference* from immediately revealed dogmata. In this opinion you are undoubtedly following a large number of grave theologians; though (as I explained in my preceding paragraph) I strongly think that you extend the idea of "logical inference" a vast deal more widely than they would approve. For myself, I greatly prefer the opinion,—which is (I think) much commoner at present,—that nothing can be defined as de fide which was not immediately revealed by God.

3. I hold it to be a vital truth (as I have already explained) that the Church can teach infallibly "protective" doctrines which are not "deducible" (see p. 10, supra). At the same time I have pointed out, that so soon as the Church determines these doctrines, their infallible truth follows by most indubitable and immediate inference from the revealed dogma of infallibility: unless indeed we should speak still *more* correctly by saying, that their truth is *included* in that dogma. Lastly, where infallibility is recognized on one side, there follows the formal obligation of absolute and unreserved assent on the other. Here however a question arises, concerning the *nature* of this unreserved interior assent. Is it the assent of *Divine* faith? or of "ecclesiastical" and "mediate" faith? This

great diffidence the bias of my own opinion. It was, that in ordinary cases expediency would lead, on the one hand to his *absolving* such *Catholics*, but on the other hand to his *not* receiving into the Church such *non*-Catholics. I pointed out however in April (p. 522, note), that the Paris clergy apparently regard the priest as not even *permitted* to give Absolution in these cases.

And now to conclude. I never understood your theory as a whole until I read your "letter"; and my immediate reply to that letter was mainly defensive: it results therefore, that I have now written more aggressively than on any previous occasion. I entreat you however to believe, that I have not a particle of ill-feeling towards you. I have been assailed in my time with great acrimony, and few persons are equally sensitive to such assaults. But I said in my first letter that even in your "Idealism" I had observed no one trace of unkindness or bitterness; while your "letter" contains many kind references to me, for which I am most grateful. I have felt also from first to last that I was dealing with a thoroughly upright and honourable combatant, who seeks truth, and who takes every pains to understand his opponent. I should add that, though I have not yet the pleasure of your personal acquaintance, the many private letters which have passed have generated a kind of friendship between us.

But then we must look at propositions in the abstract, apart from such circumstances as these. And I must frankly express my opinion, that your tenets unite argumentative baselessness with practical calamitousness, to an extent rare in Catholic controversy. No doubt you have displayed much incidental power and theological knowledge. But I have been surprised, as the controversy has moved onwards, to find the poverty, or rather the complete absence, of argument adduced for your general thesis. You have not overstated the fact when you say (Letter, pp. 4, 5) that "I am utterly unable to conceive"—or, at least, to find in your writings—"any sort of justification"—nay, nor any one solid argument—"for any one of your positions" antagonistic to mine. So much on the argumentative baselessness of your thesis. On its practical calamitousness let me repeat what I have so often said. I consider that your principles lead, by necessary and very speedy consequence, to a denial of the Church's infallibility altogether; or, in other words, to apostasy from her communion. Nor does it at all follow, because assuredly no such result will ensue in your own case, that there may not be real danger of it in the case of others. This or that Catholic may temporarily accept your principles, who does not enjoy that

rable "definitions of faith." According to your view, Pius IX., in his one Letter "ad Apostolicæ" (see my second letter, p. 7), put forth sixteen decisions, which were all as simply and fully definitions of faith as that contained in the "Ineffabilis." On December 8 1854, Pius IX. put forth *one* definition of faith; but on August 22 1851, he had put forth *sixteen*. My belief is that here you stand absolutely alone; that you cannot find one theologian in your favour, ancient or modern, approved or suspected. Nor indeed can I consider *this* an open question; though it would carry me too far if I gave my reasons for thinking otherwise.

III.

These various differences—those very serious ones recited in my first section, and those far less serious recited in the preceding—have been elicited as our controversy went on. But the polemical circumstances of the moment have led us to lay particular stress on particular instances. Thus in your letter (p. 21) you speak of "the two cases *in which we are specially interested*: the 'Mirari vos' and the 'Quantâ curâ,'" with its appended Syllabus. Now *doctrinal expositions*, such as the two former, shall be considered in my next section; but the Syllabus is in some sense sui generis, and this will be my best place for treating it.

There could never have been, I think, a moment's serious doubt concerning the infallibility of the Syllabus in any Catholic not utterly disloyal, except for the unconscious influence of a certain notion to which I referred in my first section (see p. 13, supra). That notion is, that the Supreme Pontiff is tied by God's law to certain particular forms and methods of exercising his office as Universal Teacher. Such a view does not ordinarily colour a Catholic's thought concerning the *first* Universal Teachers, the Apostles; and in my second letter therefore (p. 35) I introduced the imaginary case of S. Paul's commanding the issue of a similar Syllabus. You call this argument of mine a "coup de théatre" (Postscript, p. 14): a comment which I do not understand, and therefore cannot answer. You proceed—not to deny my statement that Pius IX. is as infallible as S. Paul in the condemnation of errors—but to say in effect that the first Christians, from want of due experience, credited the Apostle with larger infallibility than he really possessed.* Well at all events you are speaking out.

* These are F. Ryder's words:—"Could we annihilate the intervening space of ecclesiastical history which separates us from the Apostolic age, it might well be that we should be under a moral obligation of assenting to much that experience has taught both you and me to regard with doubt."

My second argument was (p. 36) that Catholic bishops are united by God with the Supreme Pontiff in the office of teaching the Church; that many of them in the strongest language proclaimed the infallibility of the Syllabus; and that not one of them has publicly called it in question. If the Syllabus were not infallible, the Ecclesia Docens would be united in one vast conspiracy to "teach" not truth but dangerous error.

You reply (1) (Postscript p. 15), that this is a "most dangerous" "figure of speech." I rejoin that it is no "figure of speech" at all, but a very direct and (as I think) unanswerable argument.

You reply (2) (Postscript p. 14), that some of the bishops denounce rejection of the Syllabus as "forfeiting the name of Catholic" for those guilty of such rejection. Certainly two out of the twenty-four French bishops whom I cited use this language, and in a most intelligible and true sense. The obligation of interior assent to the Syllabus has been imposed by the Holy Father on all Catholics without exception; nor is there, as I maintain, any probability whatever, intrinsic or extrinsic, on the other side. Those who reject an important portion of universally and certainly obligatory doctrine, cannot in the fullest sense of the word be called Catholics; though instead of being actually heretics, they may be merely "contumacious and rebellious against" the Church's teaching.

My third argument was that "our one model as to the suitable manner of accepting the Syllabus, is most assuredly the way in which it was accepted at Rome under the eye of the very Pontiff who issued it" (p. 69). But the Cardinal Vicar of Rome declared it was to be received "as the very Word of God." Ergo, &c. You reply that I do not myself *maintain* it should be so received. But I do. If God has conferred on Pius IX. the gift of infallibility, then we are bound to accept all his infallible utterances, "as the very Word of God," Who guarantees them from error.

My fourth argument was that on June 17, 1867 Pius IX. expressly "confirmed" the Syllabus, and "set it again before" the bishops as "the rule of their teaching." To this argument, which alone would be conclusive, you have attempted no reply.

On no better grounds than those above set forth, you deny a grave obligation to be incumbent on all Catholics of accepting the censures of the Syllabus as infallible; nay, you yourself call that infallibility into question. I must charge you with here exhibiting in effect—though assuredly not in intention—grave disloyalty to the Teacher of all Christians.

IV.

In your "Idealism" you admit that various theologians advocate the same general view of infallibility which I follow myself; but you add that I have appended to that theory a "peculiar increment," "new, unauthorized, and productive of much mischief." In January 1868 (pp. 124-5), I put together various passages of your pamphlet which might throw light on this enigmatical statement; and in my second letter (p. 45) I added similar extracts from your letter, which were far more clearly and unmistakably expressed. It appeared then that my "new and mischievous theory" was the theory that a Pontiff may speak infallibly in some prolonged and sustained exposition of doctrine. Your own adverse contention was, that he is only infallible where he marks out for approval or censure a distinct proposition or a series of such propositions.

But you have now totally changed your ground. In p. 5 of your postscript you admit that S. Leo's Dogmatic Letter may possibly enough be ex cathedrâ, because "it deals exclusively with the res revelata." You regard (ib.) portions of the Tridentine capitula as infallible, particularly (as your argument requires) those concerning Justification: and yet these are all expressed by way of *exposition*. Nay in p. 3, where expressly stating the point at issue, you do not deny infallibility to any doctrinal expositions, except to those which inculcate "protective" and not "deducible" doctrines. (See p. 10, supra.) The same view is repeated in p. 10. If this is your deliberate meaning, then the points of difference between you and me are confined to those stated in the previous sections; for you deny infallibility to *pro*positions, no less than to *ex*positions, which inculcate doctrines merely "protective." Your change is most remarkable. In your letter you said (p. 28) that "definiteness" is an "essential test of infallibility," in such sense that "*a certain definite proposition* must be expressed equivalently as de fide Catholicâ." In your "Idealism" (p. 39), you require "precise definitive forms" as necessary for an universal obligation of absolute interior assent. All this is now tacitly and unostentatiously surrendered. In your letter (p. 11) you said that "the main . . . the single question at issue between us" is that of doctrinal Apostolic Letters; whereas now it appears that this is not even *part* of the issue between us. The truth of my remark will appear still more irrefragably, when I have repeated once more that explanation of my thesis, which I have given again and again,

but for which I have unfortunately not succeeded in obtaining your attention.

My thesis then may be thus summed up: (1) The Pontiff may speak infallibly no less in expositions than in propositions. (2) His expositions are infallible always and only, when they are intended for the purpose of inculcating doctrine on the Universal Church. Yet (3) they need not be addressed *formally* to the Universal Church, but may be otherwise authenticated as obliging the absolute assent of Catholics. There remain behind, no doubt, a large number of very important inquiries; but on these I have either not spoken confidently or not spoken at all. How are we to know that some given Pontifical Act is intended for the purpose of inculcating doctrine? How are we to know whether some Act, confessedly doctrinal but addressed to an individual, is intended for *his* instruction or for that of the whole Church? When the Act is confessedly ex cathedrâ, how are we to know whether some given statement be a doctrinal instruction or an obiter dictum? or whether the doctrine it contains be inculcated as infallibly certain or only as infallibly the more probable? These questions cry aloud for discussion. On several of them I put forth some humble suggestions in January 1868; but I took care to state that I spoke on them with great diffidence, and entirely under correction.*

And here, in consequence of your remarks at Postscript p. 3, I must once more repeat what I have said again and again. By the term "doctrinal instruction" I have never meant *any* doctrinal statement directly expressed in a Pontifical Act; but only a doctrinal statement put forth *for the purpose of teaching doctrine*. See my second letter, p. 45, note.

Now as to my various instances of doctrinal expositions. I adduced them against the thesis which you have now tacitly surrendered; viz. that no teaching is ex cathedrâ except the approval or condemnation of distinct and definite propositions. It is abundantly possible however, just as you have now unconsciously abandoned your original position, that you may

* In my second letter (p. 45) I drew attention to these expressions of diffidence. Again, in p. 52, where I expressed my own idea that those Acts are ex cathedrâ from which the Syllabus is compiled, I added that I expressed this idea "with unfeigned diffidence." I should also add another explanation. I never thought or implied by my language, in the case of *all* these Acts, that their ex cathedrâ character had been sufficiently testified before the Syllabus appeared. See January 1868, p. 163. In regard to some few of their number, my notion was (whatever its value) that the Syllabus for the first time *authenticated* their having been *intended* as ex cathedrâ all along.

hereafter with equal unconsciousness revert to it; and it is abundantly possible also, that some who have followed you in your original view may not follow you in forsaking it. I will therefore point out with the greatest attainable brevity, how irrefragably the instances which I adduced establish the conclusion for which I adduced them. I think indeed I may complain of unfair controversial reserve, in your way of dealing with some of their number.

1. I wish, for instance, you had explained whether I have or have not as yet convinced you that the "Mirari vos" is ex cathedrâ. In your letter it was one of "the two cases in which we were specially interested" (p. 21): but in your postscript it is conspicuous by its absence, or at least by its very indistinct and shadowy presence. In p. 8 you say that the Church's toleration of French liberal Catholics is the best possible commentary on this Encyclical: but I cannot even conjecture the meaning of this remark. In p. 10 you say that the infallibility of the "Mirari vos" can "be argued upon particular grounds," but cannot be defended "on my principle"; and what *that* means I have no notion. In p. 15 you imply that my peremptory argument for the infallibility of this Encyclical is Gregory XVI.'s use of the word "define": whereas the fact on which I really insisted as absolutely conclusive, is Gregory XVI.'s declaring to all bishops that its doctrine *demands the absolute assent of Catholics*. Your reserve on the "Mirari vos" is the more remarkable, because I maintained in my second letter that a denial of its infallibility must lead by necessary consequence to a denial of the Church's infallibility altogether (pp. 16, note, and 65); that to repudiate its ex cathedrâ character is by necessary result to abandon the Catholic Faith. I here deliberately repeat that statement.

2. Then as to S. Leo's Dogmatic Letter, I cannot, for the life of me, make out whether you do or do not consider it ex cathedrâ. It is very difficult to suppose you *can* intend to deny its being so; but it may be better to state a very few out of the innumerable facts adduced by theologians. Palma, e. g. quotes the three following expressions from S. Leo himself. The Pontiff thus writes to Julian: "I have directed to our brother Flavian writings whereby . . . *the Universal Church may know* what it is which we hold as *divinely delivered* and what we *unchangeably preach* concerning the ancient Faith" (p. 337). In preparing his legates for their work at Chalcedon, he thus addresses them: "I have forwarded to you to be diligently studied my . . . Letter . . . to Flavian, which *the Universal Church embraces*" (p. 338). And in his Letter

to the Council itself he tells them (see also Dr. Murray, De Ecclesiâ, vol. iii. p. 589), that his Letter to Flavian has "most fully and lucidly declared what is the pious and sincere confession" concerning the Incarnation. He referred them to it, you see, as to his one authentic and solemn declaration of the doctrine which he habitually taught. Baronius further tells us, as I have quoted more than once in the "Dublin Review," that he sent this letter round to all the Western churches "as an antidote against the new heresy": while in reply the Western bishops wrote to him that they accepted it as their *symbol of faith*, and the Easterns declared that he who does not assent thereto is a *heretic*. Further, there is the completest harmony on this matter of all theologians, both Ultramontane and Gallican. You quote indeed one sentence from Bellarmine; and I admit that he made therein an indefensible concession to the tenets which were afterwards called Gallican. But on the question *between you and me* there is no reason whatever to suppose (as I shall immediately show) that he is any exception to the theological unanimity. It was from the time however of Bossuet—as you have yourself observed—that these questions have been more profoundly sifted; nor has there been any one more renowned and constant battle-field than S. Leo's Letter. But the combatants on both sides have agreed as one man in accounting that Letter, after its reception at Chalcedon, a true infallible definition of faith. "It is proposed," says Bossuet, as "*a Rule of Faith most perfect and certain and irreformable* (non ampliùs retractanda)." *

Now for Bellarmine's sentence. I admit that I had quite forgotten it; though I suppose I must once have observed it. He certainly concedes that, before its reception at Chalcedon, S. Leo's Dogmatic Letter was not an infallible Rule of Faith. His reason for thinking so was doubtless the circumstance, to which I have myself so often drawn attention, that it contains no *intrinsic* marks of its definitive authority. But I cannot for a moment accept your interpretation of Bellarmine's meaning. His words are these: "Leo Epistolam suam miserat ad Concilium, non ut continentem ultimam et definitivam sententiam, sed ut instructionem quâ Episcopi adjuti meliùs judicarent. Postquàm autem omnes *consenserunt Epistolæ* Leonis, tunc demùm edita est definitio ultima nomine Pontificis et Concilii." According to you, he expresses by these words that S. Leo's Letter was never, from first to last, more than an *instruction* used as the *basis* for a subsequent infallible *definition*. According to my apprehension, Bellarmine's view

* Quoted by Muzzarelli.

is this: that S. Leo, by his legates, proposed his Letter to the Council *for their adoption as an infallible Rule of Faith*, and that the Council accepted that proposal. There is more than one reason which convinces me that this was Bellarmine's meaning. Take *either* interpretation of it indeed, it is inconsistent with the history of Chalcedon. But as *you* understand Bellarmine, his view contradicts facts, which stand out more prominently and emphatically on the very surface of that history than almost any others which can be named. Then "consenserunt Epistolæ" will very naturally signify "consented to it as to their Rule of Faith"; but cannot easily mean "accepted it as a basis for their subsequent definition." Lastly it is quite incredible that Bellarmine can have stood absolutely alone among theologians, in thinking that even in subsequent centuries, up to Bellarmine's own day, S. Leo's Letter had been no infallible Rule of Faith.

I have dwelt the longer on S. Leo's Letter, because (as I mentioned in April 1868,) it throws so much light on various portions of our controversy. For instance it proves demonstratively that there may be a true judgment ex cathedrâ, which does not *express*, either directly or equivalently, its own obligatory character. Moreover, since the whole body of theologians—Ballerini and Cappellari inclusively—admit the Letter's ex cathedrâ character as an indisputable fact, they cannot be understood literally if they seem anywhere to say that there *is* a necessity for such expression.

3. The capitula of Trent, beyond all possible question, teach the doctrine of Justification expositionally and not propositionally; yet they assert in the most explicit terms imaginable that their firm interior acceptance is necessary for salvation. See my second letter, p. 48. Then as to the Tridentine capitula generally, the passage you quote from Pallavicini (Postscript, p. 5) does not refer to any doubt concerning their *infallibility;* and I am persuaded indeed that no such doubt ever existed. The question incidentally discussed was entirely different. It was between that more extreme view, which condemns as *heresy* a dissent from any part of their instruction;—and that more moderate view, which I follow myself (see second letter, p. 48, note), that such dissent (though mortally sinful) is deserving only of some *minor* censure.

4. I maintained that the doctrine taught in the "Unam Sanctam" is infallible, though not *de fide;* and you objected that many Catholics have denied this doctrine with impunity. I replied that where tenets, though infallibly condemned, are not condemned as actually heretical, the Church very often (for fear of greater evils) abstains from visiting their

profession with her express censure. You rejoin (Postscript, p. 5) by merely repeating what I had already admitted; viz., that many Catholics have professed what I account anti-Catholic tenets on the subject, without being expressly censured. I may as well however mention one fact. Benedict XIV. testifies, in his well-known letter to the Spanish Grand Inquisitor, that in his time the Church's indirect temporal power was an accepted doctrine everywhere except in France.

I am literally bewildered by your remark about Clement V.; for had he spoken otherwise, he would directly have contradicted Boniface VIII. himself. That Pontiff did not profess in the "Unam Sanctam" to create a new right, but the very contrary: he professed to declare an old right, which had existed by Divine appointment from the very time of the Apostles.

5. I further cited (Second Letter, pp. 51-2) the condemnation of Hermes and of Louvain traditionalism. In each of these cases no definite proposition was selected for approval or censure; but the faithful were required firmly to hold that certain copious writings are imbued with doctrinal error. On this you are silent. I might have added other similar declarations of dogmatical facts; such as the instance already given (p. 11, note), where Catholics are required to anathematize the writings of Theodoret and the letter of Ibas.

I am now to consider your three cases of objection; and, firstly, Honorius's Letter to Sergius. This Letter contains only a disciplinary exhortation; an exhortation intended at the utmost for that particular portion of the Church, which at that time was troubled by disputes about "the two energies." Even were it dogmatic, it could not have been intended for the Universal Church. This is evident, as from other reasons, so also from the fact that Honorius took no measures to circulate it through Christendom. My argument did not at all turn on the question, whether it did or did not become *known* before a certain period; but exclusively on the question whether Honorius himself published it. Now you do not even allege that he published it. I will cite however the following passage from Muzzarelli; who, to my mind, treats the whole question more satisfactorily, than any other writer whom I have seen:—

"In Occidente [hæc Epistola] latuit per longum intervallum; et tunc solùm innotuit quum Pyrrhus, qui Sergio successerat, [illam] attrahere festinavit . . . Neque ideò . . . tunc originalis Epistola Honorii fuit in Occidente evulgata, sed unicè testimonium factum fuit manifestum quod de ipsâ tradiderat Pyrrhus . . . . In Oriente verò testimonium non

extat quòd Honorii Epistola *ne quidem à Sergio* ad ecclesias missa fuerit . . . Ad unum ergo Sergium missa."—De Auctoritate Pontificis, c. 10, s. 2.

2. Eugenius IV.'s instruction to the Armenians. It seems to me more probable that this was exclusively what it purports to be—a practical instruction to the Armenian converts. In denying this (Postscript, p. 5), you use Unionistic language; you speak as though the Catholic Church and the Armenian converts were two contracting parties. The simple fact is, that the latter at length admitted themselves to have revolted against their divinely appointed ruler, and were now receiving from him instruction in the Catholic religion.

However, whether this instruction were ex cathedrâ or not, a writer argued, in the "Dublin Review" of January 1866 (pp. 282-4), that it contains no doctrinal mistake at all on the particular to which you afterwards drew attention. No part whatever of his argument was based on *the Council's* sanction of Eugenius's instruction; as any one may see who will read that argument. Strangely enough, it seems that at last you have not looked at it; but have only read up to its commencement, towards the middle of p. 282.

3. There remain to be considered your new objections, founded on the well-known comparison between Nicholas III. and John XXII., as to their teaching on Evangelical poverty. So far from there being any difficulty in this instance, its circumstances supply me with various additional arguments against your old thesis on doctrinal expositions. Here however of course I confine myself to the defensive, and aim at brevity. But you should surely have mentioned, that John and his advisers had Nicholas's dictum before them from first to last, and firmly resolved not to contradict it; while John in the "Quia quorundam" emphatically repudiates the notion, of there being any doctrinal inconsistency between him and his predecessor. It is not à priori *probable* then that there should be any such inconsistency; nor in fact is there. Great light has been thrown on the matter by Natalis Alexander; whose view of this particular question is universally considered (I believe) far more complete and satisfactory, than Bellarmine's which you follow.

I accept heartily as infallible John XXII.'s teaching, that the "justus usus rerum usu consumptibilium" involves a real "dominium." Moreover, it was very important in his time to insist on this; for the Church was assailed by a set of fanatics—precursors in some sense of socialism—who disparaged the divine origin and sacredness of property. "Even the extremest Franciscan poverty," teaches the Pontiff, "involves a *certain* possession of property."

I consider that what you say in p. 7, about the "supernatural isolation" of a Pontifical definition, is disrespectful to the Church and her Supreme Pontiffs, and very injurious to the vital doctrine of her infallible magisterium. I hold that the one most authentic comment on the meaning of a definition is to be looked for in the preamble, arguments, and obiter dicta found in its company; while "the whole scope of the controversy," and the Pontiff's "known opinion," are also very important guides to a true interpretation.

Now as to Nicholas III.'s dictum. And I will suppose—what to me is certainly very much the more probable opinion—that it was uttered ex cathedrâ.* He intended then to teach the Church a certain doctrine. What doctrine? Certainly not that the "justus usus rerum usu consumptibilium" is inconsistent with the highest way of perfection; for this would be to teach, that the highest way of perfection involves either theft or suicide by starvation. Beyond all possible question he used the word "proprietas" in a sense external to this "justus usus"; and, so understood, his dictum was most edifying and most worthy to be proclaimed ex cathedrâ.

But "this very use of the word 'proprietas,'" you will reply, "implies the false proposition that the 'justus usus' is *not* 'proprietas.'" I admit it: but the said proposition is not even so much as an obiter dictum in the "Exiit." An obiter dictum, as I said in April (p. 567), is a doctrinal proposition, which the Church incidentally *expresses* without intending to *teach* it. Now as to the above-named proposition, Nicholas does not even *express* it; though I admit that his words imply it. And as to any intention of *teaching* it, no one in his senses will ascribe to him such an intention. The question in his time had not been raised, and had no practical importance. His one doctrinal intention, as I have said, was to inculcate the excellence of the Franciscan rule.

Having answered your two first observations (pp. 8, 9) I now come to your third, which is truly wonderful. So far is John XXII. from doubting the infallibility of Pontifical definitions, that, on the contrary, he throughout assumes that infallibility as simply indisputable. The words of those heretics to which he takes exception are "per clavem scientiæ." I

* John, in the "Quia quorundam," to my mind indubitably implies this. Natalis Alexander indeed urges that the chief purpose of the "Exiit" was to exhort the Franciscans to a strict observance of their rule. But I do not see why the same Act may not be in one part hortatory, in another disciplinary, and in a third doctrinal. I cannot but think it was part of the Pontiff's intention to inculcate on the whole Church the excellence of the Franciscan rule, against those who assailed it as "inobservabilis et discriminosa."

really doubt whether you can have read once through the "Quia quorundam," so extreme is your misapprehension of its drift. "These heretics attribute Papal infallibility"—such is the Pontiff's argument—"to the key of *knowledge* as distinct from the key of *power*. But no one can really define doctrine, except he who inherits the *power* conferred on Peter of binding and loosing."

I think you are quite mistaken in saying that he uses the word "define" "in a partial sense." He uses it throughout, it seems to me, as applying only to irreformable doctrinal decisions.

In the "Quia vir reprobus" he does not, as you think, explain or modify something which he had said against the irreformableness of Pontifical "definitions"; but indignantly denies that he had ever said anything of the kind. Raynaldus, A.D. 1329, n. 68.*

As to your fourth observation (p. 9), it is simply bewildering. John XXII. reversed certain disciplinary enactments of the "Exiit;" and Martin V. (you say) reversed John's reversal. Well; what then?

V.

There is but one reply which I think necessary to your general comments on my recent letter.

There are various doctrinal decisions—such as emphatically the "Mirari vos" and the Syllabus—concerning which I have consistently contended, that a denial of their ex cathedrâ character possesses no probability whatever, extrinsic or intrinsic. It becomes therefore a grave question, whether those who refuse to such a pronouncement their absolute and unreserved assent, if Catholics are capable of Absolution, if non-Catholics can be received into the Church. This was your "crisis of a bewildering matter." You charge me with having evaded it; but I frankly encountered it. (Second Letter, pp. 59, 60.) My substantial answer was that, where there is every appearance of their ignorance being invincible, the priest is not *obliged*, but is *permitted*, to give them the sacraments; and that he should be guided therefore by his views of expediency "de monendo et non monendo pœnitente." On this question of expediency, I expressed with

* "Item impugnat iste hæreticus Constitutionem prædictam, falsò imponens ei quòd dicit quòd Summus Pontifex, in his quæ ad fidem et mores pertinent, potest prædecessorum definitiones et dicta revocare, et contrarium statuere prout decreverit statuendum. Aperte juxtà morem suum mentitur hæreticus suprà-dictus. Constitutio enim illa hoc non dicit nec de hoc facit aliquam mentionem: ut patere potest cuilibet intuenti."